

National Civic Federation

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SHOULD UNIONS INCORPORATE?

SYMPOSIUM BY REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS, WAGE EARNERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC—
OPINIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE BAR

In view of the many recent proceedings against trade unions by way of injunctions and suits for damages, the National Civic Federation addressed inquiries to a number of representative men asking for a statement of opinion regarding the proper course for trade unions to take in the matter of incorporation. Attention was called to the Taff Vale decision in Great Britain and to several cases in the United States where members of unincorporated unions have been held personally liable for damages and costs of prosecution. The question was asked whether, in defending such suits, the unions would be placed in a better or in a worse position if they were incorporated than they are at present when unincorporated. Inquiry was also made as to whether a special law should be enacted for the incorporation of unions, one differing from the law for business corporations, and if so, what should be its terms.

In preparing this symposium for the press we have been compelled to omit much interesting matter from the various contributions, being limited as to space.

EMPLOYERS

Don C. Seitz, Member of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association and Business Manager of the New York "World":

When an employer recognizes a labor union, he ceases to recognize the individual. The latter has no place in the economy of his establishment. He must deal with the concrete idea represented by unionism and forsake the theory that he can handle the individual as such. This we have done, and the results, I think, are satisfactory, so far as anything that interferes with liberty of action and freedom of purpose can be satisfactory. When, however, we do get ourselves into this attitude we certainly increase the responsibility of the union, and expect this responsibility to be met.

Coercive as most unions are, they naturally cannot learn to respect the rights of the employer or men who will not affiliate with them. I think there is now less tyranny in the printing trade than formerly, and we have the insurance of our admirable arbitration agreement. Certainly, too, there are more intelligence and a greater appreciation of what is right among most of our employes than in any other grade of labor, and the proposition I am about to present is not specific to our own interests. I believe that we shall have constant and more menacing troubles unless the newspapers, whose duty it is to arouse public sentiment and bring issues home to the minds of the people, shall insist that labor unions be made legally responsible bodies by incorporation. This done, a vast deal of trouble would disappear. It would, no doubt, be difficult to organize

unions, because of the responsibilities involved by such legislation, as men would stop and do some thinking before assuming a legal liability, but in the end the unions that were brave enough and honest enough to comply with the conditions would benefit largely by the result. In short, legislation should be had to provide for the incorporation of the trade unions just as we have it for forming other corporations or trusts, and self-constituted bodies founded to coerce employers would have no status under the law and would become conspiracies, where they failed to comply with the requirement to incorporate.

You cannot properly establish the Merry Toughs' Social Club without incorporating it. You cannot join with a few friends to promote the simplest business enterprise without incorporating it. You cannot even establish a church without going through a legal process. But it is perfectly possible to get together a body of workmen, who, without regard to your contracts or their obligations, take you by the throat with intimidation and boycott, without any serious fear of interference by law or any collection of damages from the courts.

Large sums of money are raised by the unions from individual assessments, but not one cent of this is reachable to recompense the industry that bears the brunt of the conflict. When the suggestion is made to the average labor leader that such incorporation ought to be enforced, we at once meet with the answer that it would be fatal to their methods, which is an open confession that their methods are illegal and wrong. Business men incur millions of responsibility in obedience to the law, while labor, much more closely knit, is immune.

It is only recently in overburdened England that the court of last resort ordered the Amalgamated Society of Railroad Servants to pay the Taff Vale Railroad £28,000 damages for a strike and boycott. The appellate court held that, incorporated or not, an organized body could not keep itself outside the law, and that it must be held pecuniarily responsible for its acts. This decision of vast importance to all concerned swept away the pleasant fiction that lawlessness and boycott are always to be condoned where the "workingman" is trying to "elevate" himself. In short, in England the worm has turned, and hereafter the unions will be forced to meet the responsibility they incur, just as the railroad does when it wrecks a train and kills or injures its passengers. The playful incendiaries, the murderous boycotters, and the delightful dynamiters may escape as individuals, but the union which precipitated the conflict which brought this all about must settle. This is what we must come to here, if there is to be any human right or human liberty left in the land.

The argument in favor of incorporating is a simple one. A certain number of carpenters desire to get together for the betterment of their condition. They must raise a fund, elect officers. They must have a concrete existence, if they would incorporate as a busi-

ness body. This would be the situation: When an employer called upon the guild, as it would best be named, the condition of employment could be made plain; the responsibility of taking the work would be incurred and the duty of performing it would be enforced. Can there be any honest objection to this practice? We have now in this city the most chaotic conditions. Men drop out every day at will in the building trades, and great losses are incurred by the contractor and owner, and the situation is fast becoming intolerable.

Judge Parker, in a recent decision, holds that the laborer has the right to do as he pleases about working or not working. This is incontestably true, yet I should say that when the laborer had agreed to perform a certain task for a certain price, there should be some method of making him keep his agreement. The employer is responsible for wages, and if he has agreed to hire a man for a year and uses him only one day, the law makes him pay for the whole period. But the plasterer can throw down his trowel and quit in the middle of his employment because he dislikes the expression on his foreman's face. If, however, we had an incorporated union of plasterers instead of a guerrilla one, the union would have to come forward and complete the task.

James A. Miller, Chairman Legal Committee of Building Contractors' Council, Chicago, Ill.:

Without being a lawyer, and without having consulted one on the subject, I should say that a law might pass the scrutiny of the courts that would make criminal certain acts done by a combination (unincorporated) that would not be so if done by a corporation having capital stock, or, perhaps, having bonds on file with the Secretary of State that could be reached for damages. In this way the unions might decide it to be to their advantage to incorporate.

The advisability of such a law is another question. As I understand it, the Taff Vale decision does not have much bearing upon the question under discussion. Its great importance is to the registered unions of Great Britain, who thought that by the law that provided for their registration, etc., they could not be sued. Acting on this theory, most of those unions have large funds, really intended for insurance benefits, etc. There is no doubt that those unions would not have had on hand such large funds to be seized for damages if they had not been firmly of the opinion that those funds could not be reached. Nor would they have committed so openly (that is, in such a way as to easily fasten the responsibility upon them) the acts that made them liable.

I should say that if the responsibility of trade unions can be increased by requiring them to incorporate, without at the same time increasing their power, it might be well to advocate such a plan. If, on the other hand, they can only be required to incorporate by granting

additional power to those that do incorporate, I am afraid the result would be productive of more harm than good. Before any plan for requiring incorporation is indorsed, it should be decided what form of incorporation is to be advocated, whether a capital stock is to be required or whether it is to be such as can be had in this State "not for profit"—with no or a nominal capital stock. If there is to be no capital stock, I do not see what is to be gained by incorporating. If there is capital stock or a fund that can be reached for damages, then it must be considered what acts and whose acts will make the union and its fund liable.

Will it simply be the breaking of a contract entered into by the union, or will it be any unlawful act done by the union causing damage? Will the union be liable only for what it does as a union, or will it be liable for the acts of its officers and of its individual members? If liable for the acts of its officers and members, must it be shown that those acts were authorized by the union? This would often be difficult, if not impossible. I can understand how a union might make a contract to furnish men of a certain standard of skill and at a certain rate of wages up to a certain number of men under a penalty of damages if it failed, which would make the union a contractor for labor.

Aside from such arrangement as that, I think the responsibility of the union for breaking of contracts entered into by it would not be worth much, as it could avoid that liability by secretly advising or permitting its members to do individually what the union would be liable for if done by the union. Whether any of these devices for increasing the responsibility of the unions to the employers, where that end is to be attained by increasing the power of the unions over the workman by enabling these organizations to farm out labor, as do the Chinese companies, will tend to improve the character of the working man, may well be questioned.

Again, as I understand it, what society and employers want is not damages from unions for injuries unlawfully inflicted, but they want the unions restrained from committing these unlawful acts. The courts have a way to do this when their aid can be invoked—by injunction.

The law in this State as to the liability of the members of a union for damages to an employer is that if an officer or member of a union in the course of any unlawful strike does damage to such employer then every member of the union is liable for such damage. He is liable in tort, which enables the employer, judgment having been obtained and unpaid, to send him to jail and keep him there as long as the debt is unpaid and the employer pays his board.

In my opinion, that is all the law the employer needs. What society needs is not more or different laws, but an honest and courageous enforcement of the laws as they are. If the laws that we now have can not be enforced because the judges fear the union vote, or because the whole machinery of justice in our State courts is paralyzed for that same reason, what is the use of bothering about more laws?

Marcus A. Hanna, of M. A. Hanna & Co.:

I do not believe under the present condition of things in incorporation of trade unions. I heard the argument that it was an absolute necessity that such incorporation must be had, because a contract with workingmen was worthless. The test has come, for, when in their dire extremity, the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania appealed to their fellows in the bituminous fields in the West to come out and strike in sympathy, in order that conditions might be forced upon this country which would enforce a settlement of the trouble, it is known to many others that the bituminous coal miners thus appealed to were under contract for a year, known as the Interstate Contract, between the producers and the operators of those sections of the country. Under the constitution of the United Mine Workers it became the duty of their president to call together a delegates' convention to act upon that question. Those of us who had followed this trouble from the beginning with interest and anxiety felt that it was an important moment in the history of the labor question as to how that would be settled. For my part I had confidence as to the outcome. The convention met at Indianapolis, represented by persons or proxies of 1,000 delegates, and the appeal was made coming from the striking miners

of the anthracite region to their fellow workmen under most distressing circumstances and conditions, under influences which are so potent among that class—brotherhood sympathy. That convention appointed a committee of twenty-three to consider the application. They spent nearly a whole night considering it; they were confronted with the fact that they had made a contract with their employers, which for the fourth time had been made, to work for a scale agreed upon, to be in operation for one year, upon which the sales of coal were made and contracts binding upon the operators were made. After full consideration, allowing sentiment to play its part upon the minds and hearts of those men, with calm, cool judgment and loyalty to their agreement, that committee reported unanimously against a sympathetic strike. That report was made to that convention the day following, and was adopted unanimously by 1,000 votes. They agreed to stand by the word they had given in making that contract.

Now, that case came up at a time when all the conditions surrounding it were as aggravating and forcible as could be brought into play. Therefore I say that the test has come and the men have won the confidence of the whole people of this country, and as far as I am concerned, satisfied me that we want no incorporation of labor organizations.

Wm. Green, Chairman Executive Committee, New York Typothetae:

We think that the incorporation of labor unions would undoubtedly add to their responsibility. The bone and sinew of any labor organization lies in its ability to support its members when out of work, whether they be out of work on account of sickness, stagnation of business or strikes. To accomplish this, it is necessary for the organization to have a well-filled treasury. In the case of an incorporated union, we think that its treasurer and other officers could be held to stricter account in law than if the organization were not incorporated. As for suing of individual members, that, we think, would be unprofitable and fruitless. A union that is an incorporated body certainly has more dignity in the eyes of employers than an unincorporated one; particularly so when its members in the latter case frankly acknowledge that in order to evade responsibility they decline to incorporate.

S. R. Callaway, President American Locomotive Company, New York:

I do not see any great advantage to be derived from the incorporation of labor unions. It is more important, in my opinion, to have reasonably fair-minded men at the head of the organizations, who will give some consideration to the other fellow's side of the case. This remark might also be made applicable to employers of labor.

H. B. Parsons, Vice-President Wells Fargo & Co., New York:

It is desirable, from my point of view, that labor unions should incorporate, and it will be an added advantage if, in doing so, they embody beneficial, financial features, such as sick funds, insurance, and, possibly, pensions. Unions generally, as now constituted, have little or no financial responsibility. In cases where, as has been done, employers secure damages, they will be reluctant to attempt to recover from individuals, and if they did, the courts would be likely to deal with all possible lenience as respects the employees, since there might seem to be an element of persecution in attempting to hold one person responsible for the misdeeds of many. It would also seem to be reasonable to expect that unions, when once incorporated, and being subject to legal responsibility, would exercise more care and restraint in adopting the suggestions of its members, and in acting upon impulse.

Otto M. Eidlitz, Secretary United Building Trades, New York:

In my opinion the incorporation of unions would add to their responsibility in that in case of difficulty the trade, as an organization, would have to answer for its vote in meeting. And if a union felt that its treasury and standing might be jeopardized, it would tend to make it more conservative and to see that its actions

were strictly within the law. The assessing of damages on individuals for the act of the union seems to me unfair, and would only tend to increase our list of martyrs. Furthermore, the very act of incorporation would make the body subject more or less to State supervision and the regulations of the law, and through this very fact tend to bring home to the officers and Executive Committee the fact that they are not free lances.

J. Kruttschnitt, General Manager and Fourth Vice-President Southern Pacific Company:

In my opinion, many of the illegal acts committed by officers of labor unions and by the members individually are prompted by a lack of sense of responsibility, and anything that will bring home to the members and officers of such organizations the fact that no damage or injury can be inflicted without incurring responsibility, for reparation thereof, is not only very much to be desired, but is, in my opinion, imperatively necessary to check the spirit of lawlessness that now at once develops on the inauguration of a strike. We have frequently found in dealing with subordinates that the quickest way to make them abandon a radical or ill-considered policy is to give them free permission to carry it out, with the distinct understanding that the responsibility for success or failure will rest on their shoulders: the responsibility for failure, of course, being followed by loss of official position, and we have never failed in such cases to secure much more conservative action on the part of the officer involved. Conservatism must necessarily follow responsibility, and however this can be brought about, whether by incorporation of the unions or by decisions of the courts against members, I am firmly of the belief that establishing the principle that a party inflicting an injury must pay the resulting damages will confine the efforts of labor leaders to their legitimate functions and will discourage the present practice of declaring actual war on persons and property as soon as any contention arises on any industrial question.

Oscar C. Davis, Second Vice-President George E. Keith Company, Campello, Mass.:

We heartily indorse any measures which would result in the incorporation of unions and in that way add to their responsibility. They are almost a corporation as they are managed to-day, in that they employ officers, pay salaries and make contracts, and we see no reason why, if the employers are incorporated and can give perfectly good financial security for all their contracts, the labor unions should not do likewise, and become corporate bodies. We think this would hasten the day when we would have fewer strikes and greater prosperity. In a recent article by the president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the writer noticed that about the only argument against incorporation was, firstly, we don't need to; secondly, we might lose our money; but from the standpoint of the employers we see no reason why, if the unions are acting in good faith, they should not furnish as good security as they now demand of the employer. When we have contracts the breaking of which will result in the loss of dollars to the unions as well, as to the employers, we will have a distinct step in advance of the present method of absolute security on one side and insecurity on the other.

Henry R. Towne, President Yale & Towne Manufacturing Company, New York:

I have for some time urged that both the unions and the employers' associations should be incorporated, and that the latter can well afford to set an example in this respect to the former. The functions of these bodies have become of great importance to their constituents and to the public, equally so at times with the function of the courts so far as practical effects are concerned. With the power which this implies there exists, and must be recognized, the resulting responsibility. The Taff Vale decision recognizes this fact.

Employers are increasingly discovering that the law affords remedies for many of the injuries heretofore inflicted by organized labor. It is earnestly to be hoped that the law will be appealed to increasingly in such cases, and if so I believe the result will be to establish the responsibility in damages of any organization which has the power to inflict injury and exercises that power

in ways not authorized by law. When this point is reached it will be immaterial, so far as responsibility in damages is concerned, whether the unions are or are not incorporated, and as incorporation will give them protection and strength in other directions it seems reasonable to anticipate that it will be availed of. It is certainly desirable and should be encouraged.

E. F. Du Brul, Commissioner National Metal Trades Association, Cincinnati, Ohio:

I do not see that incorporation would increase the responsibility of the unions in any particular. You cannot compel them to incorporate, and if they did they would have no more property as a union than they have now. The incorporation of the union would probably relieve the members of personal liability, which, in view of the Taff Vale decision and the Dayton and Indianapolis Drop Forging Company cases, would be a hardship on the employer who suffers damages.

Walter L. Pierce, General Manager Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company, New York:

I can see one advantage in its favor from the standpoint of manufacturers, and that is that if a union wants an agreement with any body of manufacturers they are certainly more likely to get favorable consideration if incorporated. As I am on record as being in favor of such agreements, and as the first objection of those not in favor is the "irresponsibility of the unions," it seems to me such incorporation will be of distinct advantage in procuring agreements now impossible to obtain, and, in view of the Taff Vale decision, I see no objection to it.

W. H. Pfahler, of Philadelphia, National Founders' Association:

I have no doubt whatever that the laws which we have in this country could hold a labor union as a body, and no doubt its members individually, liable for damages which may occur during a strike; but it is my sincere hope that the settlement between employer and employee may never reach the necessity of an appeal to the civil courts. The advance that is being made along the line of personal interest on the part of manufacturers in the relation which they bear to their employees is daily establishing the fact that the whole problem is one of bargain and sale. The only question involved in labor disputes is the question of wages; no matter what demands are made by the manufacturers, it invariably resolves itself into a question of earnings of mechanical labor. This being the case, the only plain rule is to negotiate with the labor element collectively, or through their recognized union, or its representatives. To bring this about, the greatest work is to reduce the employer from a position of sentimental opposition to trade unions to one of recognition of the force which they exert in the problem. When this occurs, the buyer and seller meet upon the same level that the parties to any other commercial transaction do, and negotiate for the one simple matter of wages. I think the extent to which the National Civic Federation can aid the accomplishment of this condition, and to that extent only, can it hope to be successful.

WAGE EARNERS

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

Some years ago the Federal Congress passed a law for the incorporation of our trade unions. Beyond question, the advocates of that bill really believed they were doing the organized workers a real service; but at the time, and since, we have repeatedly warned our fellow-unionists to refrain from seeking the so-called protection of that law, which, in the cases referred to, justified the suspicion and conclusion that the courts would in time have declared our unions liable to be mulcted in damages and their funds confiscated—a repetition of the history of the robbery of the guilds a few centuries ago. It is the same species of legislation as the enactment of the law to regulate interstate commerce and the so-called anti-trust law, both of which

were ostensibly enacted for the protection of the interests of the people, when, as a matter of fact the only uses to which they have been put have been to furnish some pretense or excuse for the issuance of injunctions against organized workers engaged in disputes with their employers, and for the indictment and the possible imprisonment of men for the exercise of their natural and lawful rights.

Recently the unfounded charge against organized labor has been repeated to the effect that trade unions violate agreements entered into with employers; and the uninformed, and particularly those antagonistic employers to organized labor, urge as a remedy for this imagined evil the compulsory incorporation of the trade unions, so that, as those referred to urge, "the trade unions may be held legally responsible" for the faithful carrying out of agreements, and to be liable in damages in the event of their violation. On the surface this proposition seems fair; but when we bear in mind the fact that often judges have deep-seated prejudice against organizations of labor, that the far-fetched interpretation in the Taff Vale case, where an organization of labor in Great Britain was mulcted in damages for the actions of an individual member, under the law passed by the British Parliament as a "concession to labor," and that the enunciation of judicial principles is mutually interpreted and held by the judiciary of all English-speaking countries, it is not difficult to divine the purpose that the advocates of compulsory incorporation of trade unions have in view. They would mulct or outlaw our unions, the organizations which are the factors in our modern life to work for human progress by natural, rational, peaceable and evolutionary means.

E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor Order of Railway Conductors:

I have never understood or heard that corporations were formed for the purpose of taking on added responsibility; on the contrary, I have understood that they were formed for the purpose of escaping personal responsibility. The existing laws permit of the formation of corporations for pecuniary profit or for charitable purposes, and in each instance the exemptions and liabilities of the corporations and their stockholders or members are clearly defined. It seems to me very inconsistent for any one to demand that labor organizations shall incorporate under existing laws. If incorporation of labor unions is desired it is, to my mind, incumbent upon the State Legislatures to enact healthy laws under which the members of labor unions are given exemption from corporate responsibilities, in substance just as stockholders of corporations for pecuniary profit are given exemption from liability for corporate debts or acts, and under which the incorporated trade union shall have the same exemption from responsibility for personal acts of members in violation of law which a corporation for pecuniary profit has from liability for individual acts of its stockholders. While I have never been disposed to take an arbitrary or positive stand against incorporation of trade unions under any and all conditions, I feel that I should be obliged to oppose any effort to force them to incorporate until the proper foundation has been laid as above suggested.

Herman Grossman, President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, New York:

It is my opinion that incorporation can under no circumstances be injurious to trade unions. The United Brotherhood of Cloakmakers, the most important local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is an organization incorporated under the membership corporation law of the State of New York, has found it much easier to defeat claims of employers for damages caused by members of the organization than those trade unions which are voluntary associations. In 1901, several applications were made for injunctions against the brotherhood. Numerous affidavits alleging acts of violence on the part of persons who were claimed to be members of the brotherhood were presented in support of the application. The court refused, however, to grant the injunction, on the ground that there was no proof that the acts complained of were authorized by the organization.

Since no corporation can be held liable for individual acts of its members, acts not authorized by the corporation, incorporated trade unions have no reason to fear a lawsuit against them for wrongful acts of their members.

Our organization has had very few lawsuits against manufacturers. I don't remember a single case which came to trial. We had about half a dozen cases in the Supreme Court several years ago; they were all settled or compromised. In almost all of the said cases the question of the legality of our contract with the employers was raised, and uniformly decided in our favor. The points raised against the contract were that it was unconscionable, in restraint of trade and against public policy. As I said before, these points were overruled.

The only serious disadvantage the trade unions are working under now is the complete absence in the statutes of various States of laws defining the rights, powers, duties and limitations of trade unions. For example, in the State of New York there is really no law under which a trade union can be incorporated properly.

Those trade unions which have incorporated under the New York laws have incorporated under an elastic section, (section 30 of the membership corporation law) which limits the organization under that section of corporations which cannot be incorporated under any other laws. The trade union is by no means the favorite of the law. What is needed is a systematization of the laws relating to trade unions and to labor generally. The laws should permit trade unions to incorporate on the same basis as co-operative societies, and the right should be given to the organization to declare the stock of an offending member forfeited for a violation of the rules of the organization. They should also have the privilege of organizing sick and death benefits. This would give the trade union a certain degree of control over its members, and contracts entered into between the organizations and employers could be enforced by either side without resorting to the courts.

James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union:

Those well versed in the idea of incorporation and the methods of lawyers and courts well know the menace contained in the suggestion. It would take a trade union antagonist with money at his command but a short time to wreck a labor organization through judicial procedure. . . . Regardless of the innocence of an incorporated trade union of charges preferred by an antagonist, it would take much money to establish that innocence. It may be said that trade unionists should be willing to contribute liberally for their defense, but it must be remembered that where the toiler is able to contribute one cent the corporation can without strain put up a dollar. We must continue to depend upon public sympathy and public support, and not on courts, the course of which in the past displays corporation and capitalistic sympathy, if not dictation. We should have no hesitancy in upholding our present methods, and instead of excusing we should justify them. If we are opposed to trade union incorporation we should not be afraid to assert that opposition boldly, confident in the belief that our cause is just and that it should not be retarded by legal trickery and judicial subservience. The International Typographical Union has had some rather unpleasant and costly legal experience.

Charles O. Sherman, General Secretary United Metal Workers' International Union, Chicago:

I do not hesitate to emphatically state that I am opposed to the incorporating of any trade union, for I consider that incorporation proceedings would be only a step nearer the danger line which would put the trade organizations at the mercy of the courts, and it is unnecessary for me to apprise you of what this means. Under the system in which we live it is not a case of justice in court; it is a case of law, and the law is so framed by those who are cunning that it is in the shape of a drag net which is so contrived that the minnows are all captured while the whales escape. I mean by this that it is seldom that labor unions can go into court and expect justice, but they always expect plenty of law; for that reason, I am opposed. I believe that great danger confronts all trade unions in the United States, and if they do not adopt a different policy at an

early date the organizations will be completely at the mercy of the courts, which are owned and controlled by the money powers in most instances, and the only policy I could recommend under this system would be to vote for no man for public office, no matter be it for judge down to common constable, unless he be a thorough trade unionist, one who is in good standing and in good repute with the movement. When I say a trade unionist I do not mean a lawyer who claims to be in sympathy with the union, because in most cases they are not, but conduct themselves in a way that will bring to them the greater remuneration.

W. O. Powell, President Shirt, Waist and Laundry Workers, Troy, N. Y.:

I cannot see where the incorporation of a union would benefit the union, since the greater number of laws on our statute books are not only favorable to the element represented by capital, but their dispensation is also in the hands of the same power. This fact is recognized by the manufacturer and consumer alike, and I think is so recognized by the Civic Federation. Either with or without incorporation, the danger to the trade union will be remedied, since all unions are founded on the principle of arbitration, through trade agreement, and there would be no chance for loss on the part of the employer, as a strike would thus be avoided. No strike has taken place where a trade agreement has been in force. Strikes only take place where there are no trade agreements, or when trade agreements have willfully been broken by the employer. No labor union fears a loss from this source. Unions are not money making institutions; they are schools for teaching certain principles. They neither have nor hold shares of stock or bonds of gold. Their stock in trade is their inherent right to work or not and when at work to receive a wage that they have set on their labor as a value for that labor.

The American laborers of to-day fear nothing. Should the framers of laws compel them to incorporate, let those framers look to it well that the laws are not misconstrued to the disadvantage of the incorporated laborers.

John McNeil, President Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Kansas City, Kansas:

Under the present conditions I am not in favor of the incorporation of labor organizations in this country. There is not discipline enough among the men, and the employers do not in any way assist the national officers to establish same; while in the old country, of which I am a native, the employers did everything in their power to assist the national officers to establish discipline among the members by helping them to enforce fines upon the members who violated the law. My opinion is that the Taff Vale decision in Great Britain in no way affects the labor organizations in this country.

Edward A. Moffett, Editor "The Bricklayer and Mason," New York:

I am not aware that in this country unincorporated trade unions can be mulcted for damages the same as in partnerships. True, there have been one or two such decisions made here and there; but these decisions have not been followed by other courts. If these decisions had been generally accepted there would not be the present agitation to have trade unions incorporated. This agitation is predicated upon the irresponsibility of trade unions in the courts. Some half-dozen of our subordinate unions are incorporated. Philadelphia (bricklayers) Union No. 7, New York City, Boston (bricklayers), and perhaps two or three others. But I believe the feeling of our membership generally is strongly against incorporation.

A. S. Hughes, President National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, East Liverpool, Ohio:

Our organization was incorporated under the laws of Ohio in 1895. We allowed our charter to lapse some eighteen months ago, as we had been threatened with damage suits by several manufacturers where some of our members had disputes and were about to strike had they not succeeded in settling the matters at issue.

J. H. Patterson, Secretary Paving Cutters' Union of America, Lithonia, Ga.:

I am opposed to the incorporation of trade unions, because it would mean the destruction of our unions, from the fact that the employers would keep us in court all the time. It would not be a question as to the right or wrong of it, but simply a question of the longest purse. Whether we gained or lost the decision would have no bearing on the results whatever, as litigation would never cease, and the never-ending legal proceedings could have but one ending, and that would be death and despair to labor organizations, and the birth of anarchy in their stead. I believe that the present conditions do not call for new laws on the subject, as the laws now in force are able to afford ample protection to the employer, if he really has a bona fide case.

John Tobin, Editor "Shoe Workers' Journal":

Objections to incorporated trade unions rest, first, upon the needlessness of such a move, and, second, upon the danger of bankrupting the treasuries of trade unions by and through litigation if they should become incorporated. It is not necessary to incorporate a trade union to insure the inviolability of contracts that may be entered into between trade unions and employers. During the four years that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has been in existence we have made contracts with employers from all parts of the country. Our contracts, as all contracts that are worthy of the name, involve mutual obligations and mutual advantages. In our agreement with shoe manufacturers we surrender the right to strike. Our employers surrender their arbitrary right to enforce conditions to their liking by such arbitrary methods as the lockout. . . . Leaving out of consideration all questions of honor, it appears that our own best interests will prompt us to live religiously up to our agreements. . . . It is not on record that we have in any single instance given our employers occasion to regret that we were not incorporated so that we might be compelled to do that which we otherwise would not do. . . . The danger of such a move to trade unions is clearly indicated in the investigation which took place before President Roosevelt's arbitration commission. A glance at the dizzy array of legal talent at the command of the coal operators gives us a forecast of what trade unions will be called upon to do in order to protect their interests in a court of law. Coal operators count their resources by the million and hundreds of millions. Trade unions are not so well fixed. Their treasuries are not so abnormally large as that of the designing employer who may find it to his interest to first bankrupt the trade union by legal procedure and then when it is impoverished proceed against it in the industrial field by lockout or otherwise.

Geo. W. Perkins, President International Cigarmakers' Union:

Organized labor has nothing to fear from any of its acts, but it will not consent to become incorporated and placed in a position where it will be unable to transact its lawful business and discharge its full duties to its members. We object to being placed in a position where we cannot do business that is strictly lawful without the consent of the judiciary. We object to being placed in a position where we would have to wait the result of cumbersome law proceedings before we can do things that are perfectly lawful. We object to spending large sums of money to fight for the right to do things that are now conceded to be right and lawful. We protest against being compelled to again fight over the ground that it has taken years of ceaseless agitation and great sacrifice to achieve. We have by the force of right and justice battered down the laws of repression and oppression. We have overcome deep-seated prejudice that was nursed by the privileged few, and used against every honest effort of labor to better its condition. We protest with all the vigor at our command against being compelled to battle all over again against legal fogysm and prejudice. We will never incorporate until our legal status is well established and laws enacted that fully protect the rights we have secured as the result of years of trade union activity. If we were incorporated a board of directors would have a legal right

to transact all of our business between conventions. We are too jealous of our liberties, our rights, and the initiative and referendum to surrender them to a board of directors, even if it was composed of angels. Not that we would dispute the honesty of the board of directors, but because we are opposed to surrendering the life of joint self-government, such as now prevails in the international unions.

Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen:

The intellectual faculties rule in labor organizations to-day and are guided by a moral obligation in our relations with each other and with our employers. This moral obligation enters into all our contracts and agreements. True, the contracts are expected to be such as will stand in law, but rarely has either party resorted to the courts to compel a performance of a contract. In our organization I feel free to state that none of the employers who sign annual contracts with us as an organization would feel any more secure, or that the obligation was any less binding on us because they were dealing with a labor organization not incorporated by law. It therefore is not the legal obligation, it is the integrity, the sense of fairness, the spirit of justice, the faithful performance of our former obligations that is the sole and only guarantee of our employers, who regard our word as good as our bond. In a word, it is the intelligent application of strict business principles and a recognition of our honor in every contract or agreement. No business man does business without first ascertaining and satisfying himself as to the financial standing and rating of a firm or corporation. The fact that a company can be sued and a judgment recovered does not warrant a desire for trade, in the absence of other important considerations. The reputation of a company for fair dealing, how they respect an obligation, etc., and whether they are safe people to do business with, are the considerations. The commercial world does not move solely because of law courts and court officers, and the acts of men are guided, after all, more from a sense of moral obligation than in violation of the same.

No, I do not recognize any crying need of labor organizations becoming incorporated, nor have I found any demand for the same on the part of the corporations and employers doing business with our organization. I do not wish to be understood as opposing such action by those believing it essential to the well being of all concerned. Only, I fail to recognize any solution of the labor problem by any statute or legal enactment. I certainly maintain that more ample redress is obtainable to-day for damages where liability of labor organizations can be proved than can be hoped to be obtained by labor organizations where corporations have violated the law.

Henry White, General Secretary United Garment Workers of America:

Incorporation would afford no advantage to labor unions for the chief reason that they have no standing in court as a contracting party, and their legal status would not be improved by it. The object, therefore, of incorporating would be lost, while on the other hand, the funds of the unions could be more readily attached either by workmen having a grievance against the union, or by employers subject to loss on account of the union's action. I have yet to learn of an instance where a union has succeeded in recovering damages for violation of an agreement on the part of an employer, and in the very nature of things, as I will attempt to explain, it will be impossible. Our own national union, for example, has hundreds of agreements with manufacturers in which bonds were given to insure their faithful performance, and in every case where the union sued for the forfeiture of the bonds it failed, although the violation of the contract was not questioned. It was held by the courts that the agreement was not valid because obtained under duress, that the employer was not free to refuse to sign the contract presented, as it would be impossible for him to continue in business otherwise. "Duress" could always be alleged because the trade unions represent an aggressive movement. The working class, on account of its former dependent state and the ground it has still to cover, has got to

force its way. The pressure of society is normally against the wage worker, the point of least resistance, and this pressure can only be neutralized by counter-resistance, which implies a struggle.

We would not have gone into court to obtain redress for violation of contract were it not for the bonds referred to, as there is no disposition on the part of the unions to hold an employer to the terms of an agreement by legal procedure. The observance of a contract between an employer and a union must necessarily depend upon the honor of either side. The remedy for breach of contract lies in an appeal to public opinion, the intercession of a third party, or the offensive or resisting power of each, acting, of course, within legal bounds.

Even if such contracts were enforceable in law, there could be no basis for estimating the amount of the damage either side would be entitled to, because of the indefinite quantities involved and the problematical nature of the disputes. An agreement between an individual workman and an employer is something definite and tangible, but in the case of associated workmen treating with associated employers new problems of equity arise, so that legal rules, based upon precedent and the previous experience of society, could hardly apply. Hence the subject is beyond the province of courts of law to deal with, and that also explains why compulsory arbitration is untenable.

An additional reason why unions cannot have the same standing in court with the other side is because the union itself is not an entity to sue or be sued civilly, as it does not agree to perform any service in consideration of the conditions of labor stipulated in an agreement. The union simply acts as an intermediary for the individual workman. The only guarantee the union gives is that the workman will not, during the term of the agreement, make any further demands, that it will intercede in the event of any difference arising in the interest of peace, and enforce the same terms upon competitors wherever possible.

J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union, New York:

A union has ways of its own in conducting the affairs that relate mainly to itself and its membership. It is a big self-governing family. In periods of strike the prescribed order of written constitution or by-law sometimes proves less desirable than the short cut obvious as a war measure. The members then become aware that in drawing up their laws they were unable to foresee the situation confronting them, and they may, for example, unconstitutionally confide absolute power temporarily in an officer or a committee. In times of peace a union often reaches conclusions and interpretations dictated by the common sense of a meeting rather than by the statutes as written, leaving the majority either satisfied or in a mood to accept the judgment for better or worse. Such proceedings may relate to trials of members, to executive session work, to appropriation of funds, to informalities or irregularities in elections or referendum votes, to the opening or closing of books for inspection, to the reading or the silencing of reports, to appointing or dismissing committees, to maintaining discipline, to accepting or rejecting candidates for membership, to suspending or expelling or reinstating members, to passing judgment on aggressions of employers tending to end in strike, to investigating the conduct of members prejudicial to the organization, and to settling questions in which rule or precedent or necessity of the local union conflicts with international union law. In all such proceedings two principles usually govern—self-preservation of the union and good fellowship. A popular employer, in general fair, who in a fit of temper has wilfully violated a clause in a contract or the union scale, will be adjudged innocent. A sound and active union man who has misappropriated a small sum will be found not guilty and given time to refund. In these matters an unincorporated union is in the main a law unto itself. It is free. It may make many changes in its internal methods and in administration without lessening its responsibility as a contracting party.

But an incorporated union would in all these steps be subject to much revision and correction through the agencies of the law. Work, here, for judges, lawyers and enemies. The incorporated body, as a creature of the State, must be kept in health by the State. Dis-

turbers, instigated by influences inimical to a union, might kindly aid the State. In incorporating, a union would have admitted non-kinsfolk as masters at the family table—the judge, of another blood, come to set things right; the sheriff, with keys to a jail and a money-sack for fines; the policeman, with a club and handcuffs.

These officials occasionally regulate family affairs now in the unions, but the courts, only acting when called upon, refuse to interfere if the union's proceedings are in accordance with its own rules, which are subject to change at the will of the majority. But if these rules depended for regularity upon the terms of incorporation, and if informers were sent into the unions to report infractions, the sins of unions would be multiplied and the lawsuits ensuing would work pleasure to scabs. The knowing are fully conscious of what they are saying when they express a desire for an increase of the authority of the law over trade unions. They would wreck them from within.

THE PUBLIC

Charles W. Eliot, President Harvard University:

Incorporation with a limited liability has always seemed to me to be a measure of protection for the individual stockholder. As a rule incorporation does not expose the shareholders to new and larger risks, but on the contrary diminishes or restricts his liability. The unions, however, do not take this view of the matter, and will not, until the courts hold unincorporated unions, or the members thereof, liable for the damages which they inflict, or for the damages inflicted in their interests. If the courts in considerable number pursue this policy, and succeed in collecting damages, the unions will wish to be incorporated in order to limit the legal responsibility of their members. I am not in favor of compulsory incorporation for unions, or for anybody else, because incorporation is to my mind a privilege and not a duty to which the people should be forced.

Warren A. Reed, Chairman Massachusetts Board of Mediation and Arbitration:

I understand the law in this country to be that the members of an unincorporated trade union can be sued as well as the union itself could be in its own name if incorporated, but under proceedings somewhat more complicated than would be used if the corporation were sued.

The law in relation to proceedings against unincorporated societies or voluntary associations is well stated by Lord Lindley in the Taff Vale Railway case. He says:

My Lords, the problem how to adapt legal proceedings to unincorporated societies consisting of many members is by no means new. The rules as to parties to common law actions were too rigid for practical purposes when those rules had to be applied to such societies. But the rules as to parties to suits in equity were not the same as those which governed courts of common law, and were long since adapted to meet the difficulties presented by a multiplicity of persons interested in the subject matter of litigation. Some of such persons were allowed to sue and be sued on behalf of themselves and all others having the same interest. This was done avowedly to prevent a failure of justice.

I have myself no doubt whatever that if the trade union could not be sued in this case in its registered name, some of its members (namely its executive committee) could be sued on behalf of themselves and the other members of the society and an injunction and judgment for damages could be obtained in a proper case in an action so framed. Further, it is in my opinion equally plain that if the trustees in whom the property of the society is legally vested were added as parties, an order could be made in the same action for the payment by them out of the funds of the society of all damages and costs for which the plaintiff might obtain judgment against the trade union.

In a suit against the members of a union, I suppose that both the property of the union and the property of its members could be reached. If the union were incorporated, only the property of the corporation could be reached. It appears to me that from a purely legal standpoint the responsibility would not be increased, for the reason that, when incorporated, only the property of the corporation can be reached, but when not incorporated, the property of the association, held by trustees or otherwise, and also the property of the private individuals can be reached.

While I do not think that incorporation would add to the legal responsibility of the unions, still, for some reason, probably because it is somewhat more difficult to reach the funds of a union when it is not incorporated, there have been comparatively few suits against them. There seems, therefore, to be a practical immunity from liability to suit which, at present at least, serves the purpose of actual freedom from liability. As long as this continues it may fairly be claimed that incorporation would practically increase the liability of the unions.

John M. Gray, Professor, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois:

While it is a perfectly recognized fact that in applying either the principles of common law or of interpretation to statutes the courts always attempt to resolve the genuine doubts in favor of what they consider the practically desirable thing. I am not a lawyer and make no pretense of being able to unravel the finer distinctions of judicial reasoning. As it appears to my lay mind, the decision in the case referred to has gone considerably further than has ever been done before in applying the principles of incorporation to the unincorporated, voluntary associations of laborers known as unions. Personally I question if our courts would at present care to go so far. As I understand that decision, it treats the labor union exactly as if it were incorporated. Although the question of incorporation in this country is one in which there is considerable difference of opinion, personally I do not believe that incorporation would be either in the interests of the laborers themselves or of society as a whole. It follows from this necessarily that I should not like to see the Taff Vale decision applied to our own labor unions, nor would I like to see the unions compelled by law to take out formal acts of incorporation. I believe that much educational work will be necessary before actual incorporation is desirable. I do not believe that this education will be acquired without considerable friction and many hardships.

Henry W. Farnam, Professor, Yale University, New Haven:

I have had no experience which would justify me in stating whether or not incorporation would add to the responsibility of trade unions. If the statement which I have seen frequently made is true, according to which they can be sued even without incorporation, then it would perhaps not add to their legal responsibility in case of a lawsuit. But I believe that it would add to the feeling of responsibility which the leaders would be governed by, and that is, after all, the main point. My own opinion is that if we emphasized collective responsibility, the result would be somewhat like the principle of limited liability applied to a corporation. The trade union as a whole would be under bonds, but it would not be possible to enjoin, as has been done in some cases, individual members of the union. You understand, however, that I am not a lawyer and do not speak ex cathedra on a legal question.

Henry Demarest Lloyd, author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth," "A Country Without Strikes," "Labor Co-partnership," etc.:

Incorporation has never, so far as I know, been forced upon any class of the community. It is, on the contrary, a privilege granted by the law to those who comply with certain provisions for the purpose of gaining the benefit conferred. The suggestion, so freely made by some of our divines and other eminent peace-makers, that the workingmen should be compelled to incorporate, is merely the crack of the slave master's whip heard again.

The trade unions of New Zealand and Australia have incorporated almost universally, because by doing so they have been given valuable privileges, such as the power to hold real estate, sue members for dues, punish officers—most of all, to secure arbitration in case of dispute with employers. If the leaders of the American world desire our trade unions to incorporate, let them offer them inducements which will make it worth their while to do so.

Wm. Stainsby, Chief, Bureau of Statistics, New Jersey:

There have been no cases in this State that illustrate the point, but I am of the opinion that damages can be recovered in a court of equity or by an action in tort in a court of law from individual members of unions that are not incorporated. There is nothing in the statutes authorizing the formation of labor unions which shields individuals comprising these organizations from responsibility under the common or statute laws for injuries inflicted upon others. It does not seem to me that anything of value as a remedy can be added to existing law by the incorporation of unions. Only a comparatively few of them have funds, and these are, generally speaking, the most conservative in the matter of undertaking trade movements which would be likely to furnish a basis for legal action against them. A large number of unions are organized that pass out of existence in less than one year. These are to a large extent the outgrowth of incidents that have caused temporary friction between employers and workmen. When these are settled, the organizations which grew out of them pass away as a general thing. This bureau made an inquiry in 1901 to ascertain the membership, age, benefit features and some other information of trade unions in New Jersey. Out of the one hundred and ten blanks sent out, only sixty-three were returned. From the data which these reports contained it was shown that twenty-three of the organizations making them were organized less than one year, and eleven others between one and four years. The total membership of the sixty-three unions at the time their reports were made was 13,380, and the total aggregate amount of money in their treasuries was found to be \$13,339.06, or less than one dollar for each member. Solicitude for this trifling sum of money would add little, if at all, to the responsibility of the unions. In my opinion, there is nothing to be gained by compulsory incorporation, as it would not increase to any appreciable extent the civil remedies for abuses by trade unions which I believe are available under the law as it stands at present.

A. F. Weber, Chief Statistician, Department of Labor, Albany, New York:

The compulsory incorporation of trade unions does not seem advisable to me at the present time. The principal argument in favor of that policy is the impossibility of holding unincorporated unions to their contracts. No one familiar with industrial operations is disposed to deny that local unions have been wont to keep or break agreements at their own convenience. But the remedy for this lack of control may be found in the organization of employers, without resorting to experimental legislation which might introduce greater evils than the existing ones. The contracts so frequently broken by unions are almost always contracts with individual employers. Just as rapidly as the employers have come together for concerted action and replaced these individual agreements with one general agreement between the association of employers and the union of workmen, they have been able to hold the unions strictly to the terms of their agreement. It is in this way that the mason builders in New York and Boston have for some fifteen years preserved industrial peace with the journeymen bricklayers and masons. In those cities the single annual agreement entered into by representatives of the two bodies of employers and employees has been kept inviolate, while in cities where agreements have been signed by individual employers there have been frequent strikes, lockouts and violations of contract.

The experience in the coal mining industry has been the same. In the anthracite district, agreements, so far as they have been entered into at all, have been signed by individual operators and have not proved satisfactory to either side. But in Illinois and other central States, the agreement is between an employers' association and the international union of miners. All the testimony available goes to show that during the five years' duration of this arrangement industrial relations have been more stable and satisfactory in every way than they ever were before 1898, or than they are at the present time in regions where such an arrangement is wanting. Considering the fact that a large proportion of the workmen

in the mining industry are unskilled and uneducated, that experience seems to afford a complete answer to the affirmation that responsibility can be secured among such workmen only through the incorporation of their unions. Other tests of loyalty to the joint agreement are familiar—such as that of the longshoremen's union when the International President sent non-union men to work in the place of members who had gone on strike contrary to the agreement—while the history of railroad transportation in this country shows that stability has been achieved in the degree that the principle of collective bargaining and the joint agreement have been recognized. Contracts would not be treated with greater respect by incorporated unions of the engineers, conductors, etc., than they are now by the unincorporated organizations.

On the other hand, compulsory incorporation might discourage the movement toward organization, which we all recognize as the basis of the economic independence of wage workers. Such would be the effect if that policy promoted litigation, which it would probably do; for it would be difficult to frame a law that would make the union responsible for the acts of its officers or committees and not hold it responsible for unauthorized acts of its individual members. In the affairs of the ordinary business corporation, the unauthorized acts of an individual stockholder cannot embarrass the corporation because all power is lodged in the hands of the directors. But authority in a trade union cannot be so readily concentrated in a board of directors, since an agreement with employers necessarily calls for the co-operation of every individual member; and if the courts should entertain suits against the union for unauthorized acts of individual members, the field for intrigues between designing employers and avaricious members would be very large. The unions might find it impossible to maintain any funds whatsoever and that would of course spell the death of unionism and collective bargaining.

Any such movement to injure or destroy trade unionism would be disastrous to the best interests of the people, because collective bargaining through the organization of labor is an indisputable necessity in modern industry. If a frank, open policy of organization is prevented or seriously embarrassed by legal restrictions, there will probably come into existence secret and unlawful combinations such as agitated England before the repeal of the combination laws. And if the trade unions' educational work among the emigrants—an educational work that ranks second only to the work of the public schools in American life—should be stopped or seriously hampered, we should soon witness a revolution in our politics only dimly foreshadowed in the Socialism engendered by the recent coal strike. The effect of the Taff Vale decision in England has been a markedly increased participation in politics by the organized workers, as a class.

David Ross, Secretary, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Illinois:

The present opposition of labor men to the incorporation of labor unions is based on the fact, first, that the membership is necessarily of a heterogeneous character, and second, the financial liability resulting to the union from the possible indiscretion of individual action. If the courts of this country, however, hold that the fact that they are not incorporated does not exempt them from the liability of money damages growing out of the act of individual members, then they should avail themselves of the legal advantages which incorporation insures.

J. G. Schonfarber, Maryland Bureau of Statistics:

I cannot see how the incorporation of unions will increase the responsibility of the individuals composing the unions. In the State of Maryland, when they are not incorporated, the members of the organization are individually responsible as co-partners before the law. When incorporated, the individual is relieved to some extent of the responsibility, and the incorporated unions are responsible as an organization. I think that there is much to be said in favor of the incorporation of unions for the reason last noted.

E. Dana Durand, Former Secretary Industrial Commission:

In my judgment, based on considerable study of the cases in which labor organizations have been sued as such, the incorporation of labor unions would tend to make them more readily subject to legal responsibility than they are at present. It is possible to sue them, in some States, at present, but owing to the lack of definite legal organization it is rather more common to sue individual officers or members than the body as such, while doubtless in other instances employers and others aggrieved refrain altogether from bringing suit for fear of the difficulty of enforcing judgment. I doubt very much, however, whether it would be to the interests of the working class to insist on the incorporation of trade unions, except in conjunction with other provisions of law, defining the acts which unions may lawfully do, in a more liberal manner than the courts have been accustomed, in many cases, to define them. If unions are to be sued for engaging in a strike, as appears possible in view of recent injunctions, or for peaceful picketing, it seems desirable that the suits should encounter as much difficulty as possible, rather than that the way for them should be made easier. At the same time, I believe that in the long run, with proper safeguarding of their rights, unions will gain by accepting additional responsibility, especially in regard to their agreements with employers.

Hamilton Holt, Office Editor "Independent":

My own impression is that unless we have compulsory arbitration (which I personally favor), it would not be wise to incorporate trade unions, but if we have compulsory arbitration, the union should be incorporated in much the same way as New Zealand.

Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, Pastor All Souls, New York:

In my judgment, the only way to remove all doubt and conflict of authority in the matter of the responsibility of labor unions, is that the national organization shall direct that each union be incorporated in the State in which it has been formed, just as though it were free from all sentimental considerations. That would define by terms of incorporation, their responsibility, and require the issue to them of charters, which would fix their status before the law. If the unions wish fair treatment, and are willing to make their contribution to a responsible business arrangement, this seems to me the only path for them to pursue; and I say this as profoundly interested in their well-being. It would tend to conservatism in their action, would assist in making contracts that should be binding, and leave each union free to control the character of its membership. I have also an impression that any irresponsibility in the individual union would be linked in this way to the national organization, so that it might be controlled.

Thomas F. Woodlock, Editor "Wall Street Journal":

It is clear that by incorporation a labor union becomes a legal entity with full power of making contracts and with full responsibility for obligations thus entered into. Other things being equal and in view of the uncertainty of the law with respect to the responsibility and liability of unions not incorporated, I can see no valid reason against the principle of incorporation for labor unions. The objections urged by the labor leaders are not objections in principle but arise out of circumstances which the leaders believe exist in the relations between capital and labor. The description given in your letter of the uncertainty surrounding the question of liability of unincorporated unions seems to me itself the best argument for incorporation.

F. A. Halscy, Associate Editor "American Machinist," New York:

It seems to me the discussion is of academic interest only. I can see no value in the discussion of the incorporation of labor unions so long as the unions themselves are determined they will not incorporate. From their standpoint, it seems to me clear that the incorporation would be against their own interests, and hence their attitude is perfectly understandable.

John Graham Brooks, Author of "The Social Unrest":

I am absolutely certain that in the trade union, to which come the foreign classes (and in the anthracite regions there are some nineteen of such classes), the larger part of which are afraid of the judge, the policeman and the law—let it once be known that they are incorporated and instantly the large class that is now making the strength of the unions will refuse to join them.

To weaken the trade union is in my opinion as great an affront as we could put upon any form of social development at present. . . . I do not believe at anything that weakens the trade union is socially safe, because on the whole, the stronger a trade union, the more socially responsible it becomes. Remember the lawlessness of the locomotive engineers twenty years ago. With more strength, they have learned conduct. I could mention scores of unions, which when their strength became sufficient to keep their best men in the front showed good behavior, on the whole, in proportion to their increase of strength. That process should go on. I can prove that if we can get responsibility passively or voluntarily instead of by legal enforcement, the result will be educational, and we shall get a higher standard. To weaken the unions leads precisely to the failure of things throughout the United Mine Workers; was at the weakest point of the anthracite workers that the ratio of strikes was highest; and where the leaders had real power lawlessness was less frequent and strikes fewest.

If you go among the bituminous miners you will find that just in proportion as a joint agreement is reached among the men strikes disappear, and that the endline toward the joint agreement grows in proportion as the union grows in strength. You will find that after the joint agreement—and this is my substitute for incorporation—is established between the bituminous operators and the men, the representatives of the employers and the employed come together systematically, and that strikes are stopped until an understanding is arrived at. . . . More than seventy per cent. of the awards of decisions under the Bituminous Coal Fields Arbitration Board—representing the miners on one side and the operators on the other—have been in favor of the miners. They have accepted these with alacrity and have gone on with their work. . . . I wanted to do just as much harm as I could to the unions, I should incorporate them to-morrow; it would harm the social state as well. I do not need to discuss it here, but, in my opinion, it would drive the unionism, because it would weaken it, straight forward and a crude form of political Socialism. From the conservative point of view, from the point of view of one that wants incorporation, that must be reckoned on. Just as fast as any force cripples any trade union, it gets the appearance of the Socialist Mayor. I have seen a good many, "You may take your choice." Ultimately, therefore, on the basis of the principle of "power and responsibility" we may expect, when we have had trade unions, as the English spinners have been told, that they will say: "Well, we are willing to do what you want; we are doing what incorporation will do." It seems to me that the educational influence of the solution is so precious that to preclude it by legal incorporation is simply a mistake.

MEMBERS OF THE BAR

Charles J. Bonaparte, Attorney-at-Law, Baltimore:

There is certainly nothing new in the doctrine that members of labor unions can be sued individually for any illegal interference with the business either of employers or any other persons. As long ago as the time of the Year Books it was held that: "Where a violent or malicious act is done to a man's occupation, profession, or way of getting a livelihood, there an action lies in all cases." And Lord Holt (Keeble vs. Hickeringill, 11 East, 576, Note) says: "If a man should lie in wait and fright the boys, from going to school, that the master might have an action for the loss of his scholars."

The principles, therefore, on which actions against members of labor unions for any form of violence or

intimidation or for conspiracy have been sustained by the courts is as old as the common law. The responsibility of individual members of such unions depends upon the question whether they can be shown to have participated in or authorized the illegal acts. If, for example, these acts were authorized at a meeting of the union, those members present and voting for the resolution authorizing them would be responsible; those members who were absent, or, if present, voted against the resolution, would not be responsible, unless they afterward participated personally in the illegal acts. The mere fact of a man's belonging to a union or to any other association formed for a lawful purpose would not of itself make him personally responsible for the illegal acts of the association. If the union is incorporated, it will be responsible to the extent of its corporate property for illegal acts done under its corporate sanction; this, however, will not relieve the individual members of the corporation from responsibility likewise. Indirectly, in such a case, even innocent members of the union would, of course, be held responsible to the extent of their interest in the corporate property. It must be remembered in this connection that, for any one to be responsible, he must be shown to have committed an illegal act. I do not think it is to the well considered interest of any member of the community to be allowed to violate the law with impunity, and for this reason it seems to me that the more readily and satisfactorily those guilty of violations of law can be made to respond in damages, the less danger there will be of innocent persons suffering or of persons of good intentions being led into illegal acts through ignorance, bad advice or lack of reasonable self-control. I do not think, therefore, that the possibility of evasion of legal responsibility for acts which, *ex hypothesi*, must be illegal, otherwise no responsibility for them would accrue to any one at all, is a legitimate argument either for or against the incorporation of trade unions.

It is a general principle of the law of torts that there is no right to contribution among wrong-doers, therefore each individual against whom a judgment is recovered under such an action is responsible for its full amount without regard to the number of his co-defendants; although, of course, the plaintiff can have but one satisfaction. It is, however, inaccurate to describe this responsibility as "the same as in a partnership."

Levy Mayer, General Counsel Illinois Manufacturers' Association:

A corporation exists as such only by virtue of a grant from the State, and the acceptance of such grant by the persons composing the corporation. No one can be compelled to accept such a grant, nor be compelled to become a member of the corporation against his will. To compel labor unions to incorporate is to compel individuals composing the union to become members of a corporation, and to assume the burdens and responsibilities of that relation without their consent, or to prohibit such members from voluntarily associating themselves together for a lawful purpose. It is not within the province of the Legislature to say to a person: "You cannot join a union unless that union is incorporated." That would be equivalent to saying that a person desiring to become a member of a labor union has to become a member of the corporation, or cease to be a "union" laborer. Such persons would thus be prevented from pursuing a lawful purpose, and would be deprived of a right to assemble together for a purpose not in violation of law. The proposed law would interfere with the liberty of the citizen, the right of lawful assembly, and the freedom of contract. This view is supported by authorities. Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries (Vol. 2, p. 277), says:

"It requires the acceptance of a charter to create a corporate body; for the government cannot compel persons to become an incorporated body without their consent, or the consent of at least a major part of them."

In *Mason vs. Finch*, 28 Mich., 282, the Supreme Court of Michigan laid down the law as follows:

"It would not be competent for the legislature . . . to compel any person or society to become incorporated without its consent."

In *Hampshire vs. Franklin*, 16 Mass., 76, 87, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts said:

"No man can be compelled by the legislature to become a member of a corporation without his consent."

See also *Angell & Ames on Corporations* (11th Ed.), Secs. 31, 81, 86.

Again, the proposed law, if applicable only to "labor unions" and not to all other unincorporated associations similarly situated, would probably violate the constitutional inhibition against "class legislation." There is nothing in the nature of a "labor union" which requires special regulation, which does not equally apply to other unincorporated associations. The members of a labor union are joined together in furtherance of a common enterprise, in which the public at large is not directly interested or concerned. If the public is affected, it is only indirectly. Such union, therefore, is not a public association in the same sense that it is subject to public regulation and control.

I have heretofore, on April 12, 1902, given an opinion to the association that the members of a labor union are legally responsible for damages caused by an illegal boycott. The compulsory incorporation of a labor union would not make the members of the association any more responsible than they are at present, except in so far as the corporation might possess property. The creation of a corporation not for pecuniary profit does not and would not ordinarily create any more financial responsibility than now exists on the part of individuals who would constitute the corporation.

For the reasons above stated, I am of the opinion that the proposed law, if enacted, would be unconstitutional. Even if the law were constitutional, I do not believe it would accomplish the purpose for which it would be designed. If a law could be devised to compel the formation of such corporations, it would soon be discovered that such corporations could readily avoid accumulating or possessing any property.

Fred. H. Cooke, Attorney-at-Law, New York, Author "Trade and Labor Combinations":

The importance of the decision of the House of Lords in *Taff Vale Railway Company vs. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*, L. R. App. Cas. 426 (1901) resulting in the recovery for a large amount of damages against the defendant trade union, has, in my opinion, been much exaggerated. That an association of this character should be mulcted in so large an amount is, to say the least, unusual, and may be a sociological fact of interest and importance. But from a strictly legal standpoint the decision is comparatively insignificant. The doctrines applied are trite, and it was simply a narrow question of statutory construction that was really involved.

The effect of the decision was that the defendant trade union was liable in an action for damages, that is, in tort, for unlawful acts of its agents in the course of the management of a strike.

Before considering the precise ground of such decision, let us consider the general principles applicable in determining the liability of a trade union or its officers, members or agents for such acts.

In the absence of statutory provision a trade union is nothing but a number of persons associated for a particular purpose. As in the case of such association generally, (frequently termed voluntary associations) the law ignores the circumstance of association in determining liability for unlawful acts of members of the association. That is to say, if the members of a trade union, whether acting singly or in combination, assault a person or trespass upon his property, or otherwise injure him, it is merely as individuals that they can be held liable. For instances of members being thus held liable, injunctions being allowed, see *Hopkins vs. Oxley Stove Company*, 83 Fed. 913; 49 U. S. App. 709 (8th Cir. 1897); *Cumberland Glass Manufacturing Company vs. Glass Bottle Blowers' Association*, 59 N. J. Eq. 49; *Atl. 208* (1899); *Reinecke Coal Mining Company vs. Wood*, 112 Fed. 477 (Cir. Ct. Ky. 1901); *Sherry vs. Perkins*, 147 Mass. 212; 17 N. E. 307 (1888); *Murdock vs. Walker*, 152 Pa. St. 595; 25 Atl. 492 (1893); *Wick China Company vs. Brown*, 164 Pa. St. 449; 30 Atl. 261 (1894). So in action for damages; *Temperton vs. Russell*, 1 L. R. Q. B. (1893) 715; *Quinn vs. Leathern*, L. R. App. Cas. (1901) 495. See also *Thomas vs. Cin-*

(Continued on Page 18.)

THE CHICAGO BOARD OF ARBITRATION

A unique and probably the most successful and scientific voluntary body of arbitrators in this country to-day is the Chicago Board of Arbitration, composed of the heads of seven employers' associations and the heads of the seven corresponding labor organizations.

It is unique in that while there are seven labor organizations and the corresponding associations of employers, they are all connected with one industry, teaming.

It is successful in that it settles nearly every trouble that arises in Chicago in any line and in a manner satisfactory to both sides.

It is scientific in that it recognizes the full value of joint trade agreements between associations of em-

The Teamsters are:

Albert Young, President of the Teamsters' National Union of America.

James B. Barry, Secretary of the Teamsters' Joint Council.

Charles Robb, National Organizer of the Teamsters' National Union of America.

John M. Rowan, Business Agent of the Commission Teamsters' Union.

Samuel Johnson, Vice-President of the Teamsters' National Union of America.

Fred C. Bender, Chairman of the Teamsters' Joint Council.

Charles G. Sagerstrom, Secretary of Local No. 2, Teamsters' National Union of America.

either a settlement or the submission of the matter to their Board of Arbitration. This is a common weekly occurrence. If the conciliatory efforts of this joint committee do not prevail and the strike continues, the teamsters, honoring their contract with the team owners, decline to be interfered with by the pickets, and in some instances have even attacked them when they persisted in their interference.

The genius who is responsible for the organization of this board is John C. Driscoll, the General Secretary of the Associated Teaming Interests of Chicago. He first organized the Coal Team Owners and was made their secretary. He then allied himself with Albert Young, President of the Teamsters' National Union of America, and they worked out a joint trade agreement for the

CHICAGO BOARD OF ARBITRATION

F. G. HARTWELL WM. McNABB

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ployers and organizations of employees, each side seeing the justice and necessity of the other being completely organized.

The membership of this organization is as follows:

Harry G. Selfridge, Manager of Marshall Field & Co., representing the Dry Goods Stores.

Henry B. Steele, President of Steele-Weddes Company, representing the Wholesale Grocers and kindred lines.

John S. Field, President of the Knickerbocker Ice Company, representing the Ice, Stone, Lime and Cement Interests.

Arthur Dixon, President of the Arthur Dixon Transfer Company, representing the Transfer Companies.

S. T. Edwards, President of S. W. Edwards & Sons, representing the Board of Trade and the Hay, Grain and Feed Dealers.

Frank H. Hebard, President of Hebard's Express & Van Company, representing Express and General Delivery Owners.

F. G. Hartwell, President of the F. G. Hartwell Coal Company, representing the Coal Team Owners.

The Board elected Harry G. Selfridge Chairman, and James B. Barry, Secretary.

Just how a board made up of teamsters on one side and team owners on the other could become involved in a strike of the Garment Workers, or of the Bakers' Union, or the Rubber Workers' Union, is highly interesting, but not at all surprising when one considers that there are few industries in this country that do not employ teamsters. The common mode of procedure is as follows: A strike may occur in the plants of a manufacturing company. At once the strikers throw out picket lines. Soon a teamster approaches with a load of coal or flour, or a drayman starts away with a load of the manufacturer's product. The picket immediately stops him and intercedes in behalf of his brethren on strike, asking the driver not to deliver anything to or for the manufacturer. The teamster telephones to his local president and the manufacturer telephones to the team-owner, who in turn notifies the president of the association for the subdivision of teaming concerned. Officers of both sides then go to the seat of trouble and try to bring about

industry of coal teaming. As the work developed Mr. Driscoll saw the necessity of organizing all the branches of employers engaged in teaming and of aiding Mr. Young in organizing the various subdivisions of teamsters. He is the conciliator of the arbitration board and is continually preventing strikes by his great tact, indomitable energy and enthusiastic faith in his work.

The moral power which is the outgrowth of independent investigation and awards made by the Chicago Board of Arbitration has proved of great value in settling strikes and lockouts by mediation. In many instances the board has gone out of its way to secure concessions from both sides before calling employer and employee to a joint meeting. The board, as one of its first duties, if possible brings about a conference between the two contending factions, and in these efforts, supported by the influence of its members and the standing it has attained in the eyes of the Chicago public, it is generally successful. It has found in a majority of cases that the chief requisite is a frank conference between employers and representatives of employees. In general there are points of misunderstanding which can

cared up in no other way. At these conferences the members of the board, with their extensive experience, usually able to make suggestions of value in promoting a settlement.

The three strikes first adjusted—those of the department store delivery drivers, the packing house teamsters, the freight handlers—attracted widespread attention and their effect was felt by the public directly and seriously.

For the purpose of carrying out its projected work broadening it to cover every dispute between labor and capital in Chicago—which in every instance except the messenger boys' strike has affected the teamsters directly or indirectly—the Chicago Board of Arbitration made a permanent body. It is doing its good work as the following summary of cases it has disposed shows:

The formation of the board was completed in detail on June 23, 1902. The first case to come before it was that of the Parmelee Transfer Company, on July 1, against the Teamsters' Union. The company requested arbitration when threatened by a strike, the result being amicable adjustment and an agreement for one year. The great freight handlers' strike came next. On July 7 the Freight Handlers' Union called a general strike on all railroads in Chicago. Suspension of work continued several days, the teamsters of the city becoming more and more involved. On July 10, when the commerce of the city was practically at a standstill, arbitration was brought about by the board, yet through the efforts of Arthur Young, President of the Teamsters' National Union, who insisted and demanded that the teamsters inviolate the agreement they had made just previous to the team owners, in connection with the efforts of the Secretary of the Associated Teaming Interests and the individual members of the Board of Arbitration, a quantity of freight was moved on July 16, and the strike ended.

Since that time the board has prevented and arbitrated strikes and difficulties as follows:

Teamsters' Organization vs. the Furniture Makers and Expressmen's Association.

Arthur Bassett vs. W. G. Livingston, President of Van Team Owners' Association. Settlement made by the board on September 9.

Lumbermen's Association vs. Local Union No. 19, the Teamsters. Threatened strike of Lumber Teamsters against the Lumbermen's Association. The question of a wage scale for one year was brought before the board and settled December 22.

Newspaper Delivery Drivers' Union vs. Western News Company, Joseph Russell vs. Western News Company. Settled in the board December 27.

Lincoln Park Commissioners vs. Park Teamsters. Case of John Meyer vs. Lincoln Park Commissioners. Case called and lasted three days. Park Board refused arbitration from the board. Settled January 23.

Building Managers' Association vs. Office Building, Doors and Window Washers' Union and the Chicago Motor Conductors and Starters' Union. Strike called and lasted eight days. Board requested to arbitrate and case was settled on February 13.

Chicago City Railway Company vs. Street Car Employees' Union. Arbitration requested of the board by street car company and refused by the union. When teamsters backed up the request of the company for arbitration the street car employees receded from their position. February 16.

The board holds employers and employees to a strict observance of contracts. It contends that compacts be kept, with honorable action on both sides. It is a working agreement or contract as a covenant which the integrity of all concerned is at stake.

The contests thus far settled by the board neither in controversy has been dissatisfied. Both have been concluded that they received justice and fair treatment. The agreements reached through the good offices of the board are remarkable, in that they cover a number of workers and greater business interests have been similarly dealt with in the other industries of the country.

It would be difficult to arrive at an estimate of the aggregate saving effected by the board's adjustment of strikes. Three distinct interests are considered in every case—the employers, the employees and the general public. The loss to the public occasioned by a strike or lockout is often immense as compared with that which falls upon either the employers or the workmen. This was notably true in the freight handlers' strike, which, according to estimates generally accepted, was conducted at an aggregate cost of \$1,000,000 a day. Considering the loss suffered throughout the vast territory tributary to Chicago through the suspension of traffic into and out of the city, it is safe to say that the value of the board's work in hastening the end of that strike cannot be computed.

The Chicago Board of Arbitration has thus performed timely and important services to employers and employees and to the general public. Merely as an educator, encouraging and promoting the ideas of consultation, conciliation and arbitration, its existence has been of great value. With the increasing attention paid arbitration by both employers and employees, and with the steady growth of public sentiment in that direction, and of recognition by the public of the usefulness of arbitration tribunals, the future of the Chicago Board of Arbitration as an agency for industrial peace would appear to possess great possibilities.



JOHN C. DRISCOLL
Mediator, Chicago Board of Arbitration

Mr. Driscoll, as Secretary of the Board, has acted as mediator in settling many disputes without calling a meeting of the board. The following are to be mentioned:

Van and Express Teamsters of Chicago vs. Employers, April 10. Threatened strike on account of wage scale. Satisfactory agreement for one year entered into April 18, 1902.

Truck Teamsters' Local vs. J. C. Pennoyer Company's barns, May 1. Strike lasted two days, adjusted and agreement made for one year on May 3.

Stromberg-Carlson strike May 31. Strike had lasted for three months. Mr. Driscoll's services requested on May 30. Satisfactory settlement made next day with five labor organizations for one year.

Master Boiler Makers and Employees, Thursday, August 7. Call for sympathetic strike of teamsters. Prevented by Secretary and strike called off.

Kellogg-Switchboard Company, strike, August 9. Strike lasted fifteen days; settlement made after three days' conference.

Keith Lumber Company, August 26. Teamsters strike for two days. Settled in four hours by Secretary.

Montgomery Ward & Co. vs. Shipping Room Employees. Sympathetic action of teamsters called for; prevented by the Secretary and arbitration suggested and satisfactory settlement made September 18.

Strike of Stablemen's Union vs. Department Stores, September 1. Strike lasted three weeks. Attempted

sympathetic strike of teamsters prevented by Secretary. Strike adjusted by committee in office of the board.

Retail Furniture Dealers' Association and Drivers and Helpers' Union. Strike declared by teamsters and helpers. Secretary brought it to a stop and helped to bring about a satisfactory agreement for one year. September 25.

Schmidt Bakery (National Biscuit Company) vs. Drivers. Question of wages and threatened strike. Matter adjusted in three hours by Secretary on September 27.

Rubber Workers' Union vs. Morgan & Wright (first settlement). Original strike lasted one day. Agreement brought about; broken four days later; strike declared and lasted six weeks. Endeavors of Secretary forced settlement and strike ended January 3, 1903.

South Chicago Team Owners vs. Teamsters. Strike of Coal Teamsters. Lasted ten days, settled by Secretary November 3.

Newspaper Local No. 6 of Newspaper Delivery Drivers. Question of wages. Difficulty adjusted and agreement signed about November 10.

Wholesale Shoe Manufacturers and Employees. Strike on for four weeks. Satisfactory adjustment made by Secretary on November 11.

Piano Team Owners' Association formed November 12, and an agreement until April 1, between employers and employees drawn up by Mr. Driscoll.

Auditorium Hotel, December 19. Strike of engineers and firemen prevented and a satisfactory scale and agreement for that plant brought about.

Strike of elevator men at The Fair; lasted ten hours. Sympathetic strike of teamsters and firemen prevented by Secretary and satisfactory settlement made December 20.

Strike at Bremner Bakery (National Biscuit Company). Strike called; lasted seven days; adjusted satisfactorily by Secretary on January 20.

Sibley Warehouse vs. Freight Handlers. Threatened strike of freight handlers; trouble prevented by Secretary and satisfactorily settled January 22.

Kennedy Biscuit Company (National Biscuit Company). Strike lasted three days. Teamsters refused sympathetic action and strike settled January 30.

Globe Iron and Wire Works vs. United Metal Workers. Question of wages and hours. Strike lasted three days. Satisfactory settlement and agreement made in Secretary's office on January 31.

"Special Order" clothing makers' strike, February 4. Strike lasted four weeks. Various conferences held. Agreement broken and efforts of Secretary, with national officials of the American Federation of Labor, at last settled the trouble.

Truck Team Owners' Association and Truck Teamsters' agreement. New agreement for one year, made in Secretary's office, December 27.

Dernberg Manufacturing Company, strike of cloak makers to enforce wage scale, settled and agreement signed for one year, March 7.

Settlements between individual team owners and teamsters are daily occurring. From three to seven cases or disputes are handled on an average in Mr. Driscoll's rooms day in and day out.

In the earlier days of the teamsters' organization the actions of the members promised little good for the peace of Chicago. Other unions that struck on any pretense whatever counted on the teamsters' assistance, which was given without much hesitation. The climax in the aggressions of the coal teamsters was reached when they made the extraordinary demand that unless the managers of the large office buildings agree to give up the use of fuel gas during the summer they would not deliver coal at any time. But in the course of time the teamsters themselves felt seriously the burden thrown on them by unions unable to win their own battles. Hence a teamster on approaching the scene of a strike came to change his attitude. Instead of joining in the strike with little ceremony, he would wait until his union instituted some inquiry into its merits and the methods by which it had been authorized. This deepening wisdom at length crystallized into a law which has been growing in favor with all the teamsters of the city.

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The National Civic Federation

281 Fourth Avenue, New York City

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Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.
John Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.

THE LABOR OUTLOOK.

While there has been the usual "spring crop" of petty strikes throughout the country, mostly in the building trades, the industrial situation is particularly free at this time of any national strikes. The textile strike at Lowell is local, and with the settlement of the Wabash and the New Haven and Hartford difficulties there passed away any danger of serious trouble among the railroad workers. The renewal of the agreement between the operators and the miners in the bituminous fields and the three years' award in the anthracite field furnish a stable situation in that universal necessity. The convention of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers now in session is not expected to develop any unreasonable demands. With the coal and iron industries and the railroads free from troubles the manufacturing world has the assurance of a favorable labor outlook.

THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE'S POWERS.

There is more or less misunderstanding as to the mode of procedure adopted by the Conciliation Committee of the Civic Federation in case of a strike, and surprise has several times been expressed because the committee did not rush in at every strike that occurred. The confusion arises somewhat from the fact that in the case of State Boards it is made the duty by law to investigate, and in Massachusetts, New York, and several other States the power is given to subpoena witnesses and to compel the production of books. A voluntary board, however, has no power, and unless it proceeds with caution will be rebuffed by one side or the other, or by both sides, certainly by the side that thinks it can win if let alone. The method pursued by the committee is laid down in the by-laws, from which the following quotation is made:

The Committee of Conciliation shall upon notice from the Chairman of threatened strike or lockout of more than local magnitude use its good offices in restoring harmonious relations, reporting its action to the Executive Committee.

Should the efforts of the Conciliation Committee prove ineffective, and should both parties to the dispute desire the services of the Executive Committee of this Department, they may be invited to select two employers and two wage earners from said Executive Committee, to serve as an Arbitration Board. Should the four find it necessary to appoint an umpire to finally decide the dispute, they may select a fifth member from the group representing the public. Nothing in this Article shall be construed to prevent the Conciliation Committee from securing, when desirable, arbitrators outside of the Executive Committee.

MACHINISTS' ANNUAL CONVENTION.

The International Association of Machinists will hold its annual convention at Milwaukee May 4, and its official organ urges the selection of delegates with "cool and clear judgment" to handle the questions of great importance which are to come up. Among these are the piece work and premium systems, the shorter work day in the railway service, and the organization of the less skilled men in machine departments.

Piece work is strongly opposed by the Machinists' Union, and the constitution contains a clause to the effect that any member accepting piece work in any shop where it does not exist shall be subject to expulsion. The subject has been debated at every convention of the organization and is prominent in many of its disagreements with employers. At the recent conference of the National Civic Federation both sides of the question were forcibly presented by labor representatives, while the secretary of the machinists' organization in Great Britain, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, advocated what he called the "safeguarded premium system," lately adopted by his society. In commenting on the attitude of the coming convention of the machinists toward piece and premium systems, the editor of their official journal says:

The way it will be settled means much for our organization. The *Journal* has always advocated its recognition and control as being the better way to settle the question. This has been demonstrated over and over again by the leading and most successful labor organizations of our time. If the organization acts wisely and conservatively it will adopt this policy with good grace. We must face the inevitable sooner or later.

A BUREAU OF INFORMATION.

In answering many requests for information regarding arbitration, trade agreements, organizations of employers and workmen, addresses of officers of such organizations, and similar subjects a bureau of information has gradually been established, which it is intended to enlarge in order to be made as widely useful as possible.

The MONTHLY REVIEW will contain answers to many of these inquiries, and a pamphlet is in preparation containing copies of the principal arbitration and trade agreement contracts. This will be furnished free when published, and will be followed by similar publications.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT. NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

The Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation was organized at a national conference held in Chicago under the auspices of that organization in December, 1900, and to a committee of twelve, styled the "Conciliation Committee of the National Civic Federation," was committed the work of promoting the movement. This provisional conciliation committee, however, after an experience gained in dealing with the threatened coal strike in March, 1901, in aiding in the settlement of the Albany street car strike in June of that year, and in the course of its efforts in the United States Steel strike which soon followed, discovered that it could be of permanent value only in so far as it was able to go below the surface and reach the causes of strikes and lockouts. Then it was that the more comprehensive title, the "Industrial Department," was adopted, the membership increased to three hundred and an Executive Committee of Thirty-Six chosen at the annual meeting December, 1901. At this meeting, in conformity with the larger view then taken, a broader programme, mainly educational, was laid out. It included—

First—Joint national conferences, where representative employers, labor leaders and men representing the general public would discuss face to face the various questions involved in the industrial disturbances so frequently arising.

Second—The publication and wide distribution of an industrial journal treating broadly of the same questions and promoting conciliation, arbitration, collective bargaining and a general spirit of broadness and fairness.

Third—The organization of local affiliated bodies in all large industrial centres, to be composed of the more conservative representatives of capital, labor and the public, which should not only act in case of local disturbances but serve as a medium through which the National Committee might reach a larger constituency.

Fourth—The organization of permanent boards of conciliation to use their good offices where possible before strikes should be declared and to endeavor to settle strikes under way.

It was conceded that if the United States is to maintain its commercial supremacy it must not be handicapped by industrial disturbances at home, but rather must "capital" and "labor" recognize that in the largest sense their interests are mutual, and that if American institutions and popular government are to have successful development they require as a first consideration a peaceable understanding between employers and workmen.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

It was agreed that the large and in many respects more fundamental work of the committee would be that of inquiry and education regarding the causes of industrial disturbances. "Mutuality of interests" is the goal, but it must be worked out through solving such concrete questions as "fair wages," "shorter hours," "restriction of output," "minimum wage," "apprenticeship," "employment of non-unionists," "jurisdictional quarrels between unions," "sympathetic strikes," "boycotts," "piece work and premium systems of payment," "government by injunction," "the incorporation of unions," and similar practical questions.

Many of these questions arise in every dispute and every agreement between employers and employees. For instance, the Union Pacific Railroad has been confronted for several months by a general strike of machinists over the question of "piece work," and it is a "burning issue" in thousands of factories to-day, yet so little is it understood by the general public that in several letters received from prominent men referring to the programme of the annual meeting the word was spelled "peace" work. This question is so complicated that some unions differ diametrically from others upon it, and so do the employers. The question of "restricting output" is one of such vital importance to American industry that a thorough investigation is being made to determine just how much and what kind of restriction is imposed and what, if any, are the justifications. There can be no denial of the charge that some unions impose restrictions for no other apparent purpose than to make places for more men, while there are some restrictions that employers concede can be justified upon humanitarian principles. To solve such practical questions is to build a solid foundation for stable industrial conditions, and in no other way can it be done.

The Civic Federation, in line with this programme, has taken up these intricate human problems in its national conferences, as may be seen in the "Report" of the one held in New York, December, 1902. The widespread demand for this report, from labor leaders, superintendents, foremen and employers throughout the country is a proof of the serious attention now being given by practical men to such economic issues. This aroused interest has paved the way for the second part of the programme, the publication and distribution of this REVIEW, through which these problems may be further discussed in detail by those who are directly concerned therein.

That educational work with both employers and employees is the highest need of the hour is manifest to any one who has had experience in dealing with industrial troubles, and is well explained by the following utterances of representatives on each side:

A large employer who tried to perfect an organization of the firms of his industry whose purpose should be to deal with labor said to the writer after the first meeting of some sixty employers:

"I never saw such a narrow, selfish, ignorant set of men on labor matters as the ones we got together. They could not agree to any one proposition; each was suspicious of the other and was ready to go out of the room and knife every other member if he could gain some advantage thereby. Talk about 'fair' and 'intelligent' dealing with labor, they had not the first idea of it. Only one of them had ever heard of a joint trade agreement, and he was against it because he said he did not believe in discussing the matter of wages and hours with his employees, that being the province only of the directors of the corporation."

The need of this education for the workmen is well stated by Mr. Clarence S. Darrow, late counsel of the United Mine Workers before the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, in a recent article in *Boyce's Weekly*. He says:

"Trade unionism was never in a more critical condition than it is to-day. The phenomenal growth of labor organizations within the last few months has brought into its ranks a large number of men who are utterly unfamiliar with the principles of trade unionism, and with the discipline that must go with organized labor. It has also brought into its ranks a large number of men who have no positive views in reference to trade unionism, and no sympathy with its principles; but who have joined the movement for the purpose of 'buying peace,' as many men join the church who are not positive believers in the Christian religion. Then, too, the power of trade unionism has caused many of its members and organizations to be arrogant and overbearing: to make unreasonable demands and to indulge in all sorts of trouble between themselves, and petty annoyances to employers and the public. This could not possibly be avoided, as labor organizations have grown so rapidly that the leaders have not been able to properly take care of the members and place them upon a substantial working basis. It will take a considerable time for this great mass of new recruits to be properly disciplined and thoroughly organized and made to understand the principles of trade unionism so that they may work in harmony with each other and for the interests of the general public."

"This condition has brought much adverse criticism to the trade union movement. Many kindly disposed people who wished to be favorable to trade unions have been subjected to petty annoyances, and have formed opinions hostile to labor unions, because they have not

considered the difficulty encountered by labor leaders in bringing all these raw recruits into the labor organizations."

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The organization of the local branches provided for in the original programme was not begun until this spring, when the first one, the New York Council, was organized (in March, 1903). St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore will be organized during the summer. These local councils promise to be important organs of the movement, for they come close to the rank and file of workers and employers on whom depend the execution of all plans for conciliation and education. They include the business agents and prominent members of local unions, as well as employers, "commissioners" of employers' associations, and representatives of "the public," and the work already done by the New York Civic Federation in dealing with a half-dozen strikes and threatened strikes is conclusive of the large field for usefulness of similar bodies in other industrial centres. Through these local committees it is possible to reach the men actually at work in factories, shops and mines, as well as their employers, and to bring to both sides the experience and assistance of those who have been longer in the work of conciliation and collective bargaining. It is expected that the REVIEW will furnish the needed means of communication between local Civic Federations throughout the country.

CONCILIATION COMMITTEE.

The Conciliation Committee, to deal with strikes and lockouts, was appointed in March, 1902. As disturbances of that character are always conspicuous the efforts of this committee became correspondingly conspicuous, and the public unfortunately, but naturally, gained the idea that the "Committee of Thirty-Six," so-called, was the entire organization and had been created only for arbitration purposes, it being frequently spoken of as a "Hague Commission," "Board of Arbitration," etc. But it was not contemplated that the Executive Committee, as a whole, should arbitrate anything; if so, it would have been organized on a different basis. The declaration of principles has only one reference to arbitration—namely, where all means of conciliation fail and both sides wish to avail themselves of the good offices of individual members of the committee. When a controversy reaches the arbitration stage there is generally no trouble in finding arbitrators. Only once in more than one hundred cases has the committee been asked to arbitrate a question. It is through conciliation and mediation that the committee has been able to do its best work, and it is a kind of work the purpose of which would be entirely defeated if given publicity. For instance, one of the "labor chiefs" notified the Federation officers that he was fearful a strike was imminent in his organization which would involve 12,000 men, unless he could get a conference with the representatives of the employers. He said he had written to the President asking for such an interview but had received no reply. A member of the Conciliation Committee found a friend who was a director in this particular corporation, and as there was a meeting of the directors the next day he saw to it that this matter reached the board. The President was not averse to meeting the man on the score of principle, but he had not realized that it was important. The day after, the "labor chief" received a courteous reply to his request and an appointment for a conference. This occurred in due time, and the strike did not take place.

One day recently there were three conferences going on at the Civic Federation headquarters at the same time, one relative to an important controversy in San Francisco, another to one in New Orleans, and a third concerning New York. Two of these proved very successful and the third has been continued. In each case the parties in interest would have resented publicity of the questions in dispute, regarding them as of a character not yet passing beyond the limits of private business. Most of the work done by the Conciliation Committee is of this character.

Probably the committee's most valuable work, from a public standpoint, and yet the public knows little if anything about it, occurred in connection with the threatened sympathetic strikes during the steel strike of 1901 and the coal strike of 1902. Had either of these

occurred all industries would undoubtedly have been tied up, with effects far more disastrous to the country than those that actually followed the original strikes. After the steel workers went out the coal miners and railroad men seriously threatened to follow. The Conciliation Committee at this juncture, through conferences in New York, Atlantic City, Pittsburg, Buffalo and Cleveland, succeeded not only in checking this movement but in enlisting national labor leaders in the work of bringing about a settlement. When the recent anthracite strike had aroused among the mine-workers such an enthusiastic sentiment toward sympathetic action in the bituminous field, the labor members of the Conciliation Committee, through conferences and field work in several States, joined in turning the current that led to that unanimous and notable declaration of the Indianapolis convention to stand by its contracts at all hazards.

All the educational work referred to is essential to another important function of the department, the promoting of what are known as "joint trade agreements" between associations of employers and associations of employees.

Such agreements now exist between twenty-five or more joint associations, and so successful have they proved that those best acquainted with their operations believe that it is along this line that "the way out" will eventually be found, and that as long as both organized capital and organized labor are permanent social factors the sooner they can be brought to recognize and deal with each other the better for all interests.

The work of the Conciliation Committee is unquestionably of great value and will increase in importance as its auxiliary committees are appointed in the large industrial centres to deal with local disturbances; yet the promotion of the "joint trade agreement" system, based upon the educational work outlined above, is probably the fundamental and most lasting work which can be done by the Industrial Department.

THE CONTENDING FORCES

The growing strength of labor organizations in the United States is something that employers and the public have come to recognize. Beginning as local unions in different cities, all of the different crafts, to the number of 120 or more, have effected national or international organizations, and 105 of these bodies have united in the American Federation of Labor. Local unions of the various trades of a single industry have also federated in local councils, such as those of the building trades, metal trades, marine trades, teamsters and clothing workers. There are also State federations and city central labor unions, composed of delegates from all crafts within their jurisdiction, and subordinate to the American Federation of Labor.

With this centralized organization of labor it becomes possible to put organizers in the field, in order to increase membership and multiply the number of local unions. The American Federation publishes a list of more than 1,000 salaried and unsalaried organizers throughout the country. It reports 1,608 local and "Federal" labor unions organized as feeders for existing and future national unions. The labor press has also had a remarkable growth, the national organizations usually having their official organs, supplemented by local papers, the entire number being nearly three hundred. Here is a well developed and powerful machine for agitation and co-operation, with increasing discipline over individuals and locals, all working to one purpose, "the increase of wages, the shortening of hours and the betterment of conditions."

The fact that membership in these labor organizations is variously estimated at only 10 to 15 per cent. of the total number of wage earners in the country should not be used to blind the observer to their influence. The great majority of unorganized wage earners are scattered in agriculture, in small towns and in domestic and personal service, but in several large concentrated industries, like the building trades and the textile mills, an organization often includes nearly all the workers, and in other industries, such as railroads, it includes nearly all the skilled workers, on whom the unskilled

depend for employment. It is also frequently the case that non-unionists are in full sympathy and act with the union, as when the 8,000 organized anthracite mine workers in 1900 took out on strike nearly 140,000 men.

It is natural, and, indeed, inevitable, that the rise of such an organized power in American industry should lead employers also to organize in order to meet it. The Stove Founders' National Defense Association and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, for example, are bodies of employers who deal respectively with the international unions of molders and the international union of compositors. Where the competitive field is narrower, as in the building trades, we have local associations, such as the Master Carpenters', Master Plumbers' and Master Painters' associations, to deal with the district councils of the Carpenters', Plumbers' and Painters' unions, and so on.

While these unions of employers are organized to negotiate with labor unions, by no means are they non-resistant and submissive associations. They are also equipped both to withstand and to attack the unions. They prepare themselves for strikes and lockouts; they accumulate a treasury and enforce discipline and strive to enlist every employer in their line of business. They prepare to meet force with equal force. But before going to these extremes they resort to negotiation and bargaining with the representatives of the unions, making trade agreements for one or more years, with provisions for settling disputes by conference or arbitration.

This policy is very different from that of another class of employers' associations which deal with labor problems and have sprung up in the last few years for the purpose of defending themselves against the "tyrannical and unjust demands of unions." The largest employers' organization of this class is that of the National Association of Manufacturers, which until a year ago was largely devoted to matters of commerce. It became interested in the labor situation through its vigorous and successful opposition to the "eight hour" and "anti-injunction" bills in the last session of Congress. Its hostile attitude is clearly shown in the annual address of its President at New Orleans, in indorsing the statement that organized labor is "a system which seems to be hopelessly and irredeemably bad, a bar to all true progress, a danger to the state and a menace to civilization." He follows this by saying:

To my mind, this is not the proper time to talk conciliation. . . . Conciliation implies a yielding attitude and a recognition of the validity of destructive demands made by the opposing side. Since the principles and demands of organized labor are absolutely untenable to those believing in the individualistic social order, an attitude of conciliation would mean an attitude of compromise with regard to fundamental convictions. . . . Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or "joint agreements." To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods of determining what they shall be, and an equitable arrangement as to either cannot be effected artificially. . . . The truth is that arbitration to employers means a surrender to the demands of labor as surely as yielding to them direct. Will the employers of this country allow the apparent peace, bought at the price of arbitration, lull them into a feeling of security? If they do, they will awaken some day to find their rights have been stolen while they slept. Arbitration is only putting off the day of reckoning. It means that more arbitrations are to follow, that the peace purchased in the first instance must be repurchased over and over again, and that the price paid will be higher each time. Does it not point to inevitable disaster? And is it not the course of wisdom to check an evil in its inception?

The Employers' Association of Dayton was organized for the specific purpose of "smashing the unions," and its President says: "The only way to settle a controversy with organized labor is to have absolutely no dealings with it." This organization has twenty or more branches, principally, if not entirely, in towns under 50,000 inhabitants, and claims to be rapidly growing.

The National Metal Trades Association is composed of several hundred employers. It formerly had a national agreement with the International Association of Machinists, but this was broken, and was followed by what is known as the Machinists' strike of 1901. The association deals with the machinists' organization in many localities, but, as a national organization, is more or less hostile to organized labor. The breaking of the contract in 1901 was deplored by the conservative element on both sides, and it is hoped by many that it will

eventually be renewed, but the National Metal Trades Association cannot now fairly be classed with either the National Founders' Association or the National Association of Manufacturers.

A national anti-boycott association of employers was organized in New York last November. It is a secret organization, having for its purpose the defense of any member who is boycotted. The original idea was to have a fund of \$500,000 ready to fight for any one of its members.

Numerous employers' associations are springing up in different localities, which, while they do not openly declare against organized labor, are largely in the control of employers who are more or less unfriendly.

Co-incident with this movement of employers is an organization styled the "National League of Independent Workmen of America," with headquarters at Elmira, N. Y., and locals in several places. This league is an organization of non-union men. It has recently been indorsed by the National Metal Trades Association.

Two of the above mentioned employers' associations, the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Metal Trades Association, publish periodicals, ably edited and largely devoted to attacks on organized labor. The Dayton organization has also announced the publication at an early date of an official organ.

The attitude of this extreme class of employers and employers' associations is quite similar to that of the extreme wing of the labor movement—the Socialists. Socialists denounce the unions and the leaders of the unions for entering into agreements with employers, just as extremists among employers denounce all movements looking toward dealing with unions. The Socialists affirm that the class struggle is irrepressible, and that the workingmen must fight their employers to the bitter end and make no compromise. There are also a number of labor organizations controlled by the Socialists which take similar ground respecting employers. The community of sentiment between the Socialists and this class of employers' associations appears plainly in an editorial in the Socialist *Daily People* (New York, April 7, 1903), commenting upon the foregoing extract from the annual address of the President of the National Manufacturers' Association. The Socialist editor says that the president is correct in holding that an "equitable arrangement" cannot be effected by the "artificial" method of conciliation or arbitration. An "equitable arrangement," he says, "can only be effected by allowing the class struggle full scope; and as a means to this end nothing is so much to be welcomed as the straight-out tactics" of that association. "Socialism," the editor concludes, "will triumph as a result."

If these two extreme wings of irreconcilables have their way the outcome will be either arbitrary control by labor or arbitrary control by capital. If all employers stood for intolerance and bigotry, or if all unions stood for tyrannical and unreasonable methods, the end would necessarily be a revolution. But the American people, as a whole, are not willing to enter upon such a permanent warfare of "capital" and "labor." They have enough practical sense to recognize conditions as they exist, and they have the courage and patience to deal with them. That there is a common ground where both employer and employee can meet with honor and satisfaction to each is amply proved by the success of existing national trade agreements as well as numerous local agreements. One of the national employers' associations now a party to a trade agreement was organized for the purpose of destroying the union, much like the new associations just mentioned, but after three or four years' experience it decided in favor of the greater advantages of a treaty with the union. Another employers' association was organized at the request of the union itself. Whatever their origin they all now recognize the right of organization on both sides and the advantages of "collective bargaining."

A Business Conference.

The Stove Manufacturers' Association and the Iron Molders of North America met in their sixteenth joint annual session last month and after a week's conference unanimously readopted the scale of the previous year. The Molders demanded a 10 per cent. increase, but, as is their practice, the two organizations took up the matter and settled it in a business manner.

JOINT TRADE AGREEMENTS

At three national conferences on conciliation and arbitration held under the auspices of the National Civic Federation resolutions were adopted recommending the system of "joint trade agreements" as the most satisfactory method of securing industrial peace. The conference of December, 1900, issued an address containing the following:

To the end that tranquillity in the industrial world may prevail, this Conference on Conciliation and Arbitration would make the following recommendations to the American people:

First—That employers and wage-earners should enter into annual or semi-annual agreements or contracts.

Second—That all industries in the United States should establish boards of conciliation within the several and varied interests, to which boards of conciliation all differences and disputes arising between employer and employee, if not readily adjusted between the immediate interests concerned, may be referred for settlement.

The National Committee appointed at the convention of 1900, in a statement of purpose, scope and method for the prevention of industrial disturbances, expressed this opinion:

Trade agreements between employers and workmen where established for a definite term of years have so fully demonstrated their value in maintaining industrial peace that they should be generally adopted.

The Committee of Thirty-Six appointed at the conference of December, 1901, also adopted a "statement of purpose," which declared—

That mutual agreements as to conditions under which labor shall be performed should be encouraged, and that when agreements are made, the terms thereof should be faithfully adhered to, both in letter and spirit, by both parties.

"Industrial peace," "harmony of capital and labor," "arbitration," "conciliation," all somewhat vague and indefinite terms, indicate in general a hope that strikes and lockouts may be avoided, but a "trade agreement" has come to indicate a definite and specific method, which, above all others, leads to the realization of this hope. The resolutions and policy of the National Civic Federation in this regard are not based merely on theoretical grounds, but are the result of experience in various industries through a period long enough to bring conviction to those who have participated in the work. It is not asserted that by means of trade agreements all the problems of employee and employer may be solved, nor even that a trade agreement can readily be framed and faithfully observed in any and every industry. Chauncey H. Castle, President of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, speaking of twelve years' practical working under agreements with the Iron Molders' Union, said a year ago: "The results have been satisfactory beyond all former expectation of possibilities, and it is my impression, gathered from such experience, that a strong organization of workmen which is of age sufficient to have participated in many strikes and lockouts, which is officered by skillful and earnest men, who have at heart the best interests of their constituents, can and will hold out and maintain agreements made with employers or with organizations of employers." Unfortunately, several of the existing trade agreements were entered on only after prolonged strikes and lockouts as a means of preventing such disasters in the future. But there are indications that the lesson of these experiences is being observed in other industries, and that in the future there may be expected an increasing number of trade agreements without the preliminary test of a general strike or lockout.

A successful trade agreement system presupposes organization on both sides—a union of workmen and a union of employers. The agreement is made by the representatives of each side, and there can be no representation without organization. This does not necessarily mean that the two organizations shall be incorporated in order that their agreements may be enforced by the courts. Hitherto incorporation has been effected by very few, if any, of the associations, either of employers or workmen, that have successfully carried out trade agreements. More important than incorporation is strong organization on each side. There always will be found individual employers and individual workmen or unions that will break an agreement if they can. These may be held in check whenever they belong to

an organization which covers a large part of the industry. An agreement between an organization of employers and an organization of workmen is backed by the machinery and the power to enforce observance. In the thirteen years of the Iron Molders' and Stove Founders' agreements there has not been a contract violation nor a strike or lockout, except occasionally in a single shop, soon settled by the national officers of the two organizations. The bituminous coal operators testify to the integrity and even sternness of the district and national officers of the United Mine Workers in compelling local unions to live up to the annual interstate and district agreements. These officers, as in all labor unions, have power to fine and expel members and to revoke the charters of local bodies that interfere with the enforcement of trade contracts.

The longshoremen's organization in their contracts with the dock managers on the Great Lakes have occasionally been called upon to discipline their members for violations, and in the case of the Buffalo strike in 1900 the International President, after revoking the charter of the local union and supplying the places of a majority of the strikers with union men from other locals, filled the remaining places with non-union men. Mr. Samuel Mather, of the Dock Managers' Association, which includes such firms as the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Company, M. A. Hanna & Co., says regarding their agreements with the Longshoremen's Union:

I am very happy to be able to testify that since that continuous arrangement was inaugurated, about three years ago, our business has been conducted with very great advantage compared with what prevailed before. . . . If any occasion of dispute arises, it has not caused the work to terminate, but it has been first locally settled, if possible, and if occasion necessitated as gone up to the chief council. That has worked satisfactorily, as I say, for three years, and is a great improvement over the arrangement, or rather lack of arrangement, that existed before. I can testify a little to the improvement, for before that, as I said at first, each dock claimed different wages, frequently different terms, and it had to be fought out individually.

Every successful trade agreement contains an arbitration or adjustment clause which provides that where there is an alleged violation the representatives of the two parties shall be called in to decide and interpret the agreement. An essential part of this clause is the requirement that there shall be no strike nor lockout pending investigation and appeal. The officers of the union and the commissioner of the employers' association, who together investigate local troubles, are usually able to reach a decision without calling in a third party, and this unanimity goes far toward bringing united action of both associations in dealing with the offending member.

One of the permanent advantages of the trade agreement system is the influence which organized employers have in improving the organization of the workmen. As long as employers are hostile, or as long as an association of employers exists solely to fight the union, the latter is forced to put forward its fighting men. But when employers organize for conference and agreement, and are able to remove the long standing suspicions of the workmen, a change comes in union leadership. The officers become negotiators and bargainers—business men, like their employers. The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, after five months' investigation of labor conditions in the coal regions, reached this conclusion on that point:

Experience shows that the more full the recognition given to a trade union the more business-like and responsible it becomes. Through dealing with business men in business matters its more intelligent, conservative and responsible members come to the front and in general control and direction of its affairs. If the energy of the employer is directed to discouragement and repression of the union he need not be surprised that the more radically inclined members are the ones most frequently heard.

This conclusion of the strike commission is nowhere more vividly emphasized than in the attitude of labor leaders regarding the coal strike itself. When large numbers of the rank and file had demanded a sympathetic strike of the bituminous miners, who were working under agreements with their employers, Mr. Henry White, secretary of the United Garment Workers of America, in addressing the miners' representatives, etc:

The desperate expedient of a general strike every

one would regard as sheer madness, because it would only intensify the distress, impose great suffering upon non-combatants without rendering any direct aid to those now involved. It would shake confidence in organized labor and create a feeling that it cannot be trusted with power; that the good it may do will be more than offset by the harm. Besides, the violation of agreements, which such an act implies, would be a blow at the integrity of the labor movement, from which it could not hope to recover. If the unions are to ignore agreements whenever it is to their advantage, the other side would be justified in doing likewise, and consequently they would have no binding force, and there would be no method by which understandings could be carried out and peace insured for stated periods. As agreements are the means by which employers are held to the terms conceded to the workers, the vitiating of the principle of agreements would be far more detrimental to the workers than to the employers.

Mr. John Mitchell, President of the Mine Workers' organization, in addressing the convention called to consider the petition for a sympathetic strike, took the same ground, and his advice prevailed. He said:

I have during all my life in the labor movement declared that contracts mutually made should during their life be kept inviolate, and while at times it may appear to the superficial observer or to those immediately concerned that advantage could be gained by setting agreements aside, such advantage, if gained, would in the very nature of things be temporary, and would ultimately result in disaster, because a disregard of contracts strikes at the very vitals of organized labor. The effect of such action would be to destroy confidence, to array in open hostility to our cause all forces of society, and to crystallize public sentiment in opposition to our movement.

The elevating effects of the agreement system upon the intelligence and character of the union leaders is clearly shown in a communication received from Mr. Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburg Coal Company, in writing of the sixth annual joint convention of operators and mine workers of the interstate bituminous field, held at Indianapolis in February, 1903. He says:

Looking back over the recent convention, and comparing it with the conventions held at the inception of the movement, one is struck by the change in the personnel of the miners' delegates. Instead of seeing flannel shirts, hob-nail shoes, no vests and often no coats, you meet a body of men as well dressed as any body of men gathered from the middle class in any Eastern city. There has been a corresponding change in the intelligence, as shown in the faces of the delegates, and particularly perceptible to those who have argued scale questions before these meetings for the past fifteen years. It is a critical audience of practical workmen, who are quick to detect sophistry or misleading statements. It used to be that the discussion of questions before the convention was quite general, but it is now confined to a few leaders on both the operators' and miners' sides. The discussion is for the purpose of molding opinion, but the result is reached in the scale committee, which is composed of an equal number of operators and miners, subject, however, to the indorsement of the joint convention, which under the rules requires the unanimous indorsement of the operators and miners of each State represented. That these agreements are to be considered sacred and inviolate was settled in the miners' convention of last July, when by unanimous vote the miners declared against any sympathetic strike and in favor of a strict observance of contract agreements.

The heads of nearly every association of employers who have had experience in trade agreements will say of the union officers as Colonel Frederick Driscoll, Commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, says of the typographical and pressmen's officers: "I have always found the International Presidents ever ready to co-operate with me in adjusting differences and settling trouble when it first arises. By means of this policy of mutual conciliation, it is gratifying to be able to state that since the establishment of our industrial bureau there has not been a single strike in any one of the offices of our members, covering a period of two years and eight months;" or as Mr. H. W. Hoyt, ex-President of the National Founders' Association, says of the iron molders: "The consequence has been that a more experienced, intelligent and tolerant body of men have been called into action, and that the rank and file of union men are rapidly becoming educated to the new method of dealing with their affairs individually and collectively, while the manufacturers have been educated to a more liberal and just consideration of the employees' interests." Mr. Hoyt also says, speaking to fellow employers:

As long as the wage-earner believes, or is taught to assume, that society is in league to rob him, as an individual, of some of the purchasing power of his

services, so long must society reckon with him in his collective capacity. The employer who elects to ignore this fact is often as much of a menace to the industrial peace as is the agitator who plays upon the prejudices and inflames the passions of the men he falsely serves. But the conditions are improving on both sides. The progressive manufacturer has learned that a union is not an altogether reprehensible evil in social economics, and readily admits that when organized wage-earners are dominated by strong, conservative men they will meet the employer half-way in arbitration.

When the two organizations have reached the point of mutual confidence they are prepared to take up the alleged abuses of labor unions and to deal with them effectively. The National Founders and the Iron Molders, in addition to their regular joint conferences, have recently instituted other conferences on questions of apprentices, restriction of output, limitation of a man's earning capacity, the flat minimum wage and other issues of a similar nature. While these conferences have not always led to practical results, yet, as stated by the president of the association, Mr. Frederick T. Towne, "they have been educational to both parties, and, as such, have been of great value. Progress has been slow, but none the less sure, and the disposition evidenced by both sides to give full consideration to the claims of the other and the openly expressed desire to reach a settlement on the many points of difference which will be mutually acceptable is the best assurance that the day is not far distant when many of these issues will be adjusted to the satisfaction of both organizations."

As an evidence of the solicitude shown by national officers of unions for the proper education of their members in the enforcement of agreements, the practice of the International Longshoremen's Union is significant. In order that every one of the 70,000 members of the association may be fully informed as to the terms of the joint agreement under which he is working, each is furnished with a copy of the agreement in book form, printed in his own language, and the rules of the organization require that he must have a copy with him at all times while at work, so that if a question arises he can consult his book of agreement and see what is expected of him.

The practical operations of the trade agreement systems disprove the criticism that they mean a surrender to unjust or uneconomic demands of labor. This criticism is based on a confusion of the term "arbitration" with that of "joint trade agreement." In the case of arbitration a third party, believed to be disinterested, is called in, and he is often tempted to "split the difference" without reference to the merits of the case, but as an easy way out of it. But joint trade agreements are almost never determined in this way. It is usually only where the public is forced to take a hand, as in the anthracite coal strike, or where the terms of the agreement are to be interpreted in case of its alleged violation that a third party is sometimes, but not often, called in. It is exactly because the third party inclines to compromise that the two parties to the agreement provide their own committees for investigation when a dispute arises, with the object of making a finding on its merits. In the case of the stove manufacturers their findings have frequently resulted in a decrease of wages instead of the increase demanded by the workmen, and on this account the employes have learned to be careful in repeating such demands.

The different trade agreement systems in the United States are, of course, not all identical in detail, though in essential points, such as provision for arbitration, all are alike. Some differences arise from the nature of the industry or the conditions of the unions. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the first organization to secure a national system, beginning in 1865, made its agreements with different associations of iron and steel manufacturers. When these were all incorporated in the Republic Iron and Steel Company and the United States Steel Corporation the Amalgamated Association continued to make separate agreements with the two great consolidated bodies.

The trade agreement is not new. As early as 1874 coal miners' unions and coal operators made agreements, which with the disruption of the unions were discontinued, but they were revived on a much larger scale in 1898, when the United Mine Workers secured its first agreement with the bituminous coal operators in the

four States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania. The Iron Molders' Union entered into its first agreement with the Stove Founders' National Defense Association in 1891 and with the National Founders' Association in 1898. The longshoremen on the great lakes secured their first agreement with the dock managers in 1898.

Agreements are more widespread than is commonly known. The Lithographers' International Association has agreements with associations of employes, and the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and the Flint Glass Workers' Union have for many years had agreements with associations of manufacturers. The great railroad brotherhoods have many agreements with individual railway systems.

Another class of agreements is that made by local unions guaranteed by the international union. This is the characteristic of the two agreements between the International Typographical Union and the Pressmen's Union on the one side and the National Publishers' Association on the other. The national agreement stipulates the terms on which the local agreements shall be made, and the two associations guarantee their enforcement. Similar to these are the agreements made by the United Garment Workers of America, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, the United Hatters of North America, the United Brewery Workers, and the International Cigar Makers' Union, in all of which, in return usually for the privilege of using the label, and for the obligation on the part of the union to keep the employer fully supplied with all the help required, it is provided that only union members shall be employed. The United Garment Workers in January, 1903, for the first time, made a written agreement with an association of employers, the National Wholesale Tailors' Association. The Garment Workers have also a system of conferences and verbal agreements with the National Clothiers' Association. The Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees is guarantor to agreements with companies entered upon by local unions, but recently in instances the National Association itself has made agreements directly. The International Association of Machinists enforces some 2,000 local agreements.

There are a large number of local agreements in the building trades in various cities, twenty-four unions in New York City having agreements with associations, as is the case with a large proportion of the unions in San Francisco, Chicago and other cities.

These are the leading agreement systems at present in operation in the United States, and the testimony of both employers and workmen indicates that in dealing with the problem of organized labor they have been remarkably successful, often far beyond the expectations of those who first entered upon them.

It is the conviction of members of the National Civic Federation that in placing trade agreements foremost in the plans for industrial peace and in basing these trade agreements on the educational work outlined in a preceding article, its programme is in the highest degree constructive rather than destructive. Instead of retarding the advance of organized capital and labor, this association joins with those who would reach a higher state of industrial civilization through a system of agreements which recognize the power and the rights of these great contending forces. Its members are not averse to criticising whatever is false and mistaken in the methods of each, but have the larger purpose of making both really responsible and worthy of mutual confidence.

Iron Workers' Referendum.

At the Toronto Convention of the Iron Molders' Union of Northern America last September a resolution was adopted instructing the incoming officers to refuse to allow their names to be used in connection with the National Civic Federation.

This resolution has been submitted to a referendum vote initiated by the Iron Molders' Conference Board of New York and Vicinity.

The vote has not yet been received from all the local unions, but it is learned that the returns at hand indicate that the Toronto resolution will be rescinded by a very large majority.

THE SYMPOSIUM ON INCORPORATION OF LABOR UNIONS.

With the apparently increasing power of trade unions it is to be expected that a demand should arise for their proportionate responsibility. The grounds of this demand vary, but they usually turn on different meanings of the word responsibility, as will be seen in our symposium on the incorporation of unions. Some of our contributors advocate incorporation in order to hold the unions responsible for violation of contracts; others do so with the intention of fixing responsibility on them for unlawful acts—known legally as "torts." The latter group is again to be sub-divided accordingly as the members have in mind the acts of different parties in varying conditions—some contemplating the acts of officers and members authorized by the union; others the acts of members unauthorized by the union; and still others the acts of sympathizers not members and not authorized by the union.

Certain of the legal contributors to the symposium hold that for illegal acts—"torts"—such as trespass, intimidation, boycott, violence, etc., authorized by the union or its officers, the unions can already, even though not incorporated, be held legally responsible to the extent of their treasuries, and also that each member of the union can be held legally responsible to the extent of his private estate. They also hold that the incorporation of the union would not relieve the individual member of legal responsibility for illegal acts. Incorporation "would not in the least protect individual leaders and members from being 'joined' as defendants in suits for damages for conspiracies and other 'torts.'" (Adams.) Incorporation "will not relieve the individual members of the corporation from responsibility likewise." (Bonaparte.) According to these views incorporation of a union would not increase its responsibility for illegal acts of its members.

One of the employers (Seitz), however, seems to hold that by incorporation the union could be held for illegal acts done by sympathizers in the prosecution of a strike. Other contributors hold exactly the opposite view, that incorporation would relieve the union of liability for damages inflicted in its interests (Eliot), and the only answer received from an incorporated union cites this as the main advantage gained by incorporation. (Grossman.) Extending responsibility of a corporation to cover the unauthorized acts either of members or non-members does not seem to be advocated by the legal writers, and they hold that an unincorporated union would not be held in damages for the unlawful acts of members or non-members committed in sympathy with the union's cause, but without authorization from the union or its officers. This does not apply to the acts of officers themselves, since their acts are held to be those of the union. One employer (Miller) holds that what society and employers want is not damages from unions for injuries unlawfully inflicted, but restraint from committing these unlawful acts, and this, he says, can be had through the injunction.

The other kind of responsibility is for violation of contracts. Those who desire it hold that employers cannot enter on contracts with unions on fair terms, because, while the employer is financially and legally responsible, the union is only morally responsible. Here, again, two very different kinds of responsibility are in view. The one responsibility is for individual members, the other for joint action of all the members. One contributor (Seitz) seems to maintain that the union should be held financially liable for a violation of contract by a member who, for example, leaves his work without consent of his employer. This would seem to be a kind of responsibility which very few unions would care to assume, and it is a misapprehension of the whole nature of a union agreement with employers. By such an agreement the union would become a contractor to farm out labor. Certain unions, such as the Garment Workers and the Longshoremen, agree to furnish what labor is required by the employer, but they relieve themselves of the usual responsibility of a contractor by a proviso that the employer may hire non-members if the union cannot supply the force required. But this class of union contracts is exceptional. Union agreements are not contracts to furnish labor; each laborer makes his own labor contract directly with his employer. The union agreement is simply an understanding by which the parties represented agree to make

similar contracts respecting hours, wages and work. The employer enforces his side of the agreement through his right to discharge the workman, and the union enforces its side by its right to strike. One employer (Miller) fears that should the unions thus become contractors to farm out labor, as do the Chinese companies, their greatly increased power would be productive of more harm than good, and would not tend to improve the character of the working man; and, on the other hand, if they should not become contractors for labor their responsibility could be easily evaded, even though they were incorporated.

Other contributors hold the customary view that the union should be held responsible only for the joint action of its members, such as a stoppage of work by a strike, or the support of a member who violates his agreement. Here the question arises, Would incorporation of unions lessen the number of strikes in violation of agreements not to strike? Answering this in the affirmative, several writers refer to the probable added feeling of responsibility on the part of leaders and members which would come through incorporation. Others, replying in the negative, point out the very small funds in the union treasuries. (Stainsby.) But more generally it is held that incorporation is not necessary in order to promote the observance of contracts. Several union representatives assert that unions do not violate their agreements and that only employers do. Others do not go so far. One employer, a prominent member of the National Founders and the Stove Founders' Association (Pfahler) argues that where employers free themselves of sentimental opposition to trade unions and then deal with their agents on a business basis, the unions are in a better position to be held accountable. Other contributors (Hanna, Brooks) strongly urge that the trade agreement is the proper substitute for incorporation. A statistician (Weber) asserts that nearly all violations occur in the field of agreements with individual employers, and that there have been very few violations of trade agreements made between associations of employers and associations of workmen. Certain union representatives admit the lack of discipline within some unions, but hold that all are gradually being educated to higher standards and that this education will be the more rapid as employers show a greater willingness to make and observe agreements.

Supposing it is not necessary to have incorporation in order to compel unions to abide by their contracts, the converse proposition is presented by a union representative (White), who contends that unions, even if incorporated, cannot secure damages from employers who violate their contracts with the unions. Referring to the experience of the Garment Workers, who have brought suits on bonds given by employers, he argues that the employer can raise in defense the plea of duress, since he was compelled, in view of the alternative of seeing his business ruined, to agree to the terms laid down by the unions. On the other hand, a representative of another branch of the clothing industry (Grossman), whose union is incorporated, states that the legality of their contracts has been sustained in the courts; but a former counsel of this union (Hourwich) thinks the union would have fared better if it had given up its corporate organization.

The objections raised to incorporation by the unions are, of course, first of all, the liability of exposing their treasuries to attack. But if the trend of legal answers is correct, as stated, these treasuries are already liable for unlawful acts even without incorporation, and there is even an intimation (Adams) that they are also liable for violations of contract.

If this be true the danger which the unions may meet through incorporation must be found elsewhere. Several writers (Frankenheimer, Sullivan, Williams, Weber) contend that the real danger lies in the internal affairs of the union. The union must have almost arbitrary control over its members in the way of discipline, and were it incorporated its constitution and by-laws would be subject to judicial inquiry, and it would be continually in court on suits brought by dissatisfied or expelled members, oftentimes instigated by employers. It is pointed out (Frankenheimer) that the New York Stock Exchange, under advice of the ablest legal talent, avoids incorporation in order that it may enforce complete discipline upon its members without interference by the courts.

Some of the writers (Perkins, Williams) fear also that judicial interference would operate against the democratic character of union management, would do away with the initiative and referendum and would make the directors and officers powerful and oligarchic. This result would stand in the way of growth in membership, which would be unfortunate both to the unions and to society. To incorporate the unions would drive them into politics and a crude form of Socialism. (Brooks.)

There is a curious contrast in the opinions regarding the attitude of the courts. The union spokesmen in general speak of the hostility of the courts to unions and their bias toward the employers, mentioning the interstate commerce and anti-trust laws as having been perverted from their original object to the injury of unions. Yet some of the employers speak of the whole machinery of justice in our State courts as paralyzed by fear of the union vote. Not more law is needed, they say, but more honest and courageous enforcement of the laws as they are (Miller), and incorporation would not add responsibility, since prosecuting attorneys, judges and juries would, through their sympathies with the unions, temper the laws even more than now.

Other contributors, while not emphasizing the attitude of the courts toward either side, believe that their edious processes place the unions at a disadvantage. At present there is a disparity between the treasuries of unions and corporations, the latter having an unlimited all on high-priced legal counsel.

Of those who answer the question as to the need of special law for the incorporation of unions, the legal writers all agree that such a law is necessary, but there is only one writer (Hourwich) who offers suggestions as to its necessary provisions. One union officer (Clark) would have the benefit funds separated from the other funds, and would have the union exempt from responsibility for the personal acts of members in violation of law. It is pointed out (Cooke) that the federal law providing for the incorporation of unions exempts members as well as the corporation itself from liability for "the acts of members or others in violation of law." Other contributors think it would be difficult and even impossible to frame a special law making the union responsible for authorized acts and not responsible for unauthorized acts.

Compulsory incorporation is rejected by all who refer to it, one legal writer (Mayer) pointing out that it could be equivalent to prohibiting workmen from enjoying the liberty of the citizen, the freedom of contract, and the right of free assembly.

Finally, several union representatives dismiss the whole subject by boldly asserting that, whatever the arguments presented, the unions *will not* incorporate. His assertion is hardly vital, since it is conceivable that special law could be so framed that the unions would choose incorporation as an alternative to increasingly drastic decisions against them when not incorporated. One writer (Lloyd) suggests that under a compulsory arbitration law, like those of New Zealand and Australia, the unions would find a decided advantage in incorporation.

The symposium as a whole seems to indicate that the customary arguments for and against incorporation of unions are invalid, since they turn on the responsibility of unions for unlawful acts. Incorporation would not increase or decrease their responsibility in this respect. Both the treasury of the union and the property of the members are liable in damages on account of such acts whether the union is incorporated or unincorporated. In this respect the symposium is a valuable contribution to the subject.

As regards the enforcement of contracts, the opinions of the symposium are at wide variance, both from the standpoint of the union in enforcing the agreement upon employers and from the standpoint of employers in forcing the agreement upon the workmen. That existing laws governing corporations are not adapted to the needs of labor unions is generally admitted in the suggestion that special laws should be enacted for the purpose. These suggestions and propositions will be submitted to the meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation in May for such action as may be decided upon in the way of further investigation and reports by a special committee on labor legislation.

THE ANTHRACITE COAL STRIKE AWARD.

BY JOHN R. COMMONS.

The report and award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission is generally recognized as the most important document ever issued on the modern labor question. It is such, not because it grants an advance in wages or a reduction in hours, but because it frames a constitution for the government of a great industry.

A distinction must be made between the "report" of the Commission and its "award." The report includes a general discussion of the rights and duties of unions and employers, but the award deals with the situation at hand. They are in contrast at three or four points. The report states that the evidence does not show that wages are lower than those in the bituminous field or in other occupations requiring equal skill and training, yet the award grants an increase of 10 to 20 per cent. in wages. The report argues against recognition of the existing union, but the award grants it actual recognition. The report declines to recommend a trade agreement, but the award is itself a trade agreement. The report rejects compulsory arbitration, but the award is the result of practically compulsory arbitration. On one large issue—the rights of the non-union workmen—the report and award coincide.

Although the commission stated in its report that the question of recognition of the United Mine Workers of America was not within its jurisdiction, yet it was confronted by a definite situation. It was required to provide a settlement that would prevent strikes for three years, but its own existence would terminate at once. It had no authority to create a permanent government commission to interpret the award whenever disputed; neither could it leave the enforcement of the award to the employer through the ordinary process of dismissing the workman who disobeys, because the union had already taken from the employer his unlimited right to dismiss. Here was a new self-governing power in the anthracite industry, and this power had to be enlisted to hold its members to the award. The United Mine Workers of America had divided the anthracite field into three districts. With these divisions in view the award says:

If there shall be a division of the whole region into three districts, in each of which there shall exist an organization representing a majority of the mine workers of such districts, one of said board of conciliation shall be appointed by each of said organizations, and three other persons shall be appointed by the operators, the operators in each of said districts appointing one person.

This is a common-sense recognition of conditions as they exist. The board of conciliation, thus constituted with equal representation of the mine workers' union and the operators, is the permanent court to which all disagreements respecting the award, and all disagreements not covered by the award, must be appealed. This board is similar to those already created in the voluntary systems of trade agreements, and is such as would necessarily have been created in the anthracite field had the operators recognized the union of their own accord. Should the board be unable to decide an appeal, it must be referred to an umpire, appointed, at the request of the board, by the Federal Judge designated in the award. Meanwhile there must be no lockout or strike. These are the usual provisions in the voluntary systems, with the single exception that the choice of umpire is prescribed in advance. It is evidently expected that when this board of conciliation gets into working order very few, if any, points will need to be referred to the umpire.

In the section of the award relating to the non-union workmen the commission deals with the most difficult problem of the whole situation. It says:

No person shall be refused employment, or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization; and there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employee who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization.

By the award the non-unionists get the advance in pay granted to the unionists, many of them without the expense and suffering of the strike, and without contributing to support the union. This, as recognized by the Commission, provokes hostility toward them. But by the award the non-unionists can look only to the employer for protection, since he has no represent-

ative on the board of conciliation. The employer can protect him only while at work, and only the law, as the Commission recognizes when condemning the boycott, can protect him outside the colliery. On the other hand, the employer is forbidden to discriminate in his favor as against the unionist. On the whole, the entire award in no way diminishes the strength of the union, and if the union adopts certain recommendations of the report the award will serve to strengthen it.

These recommendations are for a diminished voice of boys in the affairs of the locals, a two-thirds vote instead of a majority, and vote by ballot instead of show of hands in ordering a strike. If the award is faithfully obeyed and the parties thereby learn to deal with each other through the board of conciliation, and if the above recommendations are adopted by the union, the hope of the Commission will be well grounded that a voluntary trade agreement will in due time commend itself to both sides.

THE CHICAGO BOARD OF ARBITRATION.

(Concluded from Page 9.)

By resolutions passed by the Teamsters' Joint Council March 27 this law was thenceforth to be rigidly observed. It is that no local union shall go on a sympathetic strike unless with the approval of two-thirds of the local unions in the vicinity of the point at which the strike is in progress, or of two-thirds of a joint council where one is organized. An individual member violating this law is to have charges preferred against him, and a local union is to be subjected to discipline by the National Executive Board. President Young declared: "We shall show no mercy to any teamster or any local that dares to go on a sympathetic strike which we have not indorsed. This constant striking has got to cease." Four unions the same night asked the council for aid in strikes, but were all refused. They were offered the services of the teamsters to procure arbitration, which they were constrained to accept. When one of the four cases came up, President Young asked the committee if the union would arbitrate. The reply was: "We have nothing to arbitrate." A teamster called out: "Then we have nothing to do with you." The committee thereupon changed front and expressed a desire to meet the employers through President Young, who consented to act for them. The Council had determined that the teamsters' unions were not to be used to win strikes unless all honorable means to bring about a settlement had been exhausted.

Albert Young, president of the Teamsters' National Union of America, the recognized leader of the workers' representative on the board, is at the head of nearly 35,000 organized teamsters in Chicago. He is cool, calm and shrewd. Himself a coal team driver in Chicago for years, he was active in forming a union of coal teamsters about three years ago. The move proved speedily successful. To-day in Chicago every teamster, from the garbage man to the undertaker's driver is in a union. As a worker and organizer Mr. Young is tireless.

The seven business men members of the Chicago Board of Arbitration are of stable reputation in the commercial world. Among the more prominent is Harry G. Selfridge, the chairman. For many years he has been manager of the retail house of Marshall Field & Co. Mr. Selfridge is popular with both the millionaire and the workingman, and through his personality and wide acquaintance has been instrumental in bringing the right men together, man fashion, to promote peace. The fact that busy men will give their time to the patient adjudication of labor contests is fresh proof of the love of fair play and the readiness to strive for the public good always characteristic of notable elements in American Society.

Chicago feels the better for the existence of the board. The ideas on which it is founded, the steps by which it proceeds in bringing about peace, are attracting attention in every city in the United States. The labors of the board have served to prove that the judicial quality is to be found among men in every walk of life. The board in its various branches, of which, as has been said, there are at present seven, is capable of quickly taking hold of any form of the work for which it was organized. That is to say, Chicago is responding with heart and brain to the most recent demand for a public duty.

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JURISDICTIONAL ARBITRATION IN THE NEW YORK UNITED BOARD OF BUILDING TRADES.

Among the obstacles that block the road to an understanding between employers and employed few are more vexatious to either side than "jurisdictional quarrels" between unions. The employer may wish to give work to union workmen, and union workmen may want his work, but that is not enough. Another question yet arises: To which union shall the work be allotted? The various subdivisions of an industry being each organized separately, the dividing line is in many cases not easy to draw. In this matter there has been difficulty in probably every city in this country. How the problem is being worked out in practice is shown in one notable instance by the experience of the New York United Board of Building Trades.

For six years prior to March 11, 1902, the unions of the New York building trades were divided into two unfriendly consolidated bodies. The one sent representatives to the Board of Delegates, the other to the Building Trades Council. United in the Board were the trades engaged mostly in outside work—the house-smiths, brownstone cutters, granite cutters, derrickmen, sheet metal workers, bricklayers and their laborers, cement layers and their laborers, and the encaustic tile layers; in the Council were mostly inside trades—painters and decorators, carpenters and joiners, electrical workers, marble mosaic workers, plasterers, steam and hot water fitters.

The employing builder suffered acutely from this division. In the morning he might arrange as to wages and workday with the business agents of the outside men only to have the agents of the inside men make conflicting demands in the afternoon. The unions claimed overlapping jurisdictions, each agent energetically seeking work for his own members. The employer who had decided to give work only to union men not infrequently failed to hire them, as two unions, each claiming a part of his work, would strike against each other. As a consequence, the Board might bar the Council's men or the Council declare war on the Board. Cessations of work by large forces of workmen through these causes were of almost weekly occurrence. Construction on some of the largest of New York's great modern buildings came to a standstill, not because of lockouts, low wages, employment of non-union men, not even on a question of unionism, but through the counter-claims of clashing unions.

Attempts to merge Council and Board in one central body failed time and again. But the point was finally reached at which the unions having the largest interests saw that more was to be gained in combination than by wrenching work from the other unions through striking. The members in general wanted regular work. All the unions were therefore brought to unite in a new central body, the United Board of Building Trades.

The new Board, whose delegates had settled into earnestness through experience, adopted a strictly practical constitution. This accords two votes to each union, which may be represented by five business agents, no credentials being received for less than three months, and a two-thirds vote being required to admit a union to membership. By its rules the Board excludes alleged unions not formed in good faith or lacking financial means—the strays or petty schemers of the political or industrial field.

Discipline in routine matters is exacting. Delegates directed to serve as committeemen failing to report at an appointed place thirty minutes after the stated time are fined \$3; delegates must be present at every meeting of the Board or be fined \$1; at Board sessions indecorum brings a fine of \$1 and disobedience of the Chair \$3. Fines must be paid within eight days. Delegates refusing to comply with the procedure prescribed in the constitution for grievances are suspended for six months.

The unions may independently arrange their differences with employers, but when a grievance is brought before the Board by a delegate it becomes the affair of the Board. A controversy is investigated by a committee of all the delegates from the unions having men on the work concerned, and a two-thirds vote is required to call a strike. If the committee fails to agree, the union aggrieved may bring the subject before the Board, where a majority of the delegates having men on the work may bring the question to an issue. If these delegates refuse to do so, the aggrieved delegate may select as a committeeman a delegate having men on the work, a delegate refusing to strike may select another, and with the president of the Board as a third member the committee reinvestigates the complaint, its decision being final. No grievance is received from unions not associated with the Board, nor can they be tendered any assistance. By these various means the causes of many strikes in years past are avoided.

The Board refuses indiscriminate support to unions asking for advances in wages or for a shorter workday. To acquire the right of assistance in such cases a union must submit to the Board its demands in writing a month previous to the proposed change. A committee of five deliberates on the question and makes its recommendations to the Board, which then considers it at a special meeting. For the coming 1st of May the steam fitters, marble cutters and iron shipbuilders are asking an increase of fifty cents a day, and the plasterers a scale of \$5.50 a day. Last year the bricklayers' helpers made demands which the Board refused to indorse until the increase asked for was cut down one-half.

But the highly important labors of the Board are an outcome of the conditions which gave it life. It requires unions in controversy to submit their disputes to Board arbitration. Each party in a difference appoints three Board members as arbitrators, a seventh being selected

as umpire by the six, or, they failing, by the Board itself. A union disregarding the decision of an arbitration committee is suspended, to be reinstated only on payment of not less than \$100 and abiding by the decision. Pending an arbitration the other allied unions remain neutral, thus protecting alike the interests of the builders, the owners of buildings under construction and the public.

The first result of this arbitration law was largely to prevent disputes between unions, the delegates ceasing their aggressions on one another's jurisdictions. Differences that arose despite individual delegate diplomacy passed, not under the might of the stronger, but under the law of careful investigation and impartial judgment supervised by the entire body. In all, fifteen cases have been adjusted in the year since the formation of the Board.

Only one case went to the length of requiring the Board of Delegates itself to elect the umpire. In a dispute between the steam fitters and the plumbers over the work of pneumatic tubing the two committees of three were unable to agree on the seventh member. The Board chose a hoisting engineer. His opinion was that pneumatic tubing was not essentially either steam fitting or plumbing, but by reason of priority of action in unionizing the work and of effective action in obtaining higher wages he awarded labor of this character to the steam fitters.

Of the other cases, the following serve to show the victories of the system of arbitration as well as the intricacies that on occasions nearly baffle the arbitrators:

April 9, 1902—Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers (300 members) vs. Marble and Enamel Mosaic Workers (200 members). The question was as to which union should lay a certain ceramic tile. The Marble and Enamel Mosaic Workers claimed it, as the piece measured less than a square inch. But the committee unanimously awarded it to their opponents. The defeated union refused to abide by the decision. It was suspended. It issued a protest to the Board and a printed appeal to all associations in the building trades. Not until January 14, 1903, was this union readmitted to membership. It re-entered on paying its fine of \$100 and on accepting the restrictions imposed by the Board, such as working only with union helpers recognized by the Mosaic Helpers.

April 18—Laborers' Protective Union (12,000 members) vs. Cement and Asphalt Laborers (700 members). Disputed jurisdiction. Decision: All rough concreting on brick arches and cellars to be done by the first named union; all rough concreting on patent arches to be done by the last named. A feature of this contested case is that the Laborers' Protective Union is composed of laborers for the bricklayers, whose union is not connected with the United Board.

May 2—Electrical Workers (2,000 members) vs. Gas and Electrical Fixtures Union (300 members). Infringement. The latter claimed as their work the

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electric wires running through gas fixtures. The umpire decided in favor of the electric workers. As a consequence the defeated union decided to give up its separate organization, and it was merged in that of the electric workers.

May 16—Portable Hoisting Engineers (250 members) vs. Safety Association of Steam Engineers (700 members). By the award in this case the first named union was granted the exclusive right to the hoisting of all brick, mortar, iron and other material not already controlled by the United Derricks. To the Safety Association was given the right to all engineering work in connection with excavations.

July 28—Electrical Workers vs. Elevator Constructors (1,000 members). Question of electric wiring in elevators. The Elevator Constructors, refusing to arbitrate, were suspended. The Otis Company being interested, the question was submitted to one of its representatives as unofficial umpire. He awarded the wiring to the electricians, whereupon the Elevator Constructors fought and obtained re-admission to the Board.

August 6—Plain and Ornamental Plasterers (3,000 members) vs. Cement Masons (600 members). Decision: All cement base run for sanitary purposes that do not exceed six inches over the floor is to go to the cement masons; all run after the floor is laid, to the plasterers.

September 19—Electrical Workers vs. Portable Hoisting Engineers. Decision: The installation and running of electric pumps awarded to electrical workers. By this verdict the board recognized the introduction of improved machinery and ranged itself against the restriction of output through the employment of unnecessary workmen on machines of inferior efficiency. One electrician may tend three or even four electric pumps that replace steam pumps each managed by an engineer.

October 1—Salamander Association of Boiler and Pipe Coverers (500 members) vs. Housesmiths and Bridgemen's union (4,000 members). The decision in this case was so complicated and heavily weighted with technicalities that the Board recommended that the Salamander Association become a branch of the Housesmiths and Bridgemen's Union, with the right to labor at any branch of the trade. The Metallic Lathers were placed in the same relationship.

January 14—Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers (1,000 members) vs. Housesmiths and Bridgemen's Union. Question: Which union shall handle ten-gauge iron, in metal furnishings? This inquiry is still pending, requiring much investigation.

January 16—Plain and Ornamental Plasterers vs. Salamander Association. Decision: The disputed work belonged to the plasterers, but if they were unable to employ workmen the Salamander Association might do it.

January 23—Plumbers and Gasfitters (4,000 members) vs. Steam and Hot Water Fitters. Question: Which union should run the pipes for the ice making machinery used in hotels and apartment houses? The

committees failed to agree. The Board awarded the work to the steamfitters. There was menace of a large strike over this question, and suspension on large buildings actually occurred, but the plumbers yielded in the end.

Two cases are in the hands of arbitrators at present, in the one the machinists and housesmiths being involved, and in the other the elevator constructors and the portable engineers. Meantime, all the workmen concerned are at their employment, the parties to the dispute maintaining a status quo and the other unions remaining neutral. March 23 a constitutional amendment was adopted by which arbitration decisions must be reached within two weeks.

Questions other than those relating to arbitration or to the routine of the agents' work are constantly arising. One of the most important in the Board's first year has been the old rivalry between the two general organizations of carpenters. Previous to the formation of the Board a large construction company had decided to employ only members of the National Brotherhood of Carpenters. This body as well as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners came into the new United Board of Building Trades. A committee which essayed to settle the differences between the two unions failed. The Board decided to remain neutral. The Brotherhood, dissatisfied, withdrew from the Board in July. The Board, seeking peace with the employers, permits Brotherhood carpenters to work with the allied unions, but in case the Brotherhood attempts to discriminate against Amalgamated men the Board shuts out Brotherhood members. This is the only jurisdictional fight now on. The American Federation of Labor is attempting to arrange the long-standing differences between the two carpenters' unions, having at the New Orleans convention in November last arranged for their arbitration. The vital cause of continued separation, it is said, lies in the benefit features of the two bodies. The Amalgamated Society, associated with the great English Society, possesses proportionately a large treasury and pays high benefits.

On April 7 the Brotherhood began in New York a general strike against the Amalgamated Society.

While the Brotherhood of Carpenters was represented in the Board it asked indorsement of a demand for an increase in wages from \$4 to \$4.50 a day, to take effect July 1, 1902. The Board deemed the notice to the employers insufficient. The Brotherhood, accepting the decision, changed the date to September 1. This period was approved by the Board, and the increase took place.

A constitutional question arose in the Board on the interpretation of the phrase "other buildings" as applied to the East River bridges. The Board decided that the work might go to the organization first on the spot to obtain it. Here much depends on the activity of the various business agents, who thus become employment mediators.

Smaller matters are brought before the Board. A

housesmith complained that an electrician was punching a hole in an iron beam that belonged to him. Before the business agent reached the scene of action the hole was punched.

The Board makes no agreements with employing builders. It favors agreements between each union and its own employers. There is no general employers' association in the building trades. Each branch, however, has its association. The Board advocates arbitration in each branch between association and union.

Inasmuch as the United Board meets three times a week, with an obligatory attendance of members, and the interests of each trade are jealously guarded by its own agents, the possibilities of trade quarrels, of interruptions in work, of irresponsible action by individual agents, of oppressions of employers are reduced to a minimum. The delegates of to-day declare that they are animated by a desire for peace with employers and for a mutual confidence productive of a high standard of honor on the part of all interests engaged in the building trades.

The REVIEW is under obligations to Secretary William H. Farley of the United Board for the data herewith produced.

The unions at present represented in the Board are:

Amalgamated Painters and Decorators.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers.
Building Material Drivers.
Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.
Brick and Building Material Handlers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.
Cement Masons' Union, No. 1.
Cement and Asphalt Laborers.
Dock Builders.
Electrical Workers, No. 3.
Elevator Constructors.
Granite Cutters' Union.
Housesmiths and Bridgemen's Union.
House Shorers and Movers' Union.
International Association of Machinists.
Journeyman Stone Cutters' Association.
Laborers' Protective Union.
Marble Cutters.
Marble Polishers and Rubbers' Union.
Marble Cutters' Helpers.
Metallic Lathers' Union.
Marble and Enamel Mosaic Workers.
Mosaic Helpers.
Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers' Union.
Plain and Ornamental Plasterers.
Plasterers' Laborers.
Plumbers and Gas Fitters' Local No. 2.
Portable Hoisting Engineers.
Slate, Tile and Metal Roofers.
Safety Association of Steam Engineers.
Steam and Hot Water Fitters.
Steam and Hot Water Fitters' Helpers.
Salamander Association of Boiler and Pipe Coverers.
Second-hand Building Material Handlers.
Tar, Felt and Waterproof Workers.
Tile Layers' Helpers.
United Derricks, Riggers and Pointers' Union.
Wood Lathers' Union.
Bluc Stone Cutters.

that the maintenance of the standard rate of commissions and of the established rules of the trade are due to the untrammelled power of suspension and expulsion vested in the Governing Committee of the exchange. Members have been suspended or expelled for "splitting" commissions, "bucketing" orders, "fraudulent" sales and other acts deemed detrimental to the best trade interests of the association, and although frequent appeals have been made to the courts in such cases the invariable answer has been that the court cannot interfere if the proceedings are regular. It stands to reason that a powerful and wealthy trade organization—such as the Stock Exchange—which commands the best legal talent, would not persist in remaining an unincorporated association unless it derived great advantage therefrom.

The fundamental advantage of an unincorporated association over a corporation is the greater power the former possesses over its members and over the management of its internal affairs, and its greater freedom from interference by the courts in these matters.

I take it that from the trade union standpoint the object desired is untrammelled disciplinary power over its members and freedom from interference in its internal affairs by the courts. This can undoubtedly be attained more completely in the form of a voluntary association than in that of a corporation, and for this reason, if for no other, trade unions should oppose incorporation.

Were a trade union to be incorporated, every member who may have been disciplined, suspended or expelled would appeal to the courts for redress, and the organization would be constantly embroiled in litigation of this kind. Moreover sinister influences might be brought to bear upon a sufficiently strong minority to justify interference by the courts in the internal affairs of the association, if incorporated, which would not be justified, however strong the minority, if the association were a voluntary one.

As to the legal liability of a trade union for the authorized acts of its members or officers, there is no difference, under the laws of the State of New York, in this respect between a voluntary association and a corporation. The former can sue and be sued as well as the latter.

In my opinion, considering the whole question from the standpoint of the labor unions—and this is the only practical point of view to take of the question—incorporation of trade unions is inexpedient. It will weaken the power of the association over its members and over its management of its internal affairs, and will increase greatly the power of the courts over the association in all its affairs. Let the trade unions follow the example of the New York Stock Exchange—which is essentially a trade union and a very successful one—and persist in maintaining their present voluntary and unincorporated organization.

(New York Times, March 4.)

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF NEW YORK CITY. Lewis Nixon Elected Chairman of the Newly Organized Body.

List of Members in the Three Sections Representing the Public, The Employers, and the Workmen.

The Civic Federation of New York City was organized yesterday afternoon in the rooms of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, 203 Broadway. This is the local committee of the National Civic Federation, organized in the pursuance of the policy of establishing local federations which was adopted at the last meeting of the National body.

Oscar S. Straus, Vice-President of the National Civic Federation and President New York Board of Trade and Transportation, called the meeting to order and spoke briefly of the aims of the Civic Federation and of the benefits to be derived from the arbitration of questions arising out of the competition and strife between capital and labor.

"The stronger each side grows," he said, "and the stronger the leaders they have, the fewer will be the occasions for conflict."

Ralph M. Easley, Secretary of the National Civic Federation, then read the names of those composing each of the three sections of the committee. "Each of the persons named," he said, "had given his word to serve in the work."

The following is a portion of the list of acceptants:

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYERS.

John B. McDonald, contractor Rapid Transit Subway.
S. P. McConnell, President the George A. Fuller Company.
Frederick D. Underwood, President Erie Railroad.
Lewis Nixon, President United States Shipbuilding Company.
Charles T. Wills, builder.
W. C. Brown, Vice President New York Central Railroad.
William H. Baldwin, Jr., President Long Island Railroad.
S. R. Callaway, President American Locomotive Works.
Otto M. Elditz, President Master Mason Builders.
Robert C. Ogden, John Wanamaker & Co.
John H. Starin, President Starin Transportation Line.
William Brewster, Brewster Carriage Manufacturing Company.
Peter Doelger, Jr., Peter Doelger Brewing Company.
Louis B. Schram, India Wharf Brewing Company.
Hosmer B. Parsons, Vice President Wells, Fargo & Co.
R. W. Nelson, President American Type Founders' Company.
J. W. Dunn, President International Steam Pump Company.
William D. Baldwin, President Otis Elevator Company.
Charles A. Moore, Manning, Maxwell & Moore.
Edward R. Ladew, Fayerweather & Ladew.
Marcus M. Marks, President National Clothiers' Association.
Edward Payson Call, President New York Publishers' Association.
J. Alexander Hayden, Chairman Association of Interior Decorators and Cabinetmakers.
William H. Parsons, Parsons Paper Company.
Charles Wilhelms, President United States Lithographers' Association.
Walter L. Pierce, Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company.
Frank B. Chambers, Manager Rogers, Peet & Co.
J. W. Williams, Williams Drop Forgings Company, Brooklyn.
William Green, Chairman New York Typothetae.
Warner Leeds, Vice President American Tin Plate Company.
A. Beverly Smith, Secretary United States Lithographers' Association, East.

ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC.

Cornelius N. Bliss, Bliss, Fabyan & Co.
August Belmont, banker.
The Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.
The Right Rev. John M. Farley, Archbishop Roman Catholic Church.
Oscar Straus, President New York Board of Trade and Transportation.
Spencer Trask, banker.
James Speyer, banker.
Emerson McMillin, banker.
John J. McCook, lawyer.
Albert Shaw, editor Review of Reviews.
The Rev. Dr. William S. Rainsford, rector St. George's Church.
Nicholas Murray Butler, President Columbia University.
V. Everit Macy, capitalist.
The Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer, pastor All Souls' Church.
R. Watson Glider, editor Century Magazine.
The Rev. John P. Peters, rector St. Michael's Church.
Felix Adler, professor, Columbia University.
Hamilton Holt, editor Independent.
John R. Commons, statistician.
Walter H. Page, editor World's Work.
Lyman Abbott, editor Outlook.
George Gunton, President Institute of Social Economics.
H. H. Cammann, real estate.
T. F. Woodcock, editor Wall Street Journal.
H. C. Watson, editor Dun's Review.
John B. Clark, professor, Columbia University.
Charles Sprague Smith, director People's Institute.

ON THE PART OF WAGE EARNERS.

William H. Farley, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers.
Edward Kelly, Electrical Workers.
M. A. McConville, Engineers' Subway Conference Board.
M. J. Ford, Machinists.
R. Pattison, Sheet Metal Workers.
Henry White, Garment Workers.
William Davis, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
Samuel B. Donnelly, Typographical Union.
J. J. Pallas, Patternmakers, Subway Conference Board.
W. A. Perrine, Molders.
John J. Donovan, Plasterers.
G. H. Warner, Machinists.
Marsden G. Scott, President Typographical Union No. 6.
George E. Pepper, President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees, New York Division.
James Daly, Dock Builders.
Edward A. Moffett, editor Bricklayer and Mason.
James P. Archibald, Brotherhood Painters and Decorators.
Robert Thompson, Brotherhood of Carpenters.
William Fyfe, Amalgamated Carpenters.
W. Long, Lithographers.
John Phillips, Hatters.
A. J. Boulton, Stereotypers.
Francis J. McKay, Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.
Herman Robinson, Retail Clerks.
J. B. Wilson, Machinists.
James Roach, Steam and Hot Water Fitters.
Robert E. Neldig, Housesmiths.
James P. Holland, Stationary Firemen.
Charles Delaney, Granite Cutters.
J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union.

Nearly all of those named were present. When the names of the committee had been read the following permanent officers were elected:

Chairman—Lewis Nixon.
First Vice-Chairman—William H. Farley.
Second Vice-Chairman—Col. John J. McCook.
Treasurer—Cornelius N. Bliss.
Secretary—Samuel B. Donnelly.

In taking the chair Mr. Nixon said in part:

"The acceptance of a place on this committee means to each of you an obligation the demands of which cannot be ignored, and under which active service cannot be shirked. The meeting a few weeks ago of a parent

Federation brought to the public a realization of the possibilities of its work. The active participation here to-day of leaders in all lines of human endeavor is an earnest of the sincerity of the movement and an evidence that they will use every effort to extend its sphere of usefulness. The make-up of this committee can be taken to mean that no misuse of the committee can or will be permitted for selfish advancement of the claims of either side."

Mr. White offered resolutions, which were adopted, authorizing the chairman to appoint an executive committee of fifteen, five representing each group, who with the officers of the Council, and the resident members of the National Executive Committee, ex-officio, shall direct the general affairs of the Civic Federation of New York City; also to appoint a committee composed of three members from each group to draw up by-laws.

(New York Herald, March 15, 1903.)

SHIPYARD STRIKE ENDS.

First Triumph of the New York Civic Federation.

One Union Had Decided to Fine Any of Its Strikers for Disorder About the Affected Yards.

The threatened general strike in all the yards, which would have tied up the entire shipbuilding trade in New York and vicinity and have driven a great part of the shipbuilding trade permanently from the metropolitan district, was averted yesterday. After a conference lasting for over four hours between representatives of the New York Metal Trades Association, the New York Civic Federation, and the Marine Trades Council, an agreement was reached by which all sympathetic strikes of all the trades in the Townsend-Downey yard and the sympathetic strike of boilermakers in the other shipbuilding yards are to be declared off, pending negotiations for a settlement of the original strike of the boilermakers in the Townsend-Downey yards, which started all the trouble.

The Marine Trades Council will hold a special meeting to-morrow night, and is expected to ratify this agreement and declare the sympathetic strikes off. A joint committee of employers and employees will meet probably about Wednesday, when it is expected the entire trouble will be ended and the original strike, which was to force the discharge of two non-union men, declared off.

The New York Civic Federation, which has only recently been organized, has been working for several days in trying to bring about the result that was reached yesterday. This is considered a signal victory for the Federation, as it is the first local labor trouble it has had anything to do with.

It looked for a while yesterday forenoon as if all negotiations for a settlement were off. The same committee which met the Executive Committee of the Metal Trades Association Friday called on the Executive Committee early in the day, and found it apparently against meeting the representatives of the strikers. The committee finally agreed to meet the representatives of the men. The latter, however, objected, and it looked again as if no conference could take place. The conference was finally arranged, and began at 2:30 P. M., in the office of the Civic Federation, 281 Fourth Avenue.

The following attended the conference:

For the Metal Trades Association: Charles H. Smith, President; H. N. Covell, Vice-President; Wallace Downey, W. H. Atkinson and M. K. Bowman.

For the employers' department of the Civic Federation: Lewis Nixon, Marcus M. Marks, Emerson McMillin and A. B. Smith.

For the employees' department of the Civic Federation: Henry White, Garment Workers; W. H. Farley, Secretary of Building Trades, and Edward Kelly, Electrical Workers; Edward A. Moffett, editor "Bricklayer and Mason," and J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union No. 6.

For the Marine Trades Council: Francis J. McKay, Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders; Richard Pattison, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers; Samuel B. Donnelly, Secretary New York Civic Federation, and John R. Commons, Assistant Secretary National Civic Federation.

The conference was secret and the telephone was kept busy while it was going on. The labor delegates, it was said, had to communicate with the representatives of the respective unions involved. At about 8:30 P. M. the meeting broke up and everybody looked happy.

"It's nearly all settled," said one of the labor men as he went out. An hour later a statement was given out by Ralph M. Easley, of the National Civic Federation, in which he said, after stating the names of those who attended the conference:

"After a session of four hours an agreement was reached whereby the sympathetic strike of all the boilermakers and helpers in all the shops of members of the New York Metal Trades Association and of the carpenters, joiners, painters, machinists, blacksmiths, and patternmakers who went out of the yards of the Townsend-Downey Shipbuilding Company in sympathy on March 10, is to be declared off on or before March 18. It was agreed that a joint conference between committees of the New York Metal Trades Association and the Marine Trades Council is to be held for the purpose of discussing the original strike of the boilermakers and shipbuilders at the Townsend-Downey yards and to consider other matters relating to trade conditions.

"The original misunderstanding was caused by the misinterpretation of the meaning of letters which passed between the two organizations. When this misunderstanding was cleared away during the conference, better relations were at once established, which led up to the settlement as stated. Mr. McKay of the Marine Trades Council and the committee of the Metal Trades Association, who had up to that time been unwilling to meet for the discussion of the differences, were congratulated by the members of the Civic Federation on the spirit of conservatism they had shown and their willingness to reach an honorable settlement."



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National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

THE MOSELY INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

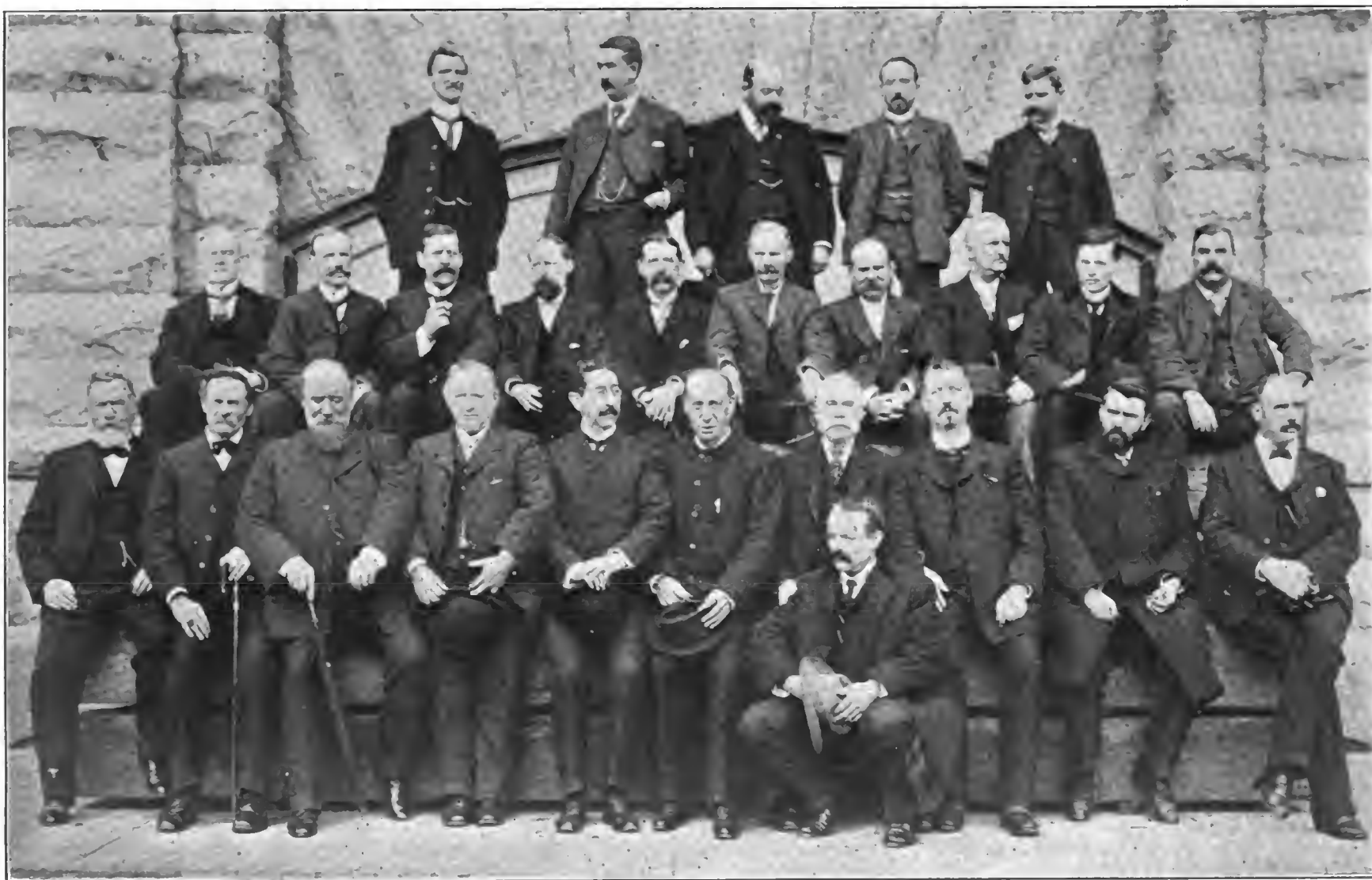
ITS REPORT AN EXTRAORDINARY COLLECTION OF TESTIMONY RELATIVE TO THE SUPREMACY
OF THE UNITED STATES

The reports of the Mosely Commission, issued in London a month ago, have not by far obtained the attention they deserve in this country. They form in fact a highly important contribution to the works of the day that treat of America's working people and its resources and industrial accomplishments. The writers of the reports know their several subjects intimately, they have made their comparisons at first hand from actual observation, and their verdict leaves no room for doubt as to their intention to give the truth as they see it.

As is known, the members made their trip in the United States as guests of Mr. Mosely, an English capitalist. On their arrival here the Civic Federation undertook the task of planning their itinerary, of appointing a committee to attend them in their travels, and of seeing to it that they should be introduced in the various cities under favorable auspices. While some of the members also made independent trips, the entire party visited Niagara, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Dayton, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Washington and New York. In this city they attended the

Civic Federation's conference of last December, contributing to its success by their impromptu discussions, fortified as they were by fresh facts from their experience at home and in this country.

The members arrived from England in small parties at the ports of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Quebec, on or about Nov. 8, and, assembling at Niagara Falls, Nov. 12, for the most part journeyed afterward in a body. As they sailed for England Dec. 19-25, their general observations were necessarily hurried.



Upper Row (from left to right)—Messrs. Lapping, Dyson, Wilkie, Hornidge, MacDonald.
In Front—Mr. Samuel B. Donnelly (Typographical Union), New York.

Second Row—Messrs. Coffey, Cummings, Powerman, Taylor, Deller, Holmslaw, Steadman, Wilkinson, Sutherland (Central News Agency), Flynn.

Third Row—Messrs. Walls, Crawford, Ham, Ashton, Marks (President National Association of Clothiers, United States), Mosely, Jones, Kelly, Cox, Barnes.

(Photographed at Niagara Falls Power Plant.)

The members of the commission were:

Thos. Ashton, Amalgamated Association of Operative Cotton Spinners;
G. N. Barnes, Amalgamated Society of Engineers;
C. W. Bowerman, London Society of Compositors;
W. Coffey, London Consolidated Society of Journeymen Bookbinders;
Jas. Cox, Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain;
H. Crawford, General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners;
D. C. Cummings, United Society of Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders;
M. Delier, National Association of Operative Plasterers;
Wm. Dyson, Amalgamated Society of Paper Makers;
T. A. Flynn, Amalgamated Society of Tailors;
Harry Ham, National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association;
R. Holmshaw, Sheffield Cutlery Council;
W. B. Hornidge, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives;
Thos. Jones, representing the Midland Counties Trades Federation;
G. D. Kelley, Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers of Great Britain and Ireland;
G. J. Lapping, Amalgamated Society of Leather Workers;
Jas. MacDonald, London Trades Council;
J. Maddison, Friendly Society of Ironfounders of Great Britain and Ireland;
W. C. Steadman, Trades Union Parliamentary Committee;
H. R. Taylor, Operative Bricklayers' Society;
P. Walls, National Federation of Blastfurnacemen;
Alex. Wilkie, Associated Shipwrights' Society;
W. H. Wilkinson, Northern Counties Amalgamated Associations of Weavers.

All the members (with one exception) sent in reports, each writing after his own plan, especially of matters relating to his occupation, but at the close of his report giving replies to a schedule of forty-one questions, some of them subdivided, relating to labor and other economic conditions in the United States as compared with those of England.

Taking up first the questions of immediate interest to the wage-earners, we have the following:

WAGES IN AMERICA FAR HIGHER.

"How does the value of the American wage in your trade compare with that of the English, cost of living being taken into account?"

To this, the main question among wage-workers, all the members of the commission give a verdict for America. The carpenter says money wages are "very much higher," but as to the value, "everything averages about equal, except rent and clothes." But he also says the thrifty man can certainly save more in America than in England; he "found there was plenty of employment and generally much better paid." He compares in a table the wages and expenses of an unmarried joiner or carpenter in New York with those of one in London. His result is: "The American can save nearly double, though he works four hours less per week." Other members are all more unqualifiedly of the opinion that, in their respective trades, the American working man is the better paid. The blast furnace man says: "The American is fully 25 per cent. better off." The iron founder: "Undoubtedly the American has a great deal the best of the English worker." The machinist: "About 15 or 20 per cent. higher on the base line and proportionately more on the maximum." The boilermaker: "Average wages of time-workers are 75 to 100 per cent. higher in our trade than at home, and I am inclined to the opinion that, notwithstanding the greater cost of outer clothing, housing accommodation, and fuel, a careful, sober, steady man could, whilst keeping himself efficiently provided for, save more in America than in England, foodstuffs being certainly cheaper." The cutlery worker: "Wages are generally about 100 per cent. higher;" . . . "it will cost the American wage-earner 50 per cent. more to live than the English worker." The cotton spinner thinks the advantage of the American over the English spinner in wages is 40 per cent. The weaver, speaking for his trade, says 10 to 15 per cent.; the tailor, 50 per cent.; the bricklayer, 50 per cent.; the plasterer, 25 per cent.; the lithographer, 60 per cent.; the bookbinder, 20 per cent. Mr. Steadman, representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, says "50 per cent. better off."

LITTLE DIFFERENCE IN HOURS.

"What are the hours of work in your trade in America, and how do they compare with the hours in England?"

The replies to this question will bring some surprise to those Americans who have accepted the prevalent idea that English trade unionists have a uniform eight hour day. In the building trades ten hours seems to be the rule in England, while in this country, in the larger cities at least, it is eight. When the greater proportion of the union men in the building trades here is remembered, the comparison becomes the more favorable to America. The plasterer of the commission reports: "The hours worked in America are some two hours per day less than those worked in England." The replies of the bricklayer and carpenter refer to the eight-hour day in American cities without stating the length of their own work-day. The bookbinder says: "The hours worked in our trade are generally slightly in excess of the usual practice here. There are, however, some important exceptions, where the eight-hour day is established." The steel worker reports of wages and hours: "There are all the elements of a fair comparison in the sheet trade, tinplate trade, and puddling. In both countries there are standard tonnage rates governing this class of work, and a comparison works out at practically two, two-and-a-half, and three times respectively in favor of the American workman. Very elaborate wages lists and scales are annually agreed to between the employers' and the workmen's associations, copies of which I have. Sheet and tin-bar mills work eight-hour shifts, with a limited output, and at some places puddlers also work eight-hour shifts; in most other departments the double shift is worked similar to this country." Elsewhere he notes that in the tin plate mills the workers "can often get their limited turns work out in seven hours." The leather worker reports: "The hours worked in the States leather industries are for the most part 60 per week; in a few cases, 59 hours. In one firm, where over 75 per cent. of the employees were on piecework, I believe the hours were 54, but this was an exception. In this country the hours vary from 54 to 57 per week, and in some cases they work 58½." The tailor reports for his trade that hours in America and England are "very similar." "Counting the Saturday half holiday our hours are shorter." The compositor reports: "The hours are somewhat longer than those prevailing in this country." He gives no figures for comparison. The printer in America would have derived more satisfaction from his report had he done so, keeping in mind the fact of the far greater relative number of compositors in the daily newspaper branch here, in which perhaps 1,000 have a seven-hour day and fully 10,000 eight hours, while in the book and job branch the eight-hour day has been attained in several cities, while in all the rest the nine-hour day is uniform. The lithographer reports the workday "the same practically." Of the other trades, the blast furnace man reports the ratio as twelve in America to eight and ten in England; the iron founder, nine and a half to nine; the machinist nine and a half to eight and a half; the boilermaker and the shipwright, ten to eight and the cutler, the tube worker, the spinner, the weaver, the boot and shoe worker, and the furniture worker ten to nine. To make the comparison of the national workdays complete one must observe that the Mosely Commission did not represent the cigar makers, of whom 33,000 in this country have the eight-hour day; nor the coal miners, whose union, with more than 250,000 men, has of recent years shortened the workday here to eight hours; nor silver or copper miners, whose thousands in America work eight hours or less; nor the railroad men, who in general have shorter hours than in England and outnumber the English railway servants as ten to one.

THE SAME SPEED.

"Does the American workman do more, or less in an hour, on average, than the English workman?"

To this the steel worker replies: "Much has been made of the statement that men are so rushed in American works that only the young and strong can stand the strain, and that only for a short time. No statement could be wider of the actual truth." He also

reports "greater productiveness with less physical exertion, consequent upon greater adaptability of machinery and labor-saving appliances." The blast furnace man says: "We failed to find ocular evidence of the American workman running at high pressure." The boilermaker writes: "As for working hard, it was generally admitted that it was impossible for men to work harder than the piecework shipyard worker does in Great Britain." "As to whether more work is done in an hour than in England, I unhesitatingly say no." The shipwright: "By those from whom we made inquiries, many of whom have worked both in this country and America, we are assured that they worked no harder in the American shipyards than they do in the British yards." The cutlery worker: "The American does not actually work harder than the English workman in an hour." The cotton spinner: "Very little difference between them when they are employed under similar conditions." "Generally speaking, American workmen attend to a larger number of machines than is the case in England, but taking quantity and quality of work into consideration I don't think they work any harder than the English workman." The weaver: "I do not think there is much difference." But he says further: "The output in the American cotton mills is less per loom per week than in the English mills, though shorter hours are worked in the English mills." The tailor: "In the best New York and Chicago firms a journeyman tailor earns £6 in less time and in a more easy and leisurely manner than a London tailor earns £3." "The labor performed by the American is less than in England, as a consequence of improved and selected machinery. The machine is the recognized working man of America." The plasterer: "Plasterers complain that the rushing, at least in New York, is done chiefly by 'new chums' from this country, Scotsmen being the greatest delinquents in this respect. I failed to observe the great rush at work that I expected to see. Upon inquiring at one job the time taken to complete the work and comparing same with a similar amount in this country, I found that in many cases which came under my personal observation—when at work at the trade—we did equally as much." The carpenter: "I thought now was my opportunity to ask from a man who had worked on both sides of the Atlantic whether the men worked harder in America than in the old country? His answer was emphatic: 'The machinery does the work here; I never worked so hard in all my life as I did in London.'" And he says further: "In every shop I went into the great majority of the men had worked in the old country, and their opinion was that they did not work so hard in America as in England." The furniture worker remarks of a billiard table factory: "The men in this shop, although they kept moving, did not in any way appear to distress themselves." The paper maker reports: "The working at high pressure and the everlasting hustle ascribed to American workshops is a myth and exists in imagination only." The compositor: "In the offices I visited the men appeared to be working comfortably, and there was a distinct absence of the 'hustle' which one had expected to find without having to hunt for it." Of a daily newspaper office he writes: "I failed to find any trace of the feverish 'bustle' which unconsciously I had been led to expect—in fact, I have seen men at home working at much higher pressure upon a precisely similar class of work." And further: "American printers compared with English, as a general rule do not appear to work harder, if as hard." The bookbinder: "I failed to find any grounds, so far as our trade is concerned, for the assertion that the men work so much harder. Everywhere men were working fairly, with little show of that feverish haste that one would expect to find after reading some statements that have been spread abroad. I am quite sure that the average rate of work in London is quite as rapid as that prevailing in New York."

The bricklayer throws light on charges made by the London "Times" against the British bricklayers: "In attempting to make comparisons as to output, it must be borne in mind that this cannot be done equitably without taking into consideration the whole of the factors which govern the amount of work produced, the chief of them being the class of materials used, the conditions under which the work is per-

formed, and the class and stability of the work produced. In other words, if the average number of bricks laid per day by the workman in America is compared with the average number of bricks laid per day by the workman in this country, the conditions not being equal, the comparison would be an unfair one, as the class of work produced in the two countries is not at all comparable—because, as I pointed out before, the proportion of faced work in America is infinitesimal compared with that produced in this country; and I am quite certain that if the American workman was called on to produce the same class of work under the same conditions as regards the number of angles, the bond, perpends, flushing and grouting up, selection of material and clean finish, he would not be able to produce more than the British workman, if as much. That the average output (in bulk) of the bricklayer in America is greater than the average output here is in my opinion correct, but to compare two such entirely different classes of work would be obviously unfair and misleading. . . . After considering the whole of the facts and circumstances relative to the question, I am convinced that the bricklayer here gives better value for the low wage he receives than the bricklayer in America gives for a much higher wage. The one gives a smaller quantity but better quality for a low wage; the other gives a larger quantity of lower quality for a much higher wage."

AMERICAN SANITARY CONDITIONS SUPERIOR.

"Are the needs of the workers in the matter of sanitation, ventilation, and general comfort in the factory better met in America than in England?"

On this question there is some difference of opinion, but on the whole the balance is much in favor of America. The machinist reports: "The needs of the works in the matters mentioned are no better provided for in America than in England; in fact, I should say that, excepting the workshops which have been mentioned as being well found, the American workshops, so far as I could see, are dirtier, more unsanitary, and more congested than the ordinary English workshop. But it should be said for the American workshops that they are generally well heated by hot-air blasts or piping in winter time, and cooled by fan or other arrangement in summer. This is a matter almost entirely ignored in this country." The spinner says: "From what I saw, I should say they are not." And the weaver: "Not so good in America as in cotton mills in England." The boot and shoe worker: "In some instances the condition in relation to baths, etc., are superior to anything I have seen in England; otherwise there are factories and conditions that would not be tolerated in any industrial centre in England." The leather worker replies: "Not as a general rule." The plasterer reports: "Undoubtedly the building operatives in both America and Canada work under conditions much inferior to those at home or even the rest of the American workmen." The foregoing constitutes the body of opinion unfavorable to America in this respect. Nearly all the other delegates are more or less strongly of the opinion that workshop conditions are better in America than in England. Several of them simply answer the question by "yes." The blast furnace man says: "Generally." The iron founder: "So far as my experience goes, they are better cared for in America." The steel worker: "Yes, on the whole." The boilermaker: "Sanitary comfort, ventilation, and general comfort are to a great many employers something worthy of attention, and wherever possible work is inclosed in shops sufficiently heated to permit of the men working in their shirt sleeves in comfort in midwinter." The cutlery worker says: "In the cutlery trade the workshops, as a rule, are better fitted up than the generality of Sheffield workshops." "Speaking generally the comfort of the worker is more considered there than here." The tailor reports: "We have nothing in England to equal in ventilation, sanitation, light and general comfort the best which obtains in America. Ironmolder and clerk leave the works spick and span. A grimy workman is a strange spectacle in American cities." The carpenter's statement is: "The workshops generally are

kept much cleaner, and the appliances for warming the shops in the winter make it much better for the workman and the work than in England." The bookbinder remarks: "The shops in the States were noticeable for the frequency with which they were swept and the precaution taken to prevent accumulation of dust and litter." The compositor reports: "In the case of the larger, and what may be termed special, factories—such as at Dayton—the sanitation, ventilation, and general comfort of the workers were far ahead of anything I have seen in this country; and in the majority of the offices I visited the general conditions were decidedly good, the method and style of building throughout the States assisting greatly so far as light and air are concerned—two most important and essential features so far as the worker in the printing trade is concerned." . . . "I was greatly struck with the cleanliness of the printing offices I visited, as well as with their light and lofty appearance."

AMERICAN OPPORTUNITIES INCOMPARABLY THE BEST.

"Speaking generally, are there greater opportunities for the working man to rise in America than in England?"

Every one of the members of the commission answers this question in the affirmative, several of them with emphasis and replying at length.

"Do you consider the general conditions of life of the workman better in America than in England?"



A. MOSELY.

The majority, considering mainly the economic situation, reply yes; several, however, apparently on patriotic grounds, or from a more general view of society, reply no.

Thus, on the whole, in matters of which the members may be taken as best qualified to judge—matters of prime importance to the wage-earner,—wages, the workday, the rate of speed exacted, workshop conditions, opportunities, and general social conditions,—the Mosely Commission tells the American workingmen they are much better off than the English workmen, and consequently than those of any other nation.

ADVANTAGES OF AMERICAN CAPITAL.

A Land of Great Resources, the Latest and Best Machinery, and Almost Perfect Methods.

The delegates saw wonders in American natural resources, and to some extent in American machinery and administrative methods. But of the quality of the product they have occasionally criticism.

The blast furnace man writes: The Americans "have immense mineral resources, unparalleled waterways, and railway communication." The steel worker: "To give some idea of the American natural resources I

may state a fact in connection with this work. The coal mine—a drift mine—is in close proximity to the works. The seam is about five feet thick, and the coal is conveyed to the works by electric traction, and also round the works, being emptied into the various furnace coal bins from these overhead trucks. The total cost of mining, royalty, conveying coal from mine to furnace, including everything, is 75 cents per ton, and I was assured that within a few months they would be producing a ton of finished tin plates with one ton of coal consumed. I would like, in concluding, to indicate three general features of American industry to which I largely attribute their success. 1. The enormous mineral deposits, waterways, and cheap transit. 2. The control or ownership by the manufacturer (through combination or direct purchase) of the raw materials—ore, lime, coal and coke. 3. The marvelous engineering ingenuity and initiative, remarkable through every phase of manufacture in its reduction of manual labor, combined with great productiveness."

The machinist says: "Americans have, of course, natural and other advantages over us. They have great resources of raw material and a protected home market for manufactures. But, on the other hand, we have social advantages over Americans in the form of good roads, trained hands, and all the accumulated accessories of civilization which are relatively lacking in newer communities."

The cutler's report contains this passage: "The natural advantages of America and the uses made of them play no small part in developing the industrial life of the country. Natural oil and gas, which are gotten so easily and cheaply from the earth, must of necessity give a great impetus to certain industries. At the Homestead steel works all the heating of the ingots for the rolling mills is done by the aid of natural gas, not one ounce of coal being used for this purpose. The usual sidings full of coal wagons that one is so familiar with at works of this description are absent. The saving of labor in stoking alone must be enormous. The splendid waterways are of great use and provide a cheap and ready means of conveyance both inland and to the ocean. Thus the iron ore is brought from Lake Superior by the great lake steamers, which on their return take back a cargo of coal. At Buffalo this use of the waterways is illustrated by the way the corn is brought down and coal taken back from lake to lake."

The delegate from the Midland Counties Trades Federation offers as an opinion: "As to how America is able to pay higher wages and yet successfully compete with us in the markets of the world, I believe it is due to the vast natural resources she has in mines and minerals, improved methods of mining, the utilization of her vast waterways, and the superior railways she possesses."

The leather worker observes: "We cannot compete with any certainty of success with the States for the markets of the world, as with their great natural advantages they can undersell us."

The compositor speaks of the "huge natural resources at the command" of Americans.

The bookbinder mentions America's "enormous natural resources." "For instance, the iron ore is found in immense quantities, cropping up on the surface, and is obtainable by the simplest outlay for labor, no mining being necessary. Again, splendid waterways are ready to the hand of the enterprising promoters of the industry for which they can be best utilized. These and many other advantages, provided by the bountiful hand of nature, enable the American manufacturer to produce cheaply and in large quantities at lower rates than is possible in countries where heavy cost of mining, construction of roads and canals, add so materially to the charges upon output."

The lithographer thus expresses his views on this point: "The prosperity of the United States is attributed to various causes. Those which, in my opinion, operate most strongly in effecting it, are, in the first place, the splendid natural resources of the country, rich in mineral and natural productiveness; in the second place, the superior education given to the American youth, which better fits him for the industrial contest into which he must enter; and in the third place, the advantage of better machinery of the newest

and most approved type. The number of labor-saving appliances in use for almost everything is perfectly astounding."

Of the machinery in use in America, the machinist's report naturally has most to say. Following are passages: "Here lies the distinctive feature of American industry, viz., the hankering after the latest machinery and best methods of working, which pervade American industrialism. In some respects American workshops are better equipped than English. They are equipped with a greater variety of special tools made for special work of repetition character, and on the other hand there is less range in regard to the size of tools in the workshops, and, therefore, because of that I think greater production. . . . American engineers have been able to do things wholesale; in fact, they have been pressed to do so, and this has led to the adoption of plans for the manipulation of parts in a wholesale way by operating upon a number at a time, and by all sorts of little contrivances for securing uniformity and dispatch. The American manager is more enterprising and more ready to introduce the latest and best of everything. . . . The spirit of enterprise is more general in America, and, as I have previously stated, there is an all-round readiness to accept new ideas, and a general hankering for machinery and appliances."

The steel worker, after remarking that the best equipped works for manufacturing plates, rails, sheets, wire rods, etc., "are far ahead of us in the outlay of their plants and their productiveness," says: "There is no doubt that the leading mills of American manufacture are far ahead of our own best mills in their arrangement and outputs. I have seen nothing like it in this country—either in the matter of output or labor-saving appliances. To the average British iron and steel workers the output of these mills will be incredible. . . . Another important item in successful mill work is the facilities of 'feeding' the mills. Such a thing as waiting for the furnace is unknown, and the charging and drawing appliances are perfect. . . . It is almost impossible to overstate the arrangements of these mills, the perfect dispatch with which everything is done, and the incredibly small amount of manual labor required in comparison with our own mills. Everything is straight and continuous. Not only are the mills well fed, but such is the space and equipment that there is no hitch or block through to the finish. From leaving the furnace there is no handling of material until the rail is slipped on the straightener's block."

The shipwright says the greater output of the American "is due to the organization of the works, the class of work, and the superior tools and machinery placed at his disposal."

The spinner writes on this point: "Comparing American factories with English factories and their equipment for production, I can only say, so far as the cotton spinning industry is concerned, that the only advantage that I found to obtain in the American mills is that a much better material is used than is the case for the same counts of yarn in the English mills. I don't think the American cotton mills are better managed than the English mills." And the weaver: "The keen appreciation which Americans have for up-to-date machinery, and the readiness with which they adopt labor-saving machinery of any kind, is remarkable." And the tailor: "No money is spared in the equipment of American factories; the best only is good enough. Production is correspondingly increased and insured." The carpenter and joiner found "machines doing what we entirely do by hand labor at home." "Employers in America vie with each other to get the latest up-to-date machines."

The furniture worker ventures this opinion: "If employers having the means would speculate in laying down as perfect plants as those I saw in Grand Rapids I am sure we should hear less about American competition."

The paper maker has this: "When we leave the natural resources and go in the mill, there is no doubt we are also lagging behind, the mechanical equipment of the American mills being superior to the great majority of the mills in this country, not only in the machinery actually necessary for paper manufacture, but for labor-saving also. The idea of the American is,

from the time the raw material enters the mill, to get as much of it made into the finished article in the shortest possible time, everything necessary in its manufacture being regulated by this desire."

The lithographer reports: "Assuming that our employers will provide machinery and other necessary means of production equal to those in use in America, this country need have no cause for alarm with respect to a transference of trade to the United States, so far as applies to lithography."

On the general question as to whether factories in America are better equipped for production than in England, all the replies were in the affirmative, except four, two being "no" and two "perhaps."

AMERICAN PRODUCTS NOT SUPERIOR.

As to quality of American product, while there is praise, especially for the output of some of the metal trades, considerable fault is found. Following are extracts from the reports:

The machinist: "From the point of view of quality I feel quite sure that British goods have nothing to fear, providing that British designers are encouraged." "The factories certainly do not turn out better work. Qualitatively the work is inferior to British work. This is marked in industries other than engineering, notably in cutlery and newspapers. It is also true to some extent as applied to the engineering industry, not so far as fitting parts are concerned, these being largely standardized, but in the dispensing with all polish and finish not absolutely necessary, and in skimpiness of material, which is also softer and less durable than that used in Great Britain."

The boiler maker: "The life of an American locomotive is not to be compared with the life of a British one. . . . Summing the whole matter up, American locomotives compared with our own are extremely ugly, and of inferior work and finish, and although it may be argued that they serve their purpose, yet I should be sorry to see such an age of utility in our country that would sacrifice all beauty and finish, believing, as I do, that if anything is worth doing at all it is worth doing well."

The shipwright: "So far as could be ascertained from interviews with representative workmen and others of reliable authority, the work carried on is not so substantial as with us, and there does not appear to be the same regard for completeness as there is in the yards of this country. The vital distinction between the yards of this country and America appears to be that the work in the British shipyards not only has a better finish but is of a much more stable and enduring character."

The spinner: "The system of working in the spinning and carding departments of the American mills is much different from what obtains in the English mills, and my opinion is that the advantage is on the side of the English system, both in respect to the cost and the quality of production—all other things being equal."

The boot and shoe worker: "Machinery in the boot trade is run at a greater speed with advantage in relation to quantity, but loss of quality in production." The leather worker: "I am of the opinion that taking the goods all round we produce a better article than they do in the States."

The plasterer found many faults in American methods in building. In Washington, even in the room in which the President received the delegates, "the plastered walls were very poorly finished, although it is only fair to say that some decent work was to be found in the Congress House and Library." In New York: "The work was both good and bad; the latter could not be worse, but here let it be said that the good was on a par with our best. I rejoiced to find at least some real plastering, it being the first seen during my stay, either in Canada or the States."

The furniture worker reports: "I spent an hour or two in inspecting the furniture department of stores, but found (with one exception) nothing half so perfect in design or workmanship as is to be found in a second-class shop in Tottenham Court Road, London."

The paper maker: "In many cases the quality and finish of the manufactured article is inferior to English make."

SOCIOLOGICAL QUERIES.

The common school education of the youth of America elicited general admiration from the delegates. The tailor thus begins his report: "It is a humiliating fact that the children of our industrial population receive an education very much inferior to that given to the children of the United States of America. Not only is education in that country free, but it is continued up to the age of eighteen, and in some States even university education is free. So far as American law is concerned, every boy and girl starts life with at least a high school education." "With us the poverty of parents means compulsory ignorance of the children."

One of the forty-one set questions was: "Does gambling or horse racing, etc., enter as largely into the life of the American as of the English working man?" To this three of the delegates gave no answer, sixteen say, some of them emphatically, it does not, while three say it does. The cutler avows: "It is undoubtedly true that there is less drinking among American workmen than we find among our own." "There is a remarkable absence of bad language in the streets." The Midland Counties delegate says: "There is not so much horse racing as here, and, so far as one could see, but little gambling, except at some clubs one could read about at times."

Several delegates are of the opinion that whereas in England the introduction of machinery moves the employer to reduce wages, in America it brings an increase. None of them found evidence that increased output through efficiency at piecework was a forerunner of wage reduction. Most of them believe the American employer is ready to increase wages with increased output. They also heard that suggestions for improvements are welcomed and rewarded, while American employers are in general more accessible than are the English. The building trades delegates and those of the cotton mills think the worker is thrown out of work before he grows old in their occupations, but the other representatives saw no evidences of the fact in their trades.

MR. MOSELY'S VIEWS.

The preface to the volume is written by Mr. Mosely. Following are noteworthy passages: "My personal conclusion is that the true born American is a better educated, better housed, better fed, better clothed, and more energetic man than his British brother, and infinitely more sober; as a natural consequence, he is more capable of using his brains as well as his hands. Many of the men, however, holding leading positions are either English or Scotch, and the American himself is justly proud of his British descent."

"One of the principal reasons why the American workman is better than the Britisher is that he has received a sounder and better education, whereby he has been more thoroughly fitted for the struggles of after life; and I believe all my delegates were themselves immensely impressed with the generally high standard of education in the United States—a standard it would be well for our own nation to copy as far as practicable." "Labor saving machinery is widely used everywhere and is encouraged by the unions and welcomed by the men, because experience has shown them that in reality machinery is their best friend."

"My own observations lead me to believe that the average American manufacturer runs his machinery at a much higher speed than is the usual practice in England—in other words, for 'all it is worth,' and the men ably second the employers' efforts in this direction. In England it has been the rule for generations past that as soon as a man earns beyond a certain amount of wages the price for his work is cut down; and he, finding that working harder or running his machine quicker (naturally a greater strain) brings in the long run no larger reward, slackens his efforts accordingly." "In many trades, a joint committee of employers and employes meet periodically to settle rates for piecework, by mutual consent, and if such an arrangement were adopted all round I am sure it would be found beneficial; and this is what is practically done in all American industries."

"Of course the true solution of the whole problem is profit-sharing in some shape or form, and it is to-

wards this goal that I feel both masters and men alike should turn their eyes."

"The United States is advancing by leaps and bounds. She is beginning to feel the beneficial effects of the education of her masses, and an enormous territory teeming with natural resources as yet but meagerly developed." "At the present time the home market of the United States is so fully occupied with its own developments that the export trade has as yet been comparatively little thought of; but as time goes on and the numerous factories that are being erected all over the country come into full bearing America is bound to become the keenest of competitors in the markets of the world." "That already she has her eye on the export trade is plain to every one except the wilfully blind; but at present she is only getting ready. When America wishes to export goods she intends to dictate freights, which she could not do if she had no mercantile marine of her own."

"That the American workman earns higher wages is beyond question. As a consequence, the average married man owns the house he lives in, which not only gives him a stake in the country but saves payment of rent, enabling him either to increase his savings or to purchase further comforts."

"Food is as cheap (if not cheaper) in the United States as in England, whilst general necessities may, I think, be put on the same level. Rent, clothes made to order, and a variety of things, including all luxuries, are considerably dearer. Luxuries, however, do not enter much into the every day consumption of the average working man in this country, and if in the United States he can get them at all (even though he have to pay a high price for them) that is surely an advantage by comparison."

"The American workman drinks but little, and his house is usually well furnished and fitted with luxuries in the way of bathrooms, laundries, hot water and heating systems, and other items mostly unknown to the British workman."

"One of the points the delegates were invited to investigate was whether or not the workman in the United States wears out faster than the Englishman. Personally, I think so. It is generally admitted that the American workman, in consequence of labor saving machines and the excellence of the factory organization, does not need to put forth any greater effort in his work than is the case here, if as much. He is infinitely better paid, therefore better housed, fed, clothed, and moreover is much more sober. Under such conditions he must naturally be more healthy, a proposition that I think cannot be denied. In American factories, speaking generally, great attention is paid to the necessities and comfort of the workers. Separate lockers (of which the workman has the key) are provided for working clothing; consequently the man can arrive at and leave his work well clad, changing at the factory. The shops are usually very well ventilated, although it is customary to keep them at a temperature many degrees above the average in this country; but this is liked or would not be done, and is in fact a national characteristic; and there is after all a good deal to be said in favor of being able to walk into a factory which is well warmed and where the tools do not freeze the hands as soon as touched. Excellent lavatories with shower baths, etc., and many other comforts for the employes, are the rule rather than the exception in the large factories; and in fact the American manufacturer has realized that if he wishes the best results from the hands he employs he must provide for their comfort and cleanliness. It is not a question of philanthropy, but of practical business."

"One point that has struck me with enormous force, as I believe it has all the delegates, is the close touch and sympathy between master and man, which is carried a step further in the enlistment of the men's good offices to improve factory methods."

"Fuel and raw materials are much the same price in the United States as in Europe, and it therefore cannot be claimed that she has very much advantage on this score; but facilities for transport, both by rail and water, are undoubtedly both better and cheaper, and I think one of the points absolutely necessary to the success of British industry is a close examination

and revision of our railway rates as against those of our competitors."

"In conclusion, I can only say that if we are to hold our own in the commerce of the world, both masters and men must be up and doing. Old methods must be dropped, old machinery abandoned. Practical education of the masses must be instituted and carried out upon a logical basis and with efficiency."

THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

The delegates who were present in New York at the time of the meeting of the Civic Federation signed the following document expressing their desire to see some similar organization established in England:

"In the course of our travels and investigations in the United States the excellent results achieved by the National Civic Federation of America have been brought to our notice, the Federation having been successful, among other things, in bringing capital and labor into closer touch, thus providing a practical solution of many of the difficulties and vexed questions that arise between the two.

"One of the most important features of the Federation is the section whose duty it is to get information of the first sign of impending trouble, and in the earliest stages of dispute to step in for the purpose of bringing the contending parties together at a round-table conference before any breach has actually taken place and before either side has assumed a position from which it can recede only with difficulty, and, in our opinion, it would be of benefit to both workers and employers were some similar organization brought into being in Great Britain.

"In expressing this view we do not desire in any way to interfere with the bodies which already exist for mediation and conciliation in the Board of Trade, Chambers of Commerce, Trade Conciliation Boards, etc., or agreements between employers' associations and workmen's organizations, but, if possible, to establish a further means, not so much for the adjustment of troubles after they have arisen as for their prevention.

"As representatives of our respective trade unions, it will be our duty on our return to our own country to place before our members the objects of this branch of the work of the Civic Federation, and we also hope to have the co-operation of other trade organizations, large and small, throughout the United Kingdom."

Delegate Walls writes of the Civic Federation: "I was much impressed with the good work done in America by the Civic Federation, more particularly when I had an opportunity of attending its meetings at the Board of Trade Hall, New York. When the Civic Federation was first spoken of to the members of the commission, several seemed to have an idea that it was a kind of Board of Arbitration. If I thought that such a body would attempt to assume the role of arbitration, or in any way interfere in the technicalities of a dispute, I would have nothing to do with it; but its sole function is to use every means possible to bring contending parties together, particularly before the real rupture takes place, or before it becomes too great to be easily healed. I have no hesitation in saying that, had there been a similar institution in this country, it would have saved many thousands of pounds to both capital and labor and many a bitter tear. We have yet the more or less isolated employer, who has not been accustomed to a union and dreads the thought of it. He has read of the agent as the paid agitator and has a kind of holy horror of him. On the other hand, we have the workman to whom a union is new and who has no more idea how to handle it than a three-year-old boy has to manage a toy locomotive. The existence of such conditions form a sort of industrial powder magazine, where the smallest spark is certain to create an explosion. When it takes place both parties stand on their dignity, and every hour the gulf grows wider. The function of a similar body to the Civic Federation would be to bring the contending parties face to face. Such a body could not fail to do good in this country."

Delegate Barnes: "Of course, I had full opportunities, so far as three days' attendance at its annual convention could give them, of getting to know the men at the head of it. These are the representatives of American organized labor, of American employers, organized and unorganized, and of the best elements in American public opinion. I saw and conversed with many of them, and had every reason to respect their ability and sincerity. . . . An organization of the character suggested in this country might at all events bring in the best elements of public opinion,

and thus tend to bring parties together and help to breach over the chasm between man and man which so far has been a condition of modern industry brought about by larger corporations and workshops."

Delegate Cummings: "I heartily approve of the formation of such bodies as the Civic Federation, and would at all times lend my assistance to the formation of any similar body at home having for its object the obtaining of industrial peace by reason and common sense aided by intelligent public opinion. . . . The Civic Federation of America, or rather its industrial department, certainly sets out in a direction new to us. . . . Although willing to act as a conciliation committee and also to arbitrate, if desired by both sides, yet that is not their principal function; the chief object is to step in before an actual strike or lock-out takes place and try to bring the contending parties together with the object of securing a reasonable settlement. The formation in Great Britain of a body similar to the Civic Federation is well worthy of a trial."

Delegate Wilkie: "I am in entire sympathy with its aims and objects."

Delegate Ashton: "I quite approve of its aims in trying to avoid strikes and lockouts by conciliation and other methods which employers and workpeople may be agreeable to adopt."

Delegate Wilkinson: "I fully approve of the working of the Civic Federation. I see no reason why such an organization, if one is not already in existence, should not be introduced in England on the same lines as the American organization. I am in favor of taking steps to establish such an organization."

Delegate Flynn: "To my mind it appears that work of the description carried on by the Civic Federation confers lasting benefits upon all sections of the community. Run on such lines, there is a boundless field of operations before the Civic Federation. The confidence of the working classes is neither easily given nor easily withdrawn, and while the wage-earner must in the main hammer out the metal of his own life, it is pleasant and cheering to know that outside industrial strife there is a weight of public opinion which may be used to bring about and maintain just and honorable settlements of what would otherwise become bitter and disastrous disputes. The Civic Federation has my vote."

Delegate Deller: "I approve of any method of preventing strikes or lockouts that does not interfere with the collective bargaining of the worker."

Delegate Crawford: "Any independent body of gentlemen who would form themselves into an association, so as to bring the two contending parties together to discuss their grievances in an amicable way, as the Civic Federation of America did in the case of the coal strike, would have my approval in principle."

Delegate Bowerman: "With respect to the question as to whether I approve of the working of the Civic Federation, and if any organization on the same or somewhat modified lines could be introduced into England, I should welcome any movement having for its object the bringing together of employers and employed for the purpose of settling terms and conditions of employment or of amicably arranging disputed points."

Delegate Coffey: "In England we have for many years been familiar with the work accomplished by boards of arbitration and conciliation. It was with very favorable disposition, therefore, that we gave attention to the work of the Civic Federation of America. This Federation has for its object the prevention of trade disputes by means of influencing the contending parties to confer in friendly discussion upon their points of difference. It seems, upon reflection, that there is room for such a body as the Civic Federation, and that its establishment would be likely to result in much benefit to trade and commercial interests generally. In a general way the public takes but a cursory and superficial interest in labor questions, regarding them as matters to be settled by experts. The Civic Federation aims at introducing this third element, or, at least, of inducing it to assist in bringing about the peaceful solution of labor problems. This would not be by taking sides

but by friendly persuasion, inducing the contending parties to meet and discuss their difficulties in each other's presence and so arrive at a friendly settlement. This organization would, therefore, embrace not only the experts, not alone the keen man of business intent on securing at all costs the terms that he requires, not only the workmen's representative, anxious and even eager to stand out for the full concession of the demands of his organization, but also the statesman, the churchman, the professional man; in fact, the

representatives of the great class that is usually seriously affected by the disturbance of the ordinary course of business on the occurrence of trade troubles. For this reason alone, I am completely and decidedly in favor of moving for the formation of a body on similar lines to the Civic Federation."

Delegate Cox: "There was a time in our own trade union movement when the jingo spirit was dominant. Saner methods now prevail, and a strike over a wage question is the exception rather than the rule.

Whether the Civic Federation will succeed in educating American opinion up to the same level, I cannot say. An organization of that character should be purely educational; there are times when both workmen and employers resent any outside interference. When both parties are educated up to the ideal that strikes and lockouts are both futile and criminal, that justice to both can be secured by other methods, there will be no difficulty in arriving at satisfactory mutual arrangements."

FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE

REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS, WAGE EARNERS AND THE PUBLIC SPEAK IN FAVOR OF CONFERENCE AND CONCILIATION

A remarkable gathering was that at the dinner given on Wednesday evening, May 13, by the Executive and Conciliation Committees of the New York



SENATOR MARCUS A. HANNA.

Civic Federation to the members of the Executive Committee, National Civic Federation, in attendance at their semi-annual meeting in New York.

The following list of the men who sat together at the tables in itself speaks volumes for the work already accomplished by the organization and of its possibilities for the future:

Lewis Nixon, Chairman.
 Senator Marcus A. Hanna.
 Archbishop John Ireland.
 President John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers.
 Spencer Trask, of Spencer Trask & Co., bankers.
 Wm. H. Farley, Secretary United Board of Building Trades, New York.
 Frederick D. Underwood, President Erie Railroad.
 Emerson McMillin, banker.
 Otto Eidlitz, Secretary United Building Trades.
 Marcus M. Marks, President National Clothiers' Association.
 Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., wholesale grocers, Chicago.
 W. W. Miller, Manager of New Orleans Street Railway Company.
 H. H. Vreeland, President National Street Railway Association.
 M. M. Garland, ex-President Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
 Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen's Association.
 W. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America.
 Col. John J. McCook.
 H. C. Watson, Editor "Dun's Review."
 Edward A. Moffett, Editor "Bricklayer and Mason."
 Louis B. Schram, President Associated Brewers.
 T. H. Smith, President New York Metal Trades Association.
 George Gunton, President Institute of Social Economics.
 Walter H. Page, Editor "World's Work."
 Henry White, General Secretary United Garment Workers.
 H. C. Hunter, Commissioner New York Metal Trades Association.

Patrick Calhoun, street railway director.
 Phil. G. Brady, Vice-President, and Francis J. McKay, local business agent, Brotherhood of Boiler-makers and Iron Shipbuilders of America.
 Ralph M. Easley, General Secretary National Civic Federation.
 John Philips, Secretary United Hatters of America.
 Charles Delaney, Granite Cutters.
 R. E. Neidig, Housesmiths.
 R. W. Nelson, President American Typefounders' Company.
 J. B. Wilson, Machinists.
 T. F. Woodlock, Editor "Wall Street Journal."
 James P. Archibald, Brotherhood of Painters and Paper Hangers.
 Wm. Fyfe, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
 Joseph Mulaney, Salamander Boiler and Pipe Coverers.
 A. J. Boulton, Stereotypers.
 John R. Commons, Secretary Conciliation Committee, New York Civic Federation.
 Henry L. Cargill.
 Samuel B. Donnelly and J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union.

Chairman Nixon, in calling the guests to order after the dinner, tersely referred to the organization of the Civic Federation, its work thus far, and its opportunities for the future. His remarks carried the assemblage to a high plane of thought and sentiment, which was uninterruptedly maintained the entire evening. In introducing Senator Hanna as the first speaker, Mr. Nixon said: "I am going to ask him to say to you to-night something about his experience and give you the benefit of some of his wisdom."

SENATOR HANNA'S SPEECH.

Mr. Hanna spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is certainly a great pleasure to me to be able to attend this meeting, composed as it is, in large part, of the members of the newly chosen committee of New York which has undertaken this great task. I do not know that you fully appreciate, gentlemen, all that you have undertaken, but, in the light of the experience of the national organization I feel at liberty to hold out to you every encouragement for the future. When I joined the national organization two years ago, I must confess that I myself had some doubts with reference to the practicability and efficiency of such an organization. I had been in touch with labor all my life. I had witnessed the many vicissitudes, and many times the troubles, that crept into industrial life, but I learned my lesson thirty years ago when after a disastrously long strike in the coal regions of Ohio I was impressed with the idea that there ought to be a better way to settle disputes between employer and employee than by strikes and lockouts. This idea was an inspiration to me, because as I went on and became connected with different industrial interests that brought me in touch with all classes of labor and made a trial of my theory I found how easy it was when men could be brought face to face to find a middle ground upon which all could agree. It is with some pride that I often make the statement to the public that, having learned that lesson and having put into practice what I have learned and preached, I have never had a strike since. [Applause.] It was because of the faith established by that experience that I entered into this work, and I was encouraged when I found that the men engaged in it were experienced, that they viewed the question with good common sense and were imbued with the same spirit that filled me, and

that we could rely upon their efforts and loyalty to the principles of the federation.

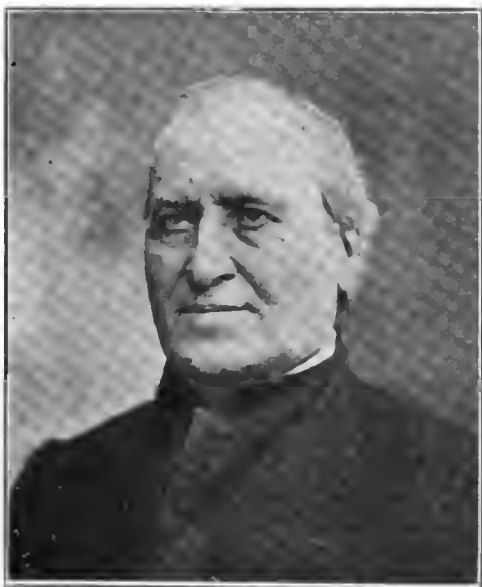
I stated in the meeting to-day that there are no real discouragements as to the future, although under present conditions we seem confronted with almost insurmountable difficulties. There has not been a failure, with one exception, and that not entirely a failure, in the efforts of this organization. We are not yet perfect in our organization, because we have not reached a point where the people interested fully appreciate and understand all there is in this great question. We are approaching better things rapidly and successfully, and I may speak of this organization as a success now, surrounded as I am by the men in New York who have undertaken the auxiliary work in this city. When I see around me men representing all classes, equally interested, a class of men that do things, and when they undertake a mission will accomplish it, I feel justified in making such a claim. Multiplying such organizations as yours, establishing them in all the centres of the country, step by step all these difficulties which seem to beset our path to-day will fade away, and each man who is a pioneer now in this work will live to see the time when he will be called blessed by his fellowmen. We shall need solid common sense, practical business methods, pure motives, and a spirit to settle questions, not for the advantage of one side, but to the mutual advantage of both. I feel hopeful as to the success of these efforts. Much depends upon the success of this auxiliary in New York City. You are the first in the field, and it is a field ripe for your labors. You confront conditions calling for serious consideration, and I emphasize that reflection in the



JOHN MITCHELL.

presence of trade unionists. What brings up almost a crisis, gentlemen, in this question, is the recognition of organized labor. I have been connected and dealt with organized labor for thirty years. I have seen it grow in strength just in proportion as it has proceeded along the lines of good judgment and common sense. Its position to-day is very much stronger than ever before in our industrial history, but it will require the soundest judgment, the greatest

amount of forbearance, and the strictest loyalty to the principles which are the foundation of the work of the National Civic Federation to meet this crisis. I wish to make an appeal to-night to you gentlemen who have undertaken the work in this city to stand firmly upon the principles which this federation has put forth. I mean by that a recognition of the rights of both classes and a determination by those who represent either class in the organization to stand firmly for those principles and insist upon their observance. No army ever succeeded without discipline, not only discipline in the ranks but in the leadership, and that discipline must come from experience. No general



ARCHBISHOP JOHN IRELAND.

can command an army without experience as a soldier as well as a leader, and on the representatives of labor and capital will devolve the greatest responsibility in times like this. To-day I have learned through various sources of the situation in New York. I am not surprised that there are disagreements. I am not surprised that there should be conditions which should lead to serious difficulties, with feeling on both sides, but, in view of the experience of our organization I should say there is not anything before you insurmountable, any more than there has been before the national organization; and my advice is, be conservative and, above all things, be patient. It is just as important to organized labor that its modes of government and methods of operation should be on sound business principles as that it should succeed in its efforts temporarily. We are building a structure not for to-day. Success is not for to-day. It is for the future, and the success of a movement like this, contributing to the advantage of all classes, has a higher motive and better objects than the mere gaining of a point or points to a controversy. Looking into the future, this movement means the elevation of the laboring class to a higher plane. It means better citizenship, better government; a feeling of humanity underlies this movement, and those of us who are missionaries in the field are aware of a growing interest as we meet with success in grappling with difficulties that are hard to overcome. I beg leave to suggest to those representing employers and employees that under these conditions in New York, for the moment and for the immediate future everything else in your business, in your everyday life, should be made subsidiary to the important task which lies before you. Don't say you have not time; don't feel that you have not the inclination; take hold of this question, because, believe me, my friends, the results will be successful if the efforts are loyal to principle, and in the end you will be more than repaid a thousand fold for the time that you may give and the effort you may expend.

It is all wrong to suppose that the laboring element of this country is not ready and willing to join in this movement. I speak from experience. In all the cases that have come to me, many of them entirely outside of the national committee work here, I have found the labor organizations ready and willing to go more

than half way. I have found some difficulty in overcoming the prejudices that have been growing up for years in the minds of men who have not appreciated and not fully understood the importance of this work for mutual benefit. Our progress is a work of education. We cannot expect that all classes of men, coming from all the nations of the world, even from countries where from their earliest days men are led to believe that they are little better than slaves, shall be able in a day to free themselves from their earlier influences, which have been all against the employer, while their associations have been simply the basis for the creation of a prejudice. They have come to this country, known to be a land of liberty and equality, and they do not immediately fully appreciate and understand America's free institutions or our American government, and it is only fair for those of us who pride ourselves upon our American citizenship, upon nativity in this great country, and upon a higher plane of education and enlightenment, that, when we come to study these questions of mutual interest, we shall study them from the standpoint of the "other fellow," and take into consideration his conditions in early life and have a care before attributing to him selfishness entirely. At the same time, that very spirit of our American institutions demands of all citizens a rigid adherence to our constitutional rights and the observance and execution of every law. The peace of our people depend on the enforcement of our laws, and the protection of life and property must be taken into account and fully observed. It becomes the duty of you who are at the head of labor organizations to spread this doctrine, and in the way of education insist that it shall be carried out, in order to break down the prejudices that have grown up against organized labor as the result of strikes, of cases of lawlessness, and of even destruction of life and property. It is the duty of those who have influence with organized labor and have to an extent in their hands the discipline over their organizations, first, to obey the laws of the land, and, secondly, to recognize equal rights among all people.

I tell the operators that it is their business, it is a part that belongs to them, to set the example in that direction. It is supposed that, from education and experience and higher conditions of citizenship and enlightenment, they should be better able to judge, better able to lead, in these things than many who follow in the ranks of organized labor. Wherever the greater proportion of intelligence and enlightenment lies belongs also the greater responsibility. It is the object lessons that we give to those in our employ, the examples we furnish to those whom we ask to join with us, that will bring success in obtaining their confidence.

My interest in all this work, gentlemen, has led me to believe that, if we can by any method establish a relation of mutual trust between the laborer and the employer, we shall lay the foundation stone of a structure that will endure for all time. Absolute confidence must be the foundation stone, because, unless the employer can establish such a relation between himself and his employees, when we come to consider a disagreement as to the wages or other conditions, men being naturally selfish, the employees will think of an employer's statement of facts, "Well, that's his side of the question, and he is arguing from a selfish standpoint." If I have been successful in dealing with labor unions for our organization, it has been because I have been successful in establishing the relation of mutual confidence. If I have been influential to-day in the share of the work that I am undertaking, it is because I have striven to obtain not only the confidence of the capitalists but also that of the wage earners. I would not have any heart in this work could I not be able to say conscientiously that the only object I have in undertaking it—and it is no small part of the work of my life—is to improve the condition of the classes who need help in this country, to elevate them in every way, to obtain for them a wider scope of education and welfare and through that to make them better citizens of a happier land. [Applause.]

I am glad to be able to say to-night that establishing this organization has had an immediate influence on other cities. St. Louis and Chicago have already fallen into line, and other cities which held back

are now making arrangements to organize branch organizations. It is a source of great satisfaction to me to find that every man who originally enlisted in this work has grown more and more interested, has found it a work that brings a realization that he is doing good to his fellowmen, and this is now no small part of his inspiration. I have yet to know a man in labor or other circles who when results have proved beneficial has failed to realize the compensations. There is Christianity in the work, and the higher ambition of every true man will be stirred in the enjoyment of it.

Our national commercial supremacy is an object dear to every patriot, and, gentlemen, its continuance depends upon the solution of the labor problem. There is every reason why we should consider "self" as secondary in every conference. There is every reason why every man who represents a labor organization should put aside the feeling as to whether he individually is going to win or lose in a conference. And in my experience, in all the settlements of difficulties in which I have been concerned in thirty years I have found the highest appreciation of the benefits of industrial peace coming from the laboring class. That should be encouraging to you who have responsible positions in these labor organizations. In doing your missionary work among your fellows, you should incite in them the ambition to be better than they have been, to take a higher place in this city and in the industrial world. How true it is that all of our industries which have grown great through our natural resources and under our beneficent laws were first begun by the men who worked with their hands! The foundations of the great iron and steel industries of the United States were laid by men who came from England, practised and experienced in their art. Capital came to their aid, and that combination—of experience, of the hands of the working man, and of capital—has made us to-day the greatest industrial nation of the world. We have only entered upon a great world-wide commercial career. The future is all before us. With wisdom and patience, with the strict observance of economic laws and fidelity to American principles, there can be no other settlement of the social question than that there shall be a fair division of profits. To bring about that condition first of all—I repeat, soberly, emphatically—we must establish mutual confidence. For this we are laying the foundation by every single organization we make. There



LEWIS NIXON.

will be no failures if we enter upon our labors with the proper spirit. The golden rule is our motto, gentlemen. Stand by it, and we shall win. [Applause.]

Mr. John Mitchell was the second speaker. Mr. Nixon, in introducing him, said: "We have heard from a representative American employer, and now we want to hear from a representative American wage earner. It has not been so many months since one hearing of John Mitchell would expect to see 'a man with hoofs and horns,' and you see him a modest, unassuming American gentleman, unwearying in his

demands for what he considers right, but willing and anxious to concede the rights of others."

Mr. Mitchell said, in part:

I have so recently recovered from the bruises of industrial war that it may seem somewhat satirical for me to say I am in favor of industrial peace. However, I believe that more strikes and more lockouts and more labor disturbances have grown out of the failure on the part of capitalists and labor men to meet in conference, to tell one another the truth, than from any other one thing. I believe there should be a greater bond of confidence between employers and employes. . . .

From my experience, I would say that trouble frequently occurs not because either side doesn't want to do what is right, but because we don't know one another. I have, I believe, as extensive an acquaintance with labor men as any one in this country, I know about as many employers as most men do, and my experience teaches me that the vast majority of both employers and employes and representative trade unionists want to do right. The trouble is that we don't understand what is right. We too often assume that we ourselves are infallible, but when we have a chance to sit down as we are to-night and talk things over, we are likely to make agreements.

Gentlemen, those who don't understand what we trade unionists stand for often misunderstand our movements and judge us by our faults alone. They are disposed to think that the trade union movement depends upon physical force for success. It is unfortunate that we are sometimes judged by our faults—and I am free to confess that we have them—God did not make perfect men. We have our faults and are sorry for them. We hope to grow better all the time, and we are growing better, but if I believed for one moment that the trade union movement depended upon physical force for its success I would leave it. If I believed that there were no other means of gaining success, or one thing un-American, in the trade union movement, I would not be a trade unionist. The trade union movement—ours—is an American movement. We do not in our country have the same principles of trade unionism that they have in some of the other countries. It is a rare thing in America to have an unreasonable restriction in the amount of work a man shall do. The American trade union believes in one restriction—the hours of labor—and that is the only restriction except in so far as it is necessary to protect the health of the operatives, and I think no manufacturer will object to restrictions of that kind.

In holding conferences, it is certainly necessary that the unions be represented by union committeemen. It must be apparent to every fair-minded man that a labor organization, like any and every other institution, must have trained men, specialists, indeed, to direct its affairs; and in these days of industrial concentration the organizations require and employ as officers the most skilled and best-informed persons they can find in their respective trades; and particularly it is essential that the unions be represented by men of wide experience and honest motives; men who are fearless in the prosecution of their duties; men who will insist upon labor receiving that portion of the profits of industry which properly belong to it; but who, at the same time, will recognize the right of the employers to receive that portion of the profits to which their investments entitle them.

The contracts made between the union representatives ought to be observed as sacredly and their provisions carried out as religiously as though it were a penal offense to violate them; and I am sure that experience has demonstrated that in those trades and industries where the employes are best organized and where the trade union is recognized and contracted with, strikes and labor disturbances have been least numerous.

It goes without saying that every strike and every lockout affects seriously others than those directly engaged in the strike or lockout. Great public interests are involved, and it is certainly a matter of no small concern to the public that some method be adopted through which strikes and lockouts may be entirely avoided, or at least reduced to the minimum. Experience has demonstrated that the most practical

plan which the ingenuity of man has been able, up to this time, to devise is for employers to recognize the union; meet its representatives in conference; enter into trade agreements which define in detail the conditions of employment which shall obtain during the life of such agreements. The constitution and laws of nearly every labor organization make it an offense punishable by expulsion for any member to violate a trade agreement or even by subterfuge to evade any of its provisions. The officers of the trade organizations of the present day recognize the great responsibility resting upon them, and they are few, indeed, who dare, even if they were so inclined, ruthlessly to disregard the sacred obligations of a contract. I know of many instances where contracts which were in conflict with the constitution and laws of trade unions have been entered into with employers, and yet the officers and members of the trade organizations have insisted that the contracts superseded the constitution and laws and took precedence of them; in fact, I recall several specific cases where the members of a local union connected with a national organization went on strike for the purpose of enforcing a higher rate of wages than was provided for in the contract made between the national organization and an employers' association, in which the officers of the national union promptly filled the places of the strikers with other men in order that the union could not be charged with or convicted of breach of faith.

As the unions have grown in numerical strength, as their power and responsibility have increased, they have become correspondingly conservative in their administration. The labor unions are here; they are here to stay; they are a power which must be reckoned with; they were not formed from sentimental ideas; they do not advocate Utopian theories or impractical policies; they have not grown to their present vast magnitude without good cause. The time has passed when wages and conditions of employment can be fixed satisfactorily at the door of the factory or at the mouth of the mine; the workers insist—and justly, too—that their wages shall be agreed to in conference halls where reason and logic, conservatism and equity shall be the controlling influences; they insist upon being represented in these conferences by men qualified by education and experience to defend their interests in as able a manner as the interests of capital are defended and protected by its representatives.

I don't know that the joint conference is the solution of the labor problem, but it is the nearest that has been instituted among men. I believe that we will have strikes and lockouts as long as the world lasts. I don't look forward to the time when we shall all live in paradise. But I do believe it is the solemn duty of every good American citizen, be he workman or capitalist, to do his level best to bring about an honorable adjustment of this great question.

I believe the great question before the American people to-day is the labor question. It is the question that is brought home to every man and every woman. We ought to get our heads together and join in every effort to help solving. I believe the National Civic Federation is the best channel through which we can bring the apparently hostile forces of society together. It has men in it whose influence will reach throughout the country, if not the world.

I am glad to be with you to-night and pleased to know that the local branch in New York is doing so much good work. The Civic Federation is a good deal like some of the secret societies. People hear of their faults but often don't hear about the good things. The Civic Federation has averted many strikes through bringing men into conference with one another. Such events cannot usually be made public through the newspapers, but I know New York would not be doing business as it is to-day if the Civic Federation had not accomplished what it has. [Applause.]

In introducing Archbishop Ireland as the next speaker Mr. Nixon said: "There is a triple alliance, and we want to bring about a proper understanding among the three. It is natural we should want to hear from that other factor, the general public, and also naturally we turn to that first consideration with the general public, the church."

Archbishop Ireland said:

I assure you it is a great pleasure to be here this evening, and I came all the way from the Mississippi River in order to hear the wisdom spoken and mingle a voice with those words.

I am [referring to Mr. Nixon's introduction] here as a representative of the church, and I am glad to be here. I think that it is the place of the church to come forward in all such efforts as are being made to-day to bring together the different elements of society and to establish peace throughout the country. The church says, be just; give to every one his due; it says, love one another, rejoice in lifting up humanity; it says, give peace and happiness to all men; and those principles observed we will have peace and happiness, and whatever we are doing at present is really with the intention of applying those general precepts of the church. So I am at home as a minister of the church, when I find myself in conferences such as those of the Civic Federation. I am here as a lover of humanity and as a lover of my country. As a lover of humanity, I should wish, indeed, to see the sunlight of social peace beaming upon every countenance. I am not afraid of those labor movements which honored the latter part of the nineteenth century and which will honor the twentieth century. We need not go very far back in history to see the evidences of the need of some such movements. The conditions of the working classes of many countries of Europe, especially in the early part of the nineteenth century, were such as to stir up the heart of any one who loved his kind. So there has been work for the labor unions in bringing men together and saying, "Let us strive to lift up ourselves; let us strive to have justice and charity done to us." In all these things, why would not any one join who loves humanity? We wish to see no class oppressed. We wish to see no class unnecessarily impoverished. We wish to see the family life respected. We wish to have education brought to the homes of all our people, and this I am sure is the leading motive in the labor unions. This, I am sure, is what has been to a very large extent accomplished.

In the name of our country, I must do my best if I am a faithful American to contribute to the peace and harmony between the different classes. . . . We are a great country, and as an industrial, commercial country, we lead the world. Why? Because we have the natural resources which no other country has, and then we have an intelligent people. We Americans can invade the markets of foreign countries with our products and sell cheaper than the manufacturers of those countries where labor is cheaper. Why? Because our workingmen are more intelligent, our employers, too, are more intelligent and display this intelligence by getting better machinery; and our men at the machinery can do more work in a given number of hours, far exceeding what men in other countries can do, and so we continue on these lines of commercial economic supremacy, and the world is assured to us. There is but one danger before us, and it is this, that, in the midst of our prosperity we should begin quarreling one with another. While traveling abroad I had once a very thoughtful man say to me: "You have labor troubles in America." I said: "Yes, I am sorry." He said: "I am not sorry; it will be to our benefit if they go on quarreling in America." And it is true. This demands that all classes should come together and say, we shall smother all our difficulties and maintain peace, otherwise we shall lose our economic industrial supremacy, and what a misfortune to the world if we do, and to ourselves. Think of the future opening to America. We invade the markets of every country, and now the Pacific ocean is preparing to bear American ships even in greater number than the Atlantic itself, sending our products throughout all Asia, so that the American workman and the American capitalist are really becoming the monarchs of the world. But for the accomplishment of that we must come together and live in peace and work together.

Now, as well as many others, I know the two classes that are constantly said to be in opposition—the laborers and capitalists. I know the laborers. My ministry largely is passed among them. My time

largely is taken up in hearing their complaints and giving comfort to their wives and children. I know them well, and I know them all the more that I love them and that I listen with tender affection to all that they have to say. Surely it is the wish of my heart that the working people should be lifted to a higher plane and have their full part of all that is good and promising upon the land. At the same time, I am allowed from time to time to talk to my other friends—the employers and capitalists—and I hear their story, and sometimes I listen to the objections that they may, some of them, make to the laborers of the country, to their trade unions, and I have to repeat what has been said so well by Mr. Hanna and Mr. Mitchell, that generally the cause of difficulties comes from misunderstanding.

It is to the advantage of the capitalist and of the country to build up a happy, intelligent working class.

was said, that however the world is to be fashioned, whatever may come, there will be the employer and employe. It is impossible that it should be otherwise; there will be those who have more than others. . . . I believe far more, let me tell you, in justice than even I do in charity itself for the solution of this question.

There are two classes in the other countries, one that loves you and believes that American institutions are being tested, and their hearts will be broken if you make a mistake; and there are the others, envious of you, feeling that in equal battle they must be vanquished by you, and their hope is that you will break asunder the timbers of your continent. Their hope is that there will be industrial battles. I have heard them say, "Well, never mind, we can wait—you will have industrial wars, and then what then? Then you will have to have a strong hand and then the Republic will die." That is their hope. They are jealous of

neath it all, underlying it all, is this question, What is to be the outcome of this labor problem? I must say that, after being present at this meeting the greater part of the day and to-night, personally I feel greatly relieved in regard to this very matter, and I could only wish that the words that have been said to-night could be heard throughout the length and breadth of the country. I know and believe that if there could be more opportunities given for contact between capital and labor many of these fancied difficulties would be dissipated entirely. When we first came in here the question happened to be mentioned in regard to calling each other 'Brother' among the various associations. I think it makes very little matter whether the term 'brother' is used, if the sentiment at the heart is there—if we feel that we are all a part of this brotherhood of man, of the federation of the world. When we once begin to feel that we



WM. H. FARLEY.



OTTO M. EIDLITZ.



EMERSON McMILLIN.



COL. JOHN J. MCCOOK.



DANIEL J. KEEFE.

On the other hand, I also say to them, that the labor unions have their great purpose to serve. At any rate, they are here. It is a condition, whether we like it or not, and it is folly to be knocking our heads against a stone wall dreaming of what we would like to have, instead of seeing what we have. Now, it is a fact with those great principles before us we ought to agree, and the way to agree is to come together.

I have learned immensely since I have become a member of the Civic Federation, and really one of the purposes in coming to the meetings is to go to school. I learn more in one of these meetings than I do in sitting in my rooms and reading volumes for hours and days. And I am becoming so well informed on these things that I can talk better to my hearers and with more satisfaction to myself. What I learn others will learn, representatives of labor will learn and vice versa. I am sure if I could pick out fifty or one hundred of the leading employers of the country and as many laborers of the country and keep them at school, through our good chairman, four or five times a year, we would come nearer to the solution than in any other manner. Mr. Mitchell said to-night that he would not encourage violence. Reproaches have been made that this was the tendency of labor unions, and, of course, if such were the tendency it would be all over. Both sides must remember that there is in America a supreme tribunal, public opinion. Sooner or later it comes right and public opinion in America aims at justice, aims at charity for all. Public opinion aims at the recognition of the right of all. It wants no class to be put down, however poor it is to-day, I say whatever its origin, whatever its color. Any movement to put down a class of people in America will ultimately fail, and consequently, you representatives of labor, of the poor and distressed may invoke public opinion; but, in order to make public opinion, be just and right yourself, make claims, but before making them be sure that you are right, and when you find that you are not right have the courage to recede. Remember that you are educating public opinion and that patience is one of the greatest virtues that you must have. I know the difficulties of leaders; it is very difficult to control crowds, because in the crowds there will be some unthinking radicals, but counsel patience and use your efforts to gain public opinion in your favor. Let public opinion realize that you condemn everything wrong or injurious to industry, and you will have it with you. And so it is with the employer. Let us give every one his due and let us above all aim at being right or at understanding, as it

the republic; jealous of the immense advantages it gives its citizens and the hope they have is that the employers and employes cannot agree. They build their hopes with reference to industrial America upon quarrels. Well, then, let us come together and admit that we will not have these quarrels, for I admit myself that unless we come together God only knows what will happen, for we know that our prosperity comes from the fact that we have this great self-governing power.

Now let us say, bad as we are at times, there is no country in the world where employers and employes will come together as pleasantly, as lovingly, as they do here to-night. The spectacle which you see here this evening in this room is something that would amaze people in other countries. They would not believe me if I were to tell them face to face what I see. There is no other country where a man is a man, so much because he is a man, as here. There is no other country where there are opportunities for the laboring man, where he is industrious, as much as here in America. There is no other country where there are such rewards for capital invested, controlled and managed for the rights of, the justice of all. It is a country so great in promise that it dazzles you. We can only say God preserve it, and we, under God, each one of us, will do our share to protect it and guard it. [Applause.]

BRIEF REMARKS BY OTHERS.

The remarks of the other speakers of the evening were of an informal character, hardly intended for publication. But, as the utterances of each in some manner illustrated the spirit of the occasion and expressed hopes common to all present, they are in part herewith given:

Mr. Spencer Trask, being introduced by Chairman Nixon as "a capitalist of the highest class," said in part: "I hardly feel equal to the task, the great responsibility of responding for capital. But I must say that if the capitalist were disposed to be very timid, I would feel more than ever that it was the time for capital to be very quiet. But I only want to add one word to that which has been said, and I hesitate to say anything that would dampen the enthusiasm and cause any of us to go away with the influence of this meeting in any way weakened. And yet I have heard recently from some of the leading representatives of capital that the great obstacle in regard to the immediate future, if not the far future, is this labor question. We hear a great deal about threatened tight money, the trusts, the tariff, etc., and yet under-

are all striving for one great purpose, one great end, we shall not then question as to the outcome nor the means. It makes very little matter what side we are on, whether that of the capitalist or that of the laboring man, as long as we feel that we have but one life here, one duty before us, that God is overhead and that we are laboring for one another, and I know that those who come in contact with one another can but feel that. Those who have the right motives will feel it in time, and I want to reiterate that I have never felt so strongly the promised future welfare as I do to-night after listening to the words I have heard." [Applause.]

Of Mr. Farley, the next speaker, Mr. Nixon said: "He works for industrial peace every day of the year." Mr. Farley said: "Mr. Chairman and (I am going to use the word) 'Brothers,' since one of the speakers has referred to the use of the term 'brother.' In relation to the Civic Federation of the City of New York, I want to say that I watched it and was one of the first to join it, and I am proud to say I am a member of it, because knowing as I do the valuable work it has done, and the many strikes it has averted by bringing the parties together, I am sure it will do good in the future. . . . One of the biggest parts of the building trades troubles was settled to-day, and that settlement was brought about by a member of the Civic Federation, Mr. Hayden. Otherwise, good friends in the Federation are watching our movements and helping to keep us in the right path." [Applause.]

Mr. Nixon deemed it fitting that Mr. Otto Eidlitz should next be heard from. Mr. Eidlitz began his remarks by saying: "Mr. Chairman and Brothers"—laying stress on the word "brothers"—which brought out applause from all present. Mr. Eidlitz's short address was mainly directed toward clearing up points at issue in the New York building trades contests.

"There is one point," he said, "upon which Archbishop Ireland talked, that I desire to emphasize. He stated that the unions are here and are a factor to be dealt with. I feel that I can say to him frankly, after having studied the situation for about eighteen years, that the unions are here and should be here. Not only that it is right that they should be here, but it is a positive necessity for the right-minded employer that they should be here, and the only difficulty with the union is if it should not be properly run."

Col. McCook spoke as follows: "I have been a learner from the beginning, but I do wish to say that from what I have seen thus far of the operations of

(Continued on page 15.)

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The National Civic Federation

281 Fourth Avenue, New York City

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Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.
John Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.

THE FEVER FOR ORGANIZING.

Periods of industrial prosperity offer inducements to organizers both of new corporations and of new labor unions. During the first two years of the present "boom" the country was aroused, and even alarmed, by the rush of promoters to organize and reorganize industrial undertakings. A financial journal recently estimated the capitalization of these enterprises at \$6,000,000,000. Now that several large speculations have collapsed and the public has learned the limits of others a lull has come and it is difficult to interest underwriters and investors in new ventures.

It was not until a year or two after the fever for capitalist organization had affected the financiers that the same kind of fever spread among labor organizations. Old unions expanded enormously, new unions sprang up everywhere. Unionism is now apparently nearing the top of this wave. Several notable successes, especially of the bituminous mine workers and the longshoremen, in 1897 and 1898, stimulated the less skilled and the unorganized labor over the country, and recruiting in this class of unions has since been remarkable. Older unions, especially in the building trades, have received unprecedented advances in wages.

Up to the present time the difficulty with capital has been mainly owing to the misgivings aroused by the losses of investors in several speculative securities floated a few years ago. But this distrust will have a new soil for growth in the anxiety as to labor demands. Employers in general are organizing, and while it was comparatively easy for the unions to get increases when speculation was active and promoters and underwriters wished to avoid unsettling confidence in their "undigested securities," it may be expected that future demands, if excessive, will be resisted, as the prospects for transferring the increase to the consumer and investor are diminished.

As the solid corporation built on substantial values may be expected to come out of the boom with well-equipped plants and good reserve funds, so those labor unions characterized by good discipline and fidelity to agreements will come out with recognition of their merits from the public and employers.

Fortunately, the danger of a panic from over-capitalized corporations seems to have passed, and the only present apprehensions in the business world are from "over-capitalized labor unions" of recent growth. The older and conservative unions have an obligation to the public and the new unions to guide and restrain the latter during their formation period. There are signs that the solid unions appreciate this responsibility. This is seen in the action of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which, though it rejected by a small majority the proposition to withhold from a union less than one year old any indorsement of a strike, yet unanimously decided to refuse support to any union on a strike if the Executive Committee of the Federation had not first been appealed to for its conciliatory offices. This action is strongly indorsed by labor representatives, and Mr. John Mitchell speaks of it as "an epoch in the advancement of labor." Apart from the greater sense of security on the part of the public, restraints of this kind should be encouraged on behalf of organized labor itself. Such restraints lessen the dangers ahead of new organizations, and strengthen the older ones in the confidence of employers and the public. They tend, above all, to remove the anxieties which in the past two months have materially checked industrial enterprise.

THE MOSELY COMMISSION.

To see ourselves as others see us has usually been prescribed as a cure for pride, but the reports of the Mosely Industrial Commission are calculated to exalt rather than to lower the pride of Americans in our industrial conditions. True, one who reads the reports can see proofs of the danger in generalizing for the whole country upon what the delegates happened to see in their three-weeks' trip. They visited the largest cities and the best establishments, but we must also believe that they corrected their impressions by conferring with their fellow craftsmen in this country. Each of the twenty-three members was not only an

expert in his own line but a leading officer in his trade union, his business having been for many years to study labor and market conditions for the intensely practical purpose of improving the wages and shortening the hours of his fellow unionists. The opinions of such men in comparing conditions at home with those in America are worth far more than elaborate statistical tables.

They agree, as will be seen in our summary of their reports, that wages in America are 15 to 100 per cent. higher than in England, hours of labor about the same, and workshop sanitary conditions superior. Most interesting of all, and most authentic because contrary to their own preconceptions, they find that the American workman is not pressed and rushed while at work beyond the speed of English workmen. This certainly is also contrary to the general view in America. Undoubtedly each delegate felt that he had been brought to this country by Mr. Mosely for the purpose of taking back to the English unionists a warning against their alleged opposition to machinery and unrestricted production. They find, indeed, a greater output in America, but it is owing, they say, to the greater natural resources and the amazing eagerness of manufacturers for new ideas and the best machinery. Apparently, from their conclusions, it is the English manufacturers, rather than the English workmen, whom Mr. Mosely should have introduced to the superiorities of American industry.

Their observations in one respect are distinctly depreciative of American practices, namely the quality of the product. They state that not only is the quality inferior in beauty and finish but also in substantial and enduring character. This is one reason why in their view America's output is greater.

Above all is it a matter of satisfaction to hear, on almost unanimous testimony, that American workmen are much less given to gambling, horse-racing and drunkenness than British workmen.

The indorsement given by the delegates to the work of the National Civic Federation, and their desire to see a similar organization established in England, is all the more significant since English unions have advanced much further than American unions on the line of conciliation and trade agreements. The delegates strongly emphasize the non-arbitrative character of the Federation and base their indorsement on its promotion of conciliation and friendly discussion.

INEXCUSABLE MISSTATEMENTS.

The problems of employer and employee are by no means easy of solution, and their solution is not helped by inaccuracy in stating facts. Two or three recent announcements by prominent critics of the Civic Federation, whatever may be said of their line of argument, are open to serious objection on the score of carelessness in this elementary matter. From a recent address by the President of the National Manufacturers' Association we quote the following:

"There was one article in that Chicago newspaper to which I have referred that I have reserved to speak of last. This article is the one relating to the formation of a Civic Federation in Chicago. I do not desire to get into any controversy with any noted Senator or politician, but I could not do even partial justice to that newspaper without saying something about what this particular article contained. In this article a noted Senator is quoted as saying several things. In the first place he is made to say that he was glad to learn that the Chicago Federation of Labor had given birth to a central senate or strike committee. Immediately following the noted Senator on the platform came Mr. John Mitchell, whose union a few months ago voted solidly in favor of a general confiscation of wealth. Mr. Mitchell also spoke about this new strike institution. He said, to quote his words: 'It marked an epoch in the country for the best interests of organized labor.' There you have it, gentlemen: The editor, the politician and the strike leader, all standing together congratulating the city of Chicago on the acquisition of an institution which appears to have it in its power to say who shall have the right to labor and what wage scales employers must pay.

"Now, I do not know what this so-called labor senate will do for Chicago. Let us hope it will do nothing. But I can and you can well imagine what it is possible for it to do. As the editor hinted, it could tie up the industries of Chicago tighter than a drum. A central committee composed of men elected by labor unions is a dangerous depository of the

power to rule or ruin the industries of a great city. What can the noted Senator of whom I spoke be thinking of when he makes haste to be among the first to doff his hat to this latest product of triumphant unionism?"

The action of the Chicago Federation of Labor which called forth this ridicule and denunciation was the adoption of this resolution:

"We, your Executive Board, recommend that the Chicago Federation of Labor take some action on the hasty calling of strikes at this time. We suggest that when there is any grievance existing the Executive Board should be notified before any strike is called, to try and settle the matter without a strike. We believe that many of the troubles arising at this time can be adjusted without strikes."

In advocating its passage, Barney Cohen, a member of the Executive Board of that body, said:

"I believe that many of the strikes now disturbing the city could be avoided if good judgment were used in the first place. By acting conservatively we can have the support of those who are now opposed to organized labor, and who think our main object is to stir up strife. On the contrary, the object of this Federation is to secure the best possible conditions for the workers, and to do so with as few strikes as possible."

When Senator Hanna and John Mitchell applauded the act as "epoch making in labor history," we believe they expressed no more than the sentiment of every intelligent observer of industrial progress in this country. It may well be hoped that every central labor body shall take similar action.

The statement as to "John Mitchell, whose union a few months ago voted solidly in favor of a general confiscation of wealth," is absurd. It doubtless has reference either to the vote of the miners' delegates at the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor last November, or to the vote of the mine workers' convention at Indianapolis in February. There is not a scintilla of fact in the action of either body to justify the statement, as the official published records plainly show. At the annual meeting of the American Federation of Labor at New Orleans the following resolution was introduced by a Socialist:

"Resolved, That this twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advises the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial co-operative democracy."

After a discussion extending throughout one day the resolution was amended, on motion of the National Secretary of the Mine Workers, so as to strike out everything after the word "toil," leaving not a vestige of Socialism or "confiscation of wealth" in the resolution. But even in this amended form it was rejected by the convention, largely on the ground that it had been originally "introduced by a Socialist," and, as stated by one delegate, "might be construed by malicious enemies" against them.

The Indianapolis incident is as follows: At the Mine Workers' annual convention held February 19 last, certain Iowa delegates introduced the following:

"Resolved by the annual convention of the United Mine Workers of America that they go on record as favoring and indorsing international Socialism."

The Committee on Resolutions non-concurred in this resolution, and the convention sustained the committee by an overwhelming vote.

An officer of another association of employers, in his anxiety to discredit the National Civic Federation, quotes an Associated Press dispatch which placed a member of the Civic Federation in the attitude of having defied an injunction, and adds that "with this defiance on his lips he went to attend a session of the National Civic Federation." This alleged defiance occurred, according to the dispatch referred to, in May, 1900, just twelve months before the organization of the National Civic Federation.

COMMISSIONER DU BRUL'S OPEN LETTER.

Mr. Du Brul's declarations in another column as to the objects and spirit of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Dayton Employers' Association are quite positive; but it may be suggested that those organizations have energetic officials of their own, who can speak, if need be, with higher authority on their purposes.

In reference to the position of the National Metal Trades Association, of which Mr. Du Brul is the First Vice-President and Commissioner, the statement in the April REVIEW which has called forth the vigorous letter from Mr. Du Brul is as follows:

"The National Metal Trades Association is composed of several hundred employers. It formerly had a national agreement with the International Association of Machinists, but this was broken, and was followed by what is known as the machinists' strike of 1901. The association deals with 'the machinists' organization in many localities, but, as a national organization, is more or less hostile to organized labor. The breaking of the contract in 1901 was deplored by the conservative element on both sides, and it is hoped by many that it will eventually be renewed, but the National Metal Trades Association cannot now fairly be classed with either the National Founders' Association or the National Association of Manufacturers."

Of the five statements in the above paragraph four Mr. Du Brul undoubtedly will not question. This reduces his objection to a part of one of the statements, viz.: "but as a national organization is more or less hostile to organized labor."

The only other reference to the National Metal Trades Association in the article complained of is where the "Bulletin" of that association is referred to in connection with other periodicals, as being "ably edited and largely devoted to attacks on organized labor."

Whatever evidence might be adduced to justify our statements, we accept at their full face value the official avowals as to the purpose and scope of the National Metal Trades Association. The REVIEW is only too glad to publish the assertion from Vice-President Du Brul that his organization is hostile only to the "illegal and unjust acts" of trade unions—a statement which it is safe to say would be indorsed by every right-minded citizen of this country.

THE LABOR OUTLOOK.

There has been a remarkable clearing of the industrial skies the past few weeks, whether viewed from a national or local viewpoint. A month ago there was great danger in what may be termed national industries, and local strikes were innumerable. In fact, compared with thirty days ago, it is safe to assert that there is an improvement of 75 per cent. There is not at this time any national strike on, nor is there one in view, and within the last week nearly all the important local troubles have been either settled or have progressed so far toward a settlement that they are no longer considered important factors in the industrial situation.

A month ago there was danger of a break coming between the Amalgamated Iron and Tin Workers and the United States Steel Corporation over the tinplate wage scale. The scale was signed up, however, last week, thus guaranteeing peace for another year in this basic industry. A satisfactory agreement was also reached between this same labor organization and the Republic Iron and Steel Company.

At the beginning of the month there were grave apprehensions in some quarters that another strike might occur in the anthracite coal region through the inability of the Anthracite Conciliation Board to organize, and although there are alarming headlines in the papers to-day an understanding will undoubtedly be reached.

The American Bridge Company's strike, affecting seven large cities, threatened at one time to involve the United States Steel Corporation in another conflict with organized labor. That has been satisfactorily settled within the month.

In the railroad world a month ago there was a serious strike in progress on the Union Pacific Railroad, and there were threatened strikes on the Southern Pacific Railroad, Northern Pacific and the Mobile and Ohio railroads, all of which have been settled or averted, and the ominous unrest of the brotherhood members on several of the large Western lines entering Chicago three weeks ago is no longer visible.

In what would be termed local difficulties, probably the most serious situation was the prospective tie-up of the entire building industry of New York and vicinity. The past week has seen advance made

towards a satisfactory settlement. The New York Metal Trades Association and Marine Trades Council settled their strikes and lockouts on the first of the month. The threatened elevated railroad strike was averted and a contract signed for a year; while the subway strike has about "petered" out. The threatened strike of the clothing cutters, involving 30,000 employees, which for five weeks seemed inevitable, was finally averted by a joint trade agreement ratified June 1.

The Chicago situation, which presented so many ugly aspects the first of the month, practically cleared up the past few days. The International Harvester Company's plants, the great packing houses, the breweries, the laundries, the hotels and restaurants, the barbers, the metal trades and the railroads so far as their freight handlers are concerned, and a dozen other industries, were all involved in strikes during the month of May, and all were settled either through conciliation or arbitration.

In St. Louis, what gave promise of being a very bitter contest between the Metal Trades Association and the machinists and blacksmiths was settled last week by an annual agreement; and what threatened to prove a serious strike of the teamsters and freight handlers has been settled the past forty-eight hours.

In Denver the situation, which portended all kinds of things at one time, has happily cleared up; and the troubles at Omaha are practically at an end.

The general tie-up of the street railways of San Francisco was averted by both sides referring the matter to their respective Presidents for arbitration.

The strike and lockout in the glove industry at Gloversville, N. Y., affecting 10,000 operatives, has just been settled by an agreement to arbitrate.

The Lowell cotton textile strike, while not settled, is expected by the mill agents to be soon brought to a close by the operatives returning to work.

Practically the only strike of any magnitude now on is that of the woolen textile industry at Philadelphia, and it is not believed it will be of long duration.

But there are other signs which are indicative of a better and more conservative tone in the industrial world. The action a few weeks ago of the Chicago Federation of Labor in regard to the indorsement of hasty and ill-considered strikes, wherein it declared that it would not indorse a strike unless the grievance had first been submitted to its Executive Committee and it given a chance to bring about a settlement, had the effect of making the Chicago Federation of Labor a conciliation committee, and it has proven one of the most potential factors in securing peace in Chicago.

The San Francisco Building Trades Council this week passed resolutions to the effect that no further demands for the increase of wages should be made without the entire body sanctioning it; that the indiscriminate demanding of the increase of wages would have the effect of scaring capital out of the building industry, and that a halt must be called.

At the meeting of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in Denver this week Grand Master Morrissey declared that the time would soon come in the world of organized labor when the "contract breaker" would be as detestable as the "scab."

In the settlement of the wage scale with the American Tin Plate Company the Amalgamated Iron and Tin Plate Workers gave up a number of "time honored" restrictions that will increase the output 15 per cent.

In the settlement between the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Association and the clothing cutters of New York City a shorter workday was granted in consideration of the union surrendering all arbitrary restrictions, the language of the contract being that "the men should do their best with due regard to their health, and be paid accordingly."

While these are among the incidents showing the growing conservatism and broadening of views of the wage workers, many incidents could also be given showing broadening in view of employers. Several organizations of employers, originally started for the purpose of "smashing the unions" have changed to the more rational policy of dealing and making joint trade agreements with them.

Conciliation and arbitration are surely rapidly gaining on the old-fashioned strike and lockout.

Trade Agreement in the New York Clothing Trade.

The Clothing Trade Association and the Clothing Cutters' Union of New York City on June 1st perfected the first written agreement between the two associations. Several conferences had been held during a period of six weeks, and until the last week it seemed impossible to avoid a costly strike or lockout, which would have thrown 30,000 people out of work. Finally, concessions were made on both sides. The union consented to forego payment for the eight legal holidays during the year, for which the members had hitherto been paid, and also to abolish restrictions on output. The manufacturers conceded a reduction of hours from 52 to 48 per week. A permanent joint committee was provided for to pass upon all complaints. Two members of the National Civic Federation held important positions in the negotiations, Mr. Marcus M. Marks being President of the Manufacturers' Association and Mr. Henry White Secretary of the United Garment Workers of America. It is stated that the tailors of New York will now endeavor to avert the usual annual strikes by the same method.

Glovemakers' Strike Ends.

Gloversville, N. Y., June 2.—The block cutters' strike, which was inaugurated March 18 and was followed May 8 by the manufacturers locking out the table cutters, thus affecting the 10,000 glove workers in Fulton County, was settled late this afternoon as a result of the intervention of Messrs. M. M. Marks and Samuel B. Donnelly, of New York, members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation.

A conference this morning between these representatives and those of the Glove Manufacturing Association and the several unions interested resulted in the Table Cutters' Union rescinding resolutions previously passed and the Manufacturers' Association withdrawing the lockout resolution ordered by that body May 13.

It is further agreed that the difference between the block cutters and manufacturers, which has hung fire for a long time, will be arbitrated.

The settlement is thus made on mutual concessions and neither side claims a victory. The glove factories will resume operations full handed either to-morrow or Thursday.

Indorsement by Street Railway Employees.

The Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America passed the following resolutions at their convention at Pittsburg, May 4-9:

Whereas, The officers and members of the National Civic Federation during the past year have aided our international officers in securing conferences which have led to settlements that have been highly beneficial to our organization; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Eighth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, in session assembled, do hereby return a vote of thanks to the National Civic Federation for their advice and assistance; and further be it

Resolved, That we assure the members of our organization and our fellow workers in the different crafts throughout the country that we have confidence in the work of the Civic Federation and feel that they are doing a grand and noble work along the line of mediation and conciliation, not only for capital and labor, but for the welfare of our country as well.

An Open Letter.

To the Editor of the Review:

Dear Sir: In your issue, Volume 1, No. 1, of date April, 1903, you make several statements which are not correct, and which I trust you will correct by publishing this letter in your next issue.

In the first place, you state, regarding the National Association of Manufacturers, that the association indorsed statements made by its President at New Orleans. If you can find any indorsement of anybody's statements in the minutes of that convention, you will do more than the official reporter can do himself, and all of the acts of that convention are on record in the minutes.

Whatever may be Mr. Parry's personal opinions, and in whatever manner he may express them, the National Association of Manufacturers is on record with a declaration of principles and some resolutions, none of which is directed against the organization of labor as such. They are directed, and strongly so, against the vicious and lawless element in such organizations.

The National Association of Manufacturers is not an organization of employers as such, and, of itself, does not touch the labor question, excepting as it is affected by legislation. On the other hand, the association, by its acts, insists that the vicious and lawless element should not be considered the true representatives of the great body of organized labor, and in denouncing the vicious and lawless element it cannot be considered as an attack on the organization of labor. If you, sir, had investigated the matter more closely, you would surely not have made this mistake. Cer-



E. F. DU BRUL.

tainly you cannot believe that the vicious and lawless are an essential part of the organization of labor. Why, therefore, put yourself in the position of seeming to believe it by taking as gospel truth the garbled press reports of a convention representing two thousand patriotic manufacturers, who specifically went on record in these particulars?

Regarding the Employers' Association of Dayton and kindred organizations—here, again, whatever may be the personal opinions of the President of that organization, you are wrong in assuming that it was organized for the specific purpose of smashing unions. If you will take the slight trouble to read the constitution of that organization, you will see just why it was brought into being.

Now, regarding the National Metal Trades Association, of which I have the honor to be Commissioner, I beg to deny your statement that this organization is more or less hostile to the organization of labor. This organization is absolutely hostile to illegal acts, whether performed by workmen or by employers, organized or unorganized. Because we do not choose to make agreements with certain unions you seem to consider us hostile to their existence.

We had an experience that has made us chary of the present management of the Machinists' union. Perhaps we are wrong in our opinion in this regard, but in a number of cases of recent date, in attempting to deal with the Machinists' union, in various localities, we have found that it was impossible to do business with them. At this writing, in Rochester, New York, there is a strike on in a member's shop; a strike that seems to have been voted against the wishes of the employes of that shop, by the employes of other shops. The strike is an effort to compel the company to abolish the premium system, and so reduce the output and earnings of their men. The premium system has been in operation for two years, to the great satisfaction of not only the company, but also of its employes. In that case the official representatives of the Machinists' union of Rochester absolutely refused to

submit the matters in dispute to a disinterested board of conciliation.

In Quincy, Ill., there is another case of the Machinists' union refusing to submit a demand to a board of conciliation. This demand was for the reinstatement of a man who personally has never asked to go back to work in the shop in which he formerly worked and which he left under circumstances that made it impossible for the employer to calculate as to how long the man would be absent.

In Elmira, N. Y., the machinists have demanded the abolition of the premium system in the Payne Engine Company's shop, and their representative, not reasoning at all, not arguing the question, not claiming any injustice, simply flatly stood on the proposition that the premium system would not be tolerated by that union.

In Milwaukee, Wis., there is a strike to compel the reinstatement of a foreman who was discharged for unsatisfactory service.

On the other hand, conferences are now going on in Pittsburg, St. Louis and Chicago, without strikes, which, it is hoped and believed, will result in amicable and equitable settlements.

All of the above strikes have been indorsed by the Grand Lodge of the Machinists' union, under misapprehension of the facts perhaps, but nevertheless they are indorsed.

These things, my dear Mr. Easley, are not theories, but they are facts, and the natural feeling among the members of the National Metal Trades Association is that, until we have evidence that the management of the Machinists' union shows itself, by its acts, to be such as the members of this association can place confidence in we had better not have another national agreement. On the other hand, this association is definitely on record as permitting agreements between its members and their employes, collectively, whenever the members feel that the collective management of their employes' affairs is businesslike and reasonable.

Now, referring to our periodical. It has been my aim and intention, in publishing our monthly "Bulletin" not to devote it to attacks on organized labor, but to devote it to denunciations of the evils that are now so prevalent with organized labor and which I firmly believe can be removed only by an awakening of public sentiment. If you had read our "Bulletin" as carefully as I shall read your publication, you would see, in every number, articles dealing with the problems of conciliation and arbitration. In the very first number, July, 1902, there was an exposition of the satisfactory settlement of machinist matters in St. Louis last year.

In the August number was reprinted an address delivered before the National Civic Federation at Chicago, in December, 1900, by Mr. Frederick P. Bagley, on the subject of the organization of employers as a prerequisite to conciliation and arbitration, and also a copy of a proposed agreement between the Stove Founders' Association and the Polishers' union; also a copy of the Pittsburg Machinists' agreement, and an account of arbitration in the Moran Shipyards, Seattle, Washington.

In the September number was a paper by one of our members, a discussion of arbitration with an odd arbitrator.

In the October number was a reprint of an article by Professor George Gunton on the foolishness of attempts at the suppression of trade unions, and a reprint of your own description of the National Civic Federation and its works. Also an account of the New York blacksmiths' strike of last August, in which the Civic Federation was of great assistance in bringing about a peaceable settlement by arbitration.

In the November number was a reprint of Mr. Herman Justi's address before the National Civic Federation at Chicago on Dec. 17, 1900, on the organization of employers as a prerequisite to conciliation and arbitration.

In the December number was a reprint of Mr. Justi's lecture on the organization of capital, delivered in Boston on Nov. 20, 1902, and a discussion of the acceptance of the premium plan in England by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

In the January number of this year appears Dr. Hillis' sermon, "Labor's War on Labor," an article

from the "Union Chronicle" of Cincinnati, and an article from the "Nineteenth Century Review" on industrial troubles of America; also an article arguing for a better kind of organization of labor than some of the unions have at the present time.

In the February number we reprinted an address delivered by Mr. William H. Sayward, urging conciliation in the building trades, and also some commendatory editorials on "Organization of Employers," as suggested by Mr. Justi's Boston speech.

In the March number we reprinted more editorials along the above lines, and Mr. W. H. Pfahler's address before the American Association of Political and Social Science, on the "Co-operation of Labor and Capital."

In the April number we reprinted Mr. Pfahler's address before the American Economic Association on "Free Shops for Free Workmen," and also a letter of Mr. Goldwin Smith, one of the men to whom unions owe much in England for the repeal of the old combination laws.

Now, if the printing of articles of that sort, together with other articles which condemned the vicious practices of some unionists, are attacks on organized labor, I suppose that we are guilty.

I believe, with you, sir, that "there is a common ground where employer and employe can meet with satisfaction and honor to each," and wherever, in my work as Commissioner of this association, I find that a union involved with us is willing to deal fairly, I recommend as strongly as lies within my power that the employes be met more than halfway. In Cincinnati, prominent members of the National Metal Trades Association, imbued with the idea of fair dealing and conciliation, after having fought through a bitter strike two years ago, a strike which would never have occurred had the machinists' officials in this city and elsewhere not brought it about, have voluntarily and unasked consummated a reduction in the working time of the shops of the members here to fifty-five hours per week, with no reduction in pay.

In Cincinnati and in other places, the local secretaries act very largely in the capacity of joint "social secretaries" for members, listening to complaints of the workmen, hearing their grievances and seeing to it that abuses unsuspected by the employers are corrected.

I want to assure you, sir, that the membership of the National Metal Trades Association aims to deal fairly and justly by all of their employes, whether organized or unorganized. In this we may differ from others, but we take it that the Coal Strike Commission is, so far, the highest authority in these matters and we accept their good American dictum that "no discrimination shall be made against any employe because of his membership, or non-membership, in a labor organization," and we stand ready to enforce in our shops their further dictum that "no employe shall be discriminated against by the members of a labor organization because of his non-membership in such organization." If this is hostility to the organization of labor, then the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission is as hostile as we are. If the vigorous condemnation of lawless and vicious acts is hostility to organized labor, then this association is not as hostile to organized labor as that commission, for we can never use language as strong as that commission's report.

Even during the heat of the general machinists' strike of two years ago, when we adopted our present declaration of principles (every one of which has since been practically sustained in the coal strike report), this organization there went on record as favoring conciliation between employers and employes in the following words: "In cases of disagreement concerning matters not covered by the foregoing declaration, we advise our members to meet their employes either individually or collectively, and endeavor to adjust the difficulties on a fair and equitable basis. In case of inability to reach a satisfactory adjustment, we advise that they submit the question to arbitration by a board composed of six persons, three to be chosen by the employer and three to be chosen by the employe or employes. In order to receive the benefits of the arbitration, the employe, or employes, must continue in service and under the orders of the employer pending a decision. In case any member refuses to com-

ply with this recommendation, he shall be denied the support of this association until it shall approve the action of said member." I wish to say further that in no case has a member received support in which he did not endeavor to adjust his difficulties as above.

In this connection, I beg to call your attention to the fact that Mr. W. H. Pfahler, one of the most earnest friends of organized labor and a member of your national board, is a valued and active honorary member of our Administrative Council; that Mr. Charles A. Moore, of New York City, a member of this association, is on your national committee and also on your New York committee; that Mr. Walter L. Pierce, a member of the New York Civic Federation, is a former President of this association and one of his associates in business, Mr. H. N. Covell, of the Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company, is now our First Vice-President. Furthermore, I beg you to remember that the New York Metal Trades Association, an offshoot of this body, by and with the consent, knowledge, approval and suggestion of this association, was eminently successful, in co-operation with you in several cases affecting our members in New York, in bringing about peaceable and equitable adjustments. In this particular see the item quoted on the last page of your very first "Review," headed: "Ship Yards Strike Ends."

Now, Mr. Easley, do you think it is fair to confound our hostility to illegal and unjust acts with hostility to the principle of organization, a principle which we ourselves are daily preaching to the employers?

I trust that this letter has not infringed too largely on your space, but I feel that the matter is of sufficient importance to demand full explanation, in order to put the National Metal Trades Association correctly before your readers.

We hardly dare hope to be understood by radical unionists, but we did not expect to have you misrepresent our aims in such an offhand, self-confident way, a way liable to stir up hard feelings rather than allay them.

I remain, sir, yours respectfully,

E. F. DU BRUL,

Commissioner National Metal Trades Association.
Cincinnati, O., May 1, 1903.

Hon. S. E. Morss an Early Advocate of Trade Agreements.

In reply to your inquiry I think the "Sentinel" was one of the first newspapers in the country, if not the very first, to enter into a time contract with the local Typographical Union. When I purchased an interest in this paper on Feb. 1, 1888, a strike of printers in the morning newspaper offices had recently taken place, and all the daily papers in the city were set up by non-union printers. One of the first things I did was to have a conference with the officers of the local typographical union. The "Sentinel" Company made a contract with the union which was, I believe, to run a certain length of time—three years, I think.

A few months later the other daily papers of the city made similar contracts with the union, and subsequently the newspapers of the city formed a Publishers' Association for the purpose of dealing with the labor unions, and contracts are now made from time to time between the Publishers' Association and the local Typographical Union. The results have been entirely satisfactory. While the unions have demanded and obtained very liberal concessions and I feel that the employes in the mechanical departments secure a disproportionate share of the product of the business, I will say that every contract made has been scrupulously fulfilled by the union and that there has been no friction of any kind after the contract has been executed. Similar arrangements have been in force in other cities for several years, and finally a contract was made last spring between the American Newspaper Publishers' Association on the one hand and the International Typographical Union and the International Printing Pressmen's Union on the other. This contract was ratified by a substantially unanimous vote of the Newspaper Publishers' Association. I think the general feeling is that these arrangements afford the best method available, under existing conditions, of regulations between newspaper publishers and the employes in their mechanical

departments. Under these arrangements the liberty of action by proprietors is very largely restricted. They surrender a good many of the rights which the owners of the Pennsylvania coal mines claim to be inherent in proprietors. But on the other hand, they secure a high standard of service and efficiency and a large degree of stability, and when a three years' contract is made they know exactly what they can depend upon for that period.

While the unions are quite exacting and advance their claims at the termination of every contract, I personally believe in the right and duty of workingmen to organize and to use their organizations to secure such benefits as they can in the way of increased wages, shorter hours of labor, and improved conditions. If other large employers of labor would deal with their employes in the same spirit as the American newspaper publishers do there would not be many serious labor troubles. I must confess, however, that the publishers would have found it very difficult at any time for many years to ignore the Typographical and Pressmen's unions. These organizations are strong and are conducted with much intelligence and ability. Many publishers probably would prefer to deal with individual employes, but the newspaper proprietors are entitled to the credit, at least, of recognizing the cast-iron facts of the situation and conforming to them. They have met these organizations in a broad spirit, and the result is that for some years there have been very few strikes among the employes in the mechanical departments of newspapers.

S. E. MORSS,

President and Manager Indianapolis "Sentinel."

REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN FERD C. SCHWEDTMANN.

Made at the Organization of the St. Louis Branch of the National Civic Federation, May 1, 1903.

As an employer of labor, I have always taken the keenest interest in organizations formed for the purpose of better understanding between employers and wage earners. Many of the interests of the two are alike and neither can progress without the aid of the other.



FERD. C. SCHWEDTMANN.

An organization of employers to be successful in dealing with the labor problem must necessarily be built on two fundamental principles.

The first is meeting with workmen or their representatives for the purpose of determining conditions mutually satisfactory, under which workmen shall be employed.

The second is determination to have strikes and lock-outs the very last recourse in all labor troubles and resort to them only after all other means, mediation, conciliation and voluntary arbitration, have failed. The St. Louis Metal Trades Association and the St. Louis Founders' Association, two organizations of employers of metal workers, are formed on these two basic principles. Of both these organizations I have the honor to be President.

Since the existence of these two organizations, St.

Louis has been comparatively free from labor troubles in our lines.

Ever since the inauguration of the National Civic Federation we have followed with interest the proceedings of this organization. The introduction of the third party, the public, in the prevention and settlement of labor difficulties appeals to the thinking mind as logic and a step much in advance of former methods.

The National Civic Federation decided a short time ago to establish local branches and soon afterward inaugurated the New York Civic Federation.

We felt that St. Louis must be the next place to have an organization to promote closer relations between employer and employe. After lengthy correspondence with the National Civic Federation the national officers have come to St. Louis to assist us in forming the St. Louis Civic Federation.

There is surely no city in the United States that will furnish a better field for co-operation of labor, employer and public than St. Louis. And of all the days of the year none is better fitted for which we celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase.

Combined efforts of the wage earner, the merchant, the learned man and the capitalist have changed the territory purchased one hundred years ago from a wilderness to a country equal in resources and culture to the oldest empire of the world. Without this co-operation between the classes it would again become the wilderness it was one hundred years ago.

To-day we have the opportunity to lay the corner stone of consideration and harmony between the classes. On this foundation we will build in commemoration of the St. Louis Exposition a monument a thousand times greater than the Eiffel Tower of the Paris Exposition and greater than the Field Museum of the Chicago Exposition. We will build the monument of Industrial Peace.

REMARKS BY JUDGE MURRAY F. TULEY.

Made at the Organization of the Chicago Branch of the National Civic Federation, May 4, 1903.

I desire to say that I have kept close watch upon the proceedings of the National Civic Federation. I was invited to participate in its movements at its beginning. I did not do so, for the reason that I was somewhat suspicious that the movement was in the interest of capital and against labor. My reasons for entertaining such suspicion are unnecessary to state, but I am glad to be able to say that I am now satisfied that those suspicions were unfounded and that it is now and has been a genuinely disinterested movement in favor of conciliation and arbitration of labor difficulties.

As I understand it, it is not the intention in organizing this branch of the National Civic Federation to interfere in any manner with the local arbitration boards, but rather to tender assistance to such boards and to capital and labor in any difficulty arising between them.

The assistance of a branch of the national board might well be invoked in many labor difficulties, as many strikes and lockouts are national in their effects, particularly where they interfere with the due operation of interstate commerce.

I am also pleased to know that the chief effort of this national board, with its branches throughout the different States, has been and will be to educate the general public, the capitalists and the laboring men upon the great economic questions underlying their relations to each other.

Something has been said here about elevating the laboring man. He has secured by his own efforts a great elevation within the last twenty-five years, but he, as well as the capitalist, should be educated to a due recognition of the fact that a third party—the public—is interested to a larger extent than they themselves are, in the maintenance of peace and harmony in the carrying on of their joint operations.

The main difficulties arise between these two classes upon the question as to what proportion of the profits resulting from the joint operation of labor and capital shall be given to labor. A capitalist must recognize that the business carried on is not solely his business, and the employe must recognize that the work performed by him is not solely a matter of his own con-

sideration, and both parties must deal with each other upon the idea that the business carried on is the joint business of employer and employe, and recognize the rights of each to an equitable share of the profits produced by such joint operation, and the question is, how peace and harmony between employer and employe can be best maintained to their joint advantage, and to the advantage of the general public.

So serious have become the troubles between capital and labor that we find ourselves tending toward one of two results, either that their difficulties—their strikes and lockouts—shall be prevented or settled by conciliation and arbitration or that they shall be settled by compulsory arbitration through the medium of the courts. If conciliation and arbitration shall prove to be a failure, the only other remedy would appear to be compulsory arbitration by law.

I have investigated the history of compulsory arbitration in the Australian colonies, France and other countries, and have come to the conclusion that compulsory arbitration is neither desirable nor advisable. The difficulty with it is that it destroys the individuality of both employer and employe, it degrades both of them; it deprives both of them of their constitutional rights and freedom of contract.

In England, in early times, justices of the peace were given power to fix rates of wages and hours of work, and history tells us that the justices of the peace became judicial despots within their jurisdiction.

Arbitration by the courts is not judicial work. The fixing of prices on articles, the fixing of wages and hours of labor, these things are business questions, not judicial questions, and the tendency of compulsory arbitration laws must inevitably be to create a judicial tyranny wherever they are carried into operation—a judicial tyranny resulting in the slavery both of employer and employe to the will of the judiciary.

I firmly believe that the remedy for our labor difficulties is voluntary conciliation and arbitration. Conciliation and arbitration do not mean the same thing. The first is a preventive of strikes, the latter is only resorted to from necessity.

My long experience on the chancery bench may be what has led me to the conviction that where both parties to a controversy are honest and desire nothing more than what is right, and are desirous of settling their controversy, such controversy can always be settled by ascertaining the right, the equity, underlying the controversy, and applying it to the matter in dispute.

Mr. Schilling has made reference to the fact that I was an umpire in the first great strike in the city of Chicago—what is called the bricklayers' strike, or the lockout of the bricklayers (as they contended) in 1887. That strike had continued nine or ten weeks; it was estimated there were 40,000 persons out of employment, as the strike of the bricklayers had tied up the work of all allied trades and building operations. A committee of five was chosen on each side, that is, five by the bricklayers and five by the Builders' Association, and to my surprise I was requested to act as umpire, as they said they could agree upon no other person, and I consented.

We met on Monday, the 4th day of July, 1887; the feeling was bitter and both sides were suspicious of the law as represented by myself, but we succeeded, by working twelve hours a day until Friday night of the same week, when we arrived at a settlement of the strike. It was settled then on a basis in nearly all respects similar to that which was followed in the settlement of the great coal strike.

The settlement provided for a board of arbitration, the members to be chosen from each side annually in the month of January. This board was to meet and fix a minimum rate of wages, pay for Sunday and overtime, and all other questions about which trouble could be anticipated. In case the arbitration committee could not settle any difficulty arising, the umpire was to be called upon. I was elected umpire for seven successive years, and never was once called upon to settle a difficulty between the parties.

I became so much in love with the theory of the settlement of controversies by conciliation and arbitration that I set to work to devise a law by which a controversy in a court of justice might be settled by conciliation and a judicial arbitration without expense

and without delay, and without appeal or writ of error. That law was passed in 1889, and in substance it provided that any two persons having a controversy could appear in court with or without attorneys and ask the judge of a court of record to settle the controversy existing between them, and upon signing a certain stipulation provided by the law the court is required to hear the controversy without formal pleadings, without a jury, and to decide the same forthwith, or within a certain specific number of days fixed by the stipulation of the parties, and no record to be kept of the proceedings beyond the written stipulation of the parties and the judgment or decree of the court, which judgment or decree should recite what the controversy was that was submitted and should be conclusive.

This law worked well, parties have frequently availed themselves of the means provided, among others the well known case of Farwell vs. Sturgis, in which there was litigation enough to last for two or three generations, but which was promptly decided after a six weeks' hearing, and the validity of the finding in that case was afterward affirmed by the Supreme Court.

I am firmly convinced that the efforts to adjust labor difficulties by voluntary conciliation and arbitration will prove a complete success. There may be some evils to be suffered in arriving at it, but it is far better that they should be borne and the independence of the individual in his constitutional rights maintained than that he should be subject to compulsory arbitration by the courts.



JUDGE MURRAY F. TULEY.

By getting the employer and employe together, getting them to understand their relative rights in carrying on their joint operations, and that it is the duty of both parties to submit to what is right and equitable, in any difficulty that arises, a solution—not a solution, but a preventive—of labor difficulties will be obtained to a very large degree.

I am glad to be able to participate in this movement and I pledge you my hearty co-operation in any way that I can serve the cause.

THE DANGER IN GROUNDLESS STRIKES.

The strike is labor's last resource. Its use is a serious matter—so serious that the experienced labor organization will go out of its way to get a fair settlement by other means. So long as this weapon is held in reserve or used only when all other weapons fail its moral effect is great. When a union which has made itself known to the public as opposed to needless strikes finds itself so unjustly treated that a strike is unavoidable it has strong claims to public sympathy. The feeling will be widespread that such a body resorts to extreme measures only because all other methods of getting justice have failed. It is equally plain that the effect of frequent and groundless strikes must be to destroy public confidence in labor unions. Experienced labor leaders recognize this and are using their influence to prevent unnecessary and therefore unjustifiable strikes.—[Chicago News.

FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

(Concluded from page 9.)

the National Civic Federation and the New York organization, I believe that no man, whether his connection be with the church, with great industrial affairs or with the leadership of some great trade union, can devote his time to a higher or better cause than the Civic Federation. I favor it on many grounds, but chiefly from the standpoint of the unions, because they make better men, better mechanics, better citizens, better Americans. I feel that on the side of capital the unions increase the responsibility of men who have often acquired their means and experience, beginning like the rest of us plain Americans, with hard effort. It has been my privilege of representing the public in this matter, not to do a great deal, but what little I have done has been with the greatest possible pleasure. I do feel that the New York Civic Federation will be an instrument, an auxiliary to the National Civic Federation, that will render unlimited service to all interests. I feel that as we are organized now, with our Conciliation Committee under Mr. McMillin subject to a telephone call and responding to any request coming within its province, with Mr. Marks, Mr. Easley, Mr. Farley and Mr. Nixon always ready, no matter what time of the day or night they are called upon (they make it a privilege as well as a duty to respond to that call, and we have seen in some instances where the call could not come too soon) it will be a very useful force. One instance of its good work came under my own observation recently, when I did not know that Mr. Mahon was in the city, when it was necessary for an interview to take place. A new organization had made demands which could not be acceded to by the directors, who were new to the situation, and who answered 'no.' There was a deadlock. The traffic of this great city was in imminent danger of being paralyzed at any moment. A telephone message from Mr. Easley's office announced that Mr. Mahon was here. That resulted in a talk with important officials of this corporation; that resulted in further conferences and better understanding, and in a very few hours the serious difficulty of the situation was removed. The service is going on uninterrupted and, so far as the public is concerned, nothing is known of the Federation's labors in its behalf. A service of that kind to a city like New York, with all its commercial interests, could not be measured. If that organization had not existed and Mr. Mahon had not been here, we cannot tell what would have happened. It is only one of I suppose thirty similar cases in which the members of the local Federation have had the opportunity of rendering service. We cannot give too much attention to this Federation. We cannot be too prompt in its service. It supports a great cause. It is a just cause and personally I shall do anything and everything within my power to advance the interests of the Federation and to bring men who apparently see things from different standpoints to see them right. Any man that does right himself and helps other men to do right is doing a great public service. This, gentlemen, I believe, is what we are all here to do. Our organization is a useful one, our cause great, and it will be blessed, not only during our time, but in the future." [Applause.]

Mr. Underwood, being called on by the Chairman, replied: "I don't think I can say anything more that will throw light on this great work. I merely desire to say I am willing to learn and shall always feel it a privilege and duty to contribute as much of my time as possible toward bringing about the peaceable and honorable adjustments we are all seeking." [Applause.]

Mr. Nixon, in calling on the next speaker, Mr. Marks, said: "I want to pay a tribute to one always ready, no matter if it overtaxes his energies, one ready and willing to make sacrifices, both for his own side and the other whenever we have a difficulty, and that one is Mr. Marcus M. Marks." Mr. Marks was greeted heartily. He said: "Archbishop Ireland said we are here to learn. True, and we are also to be teachers. We come here to learn and go outside to teach. Unless the labor leaders go out and teach their people, unless the leaders of industries go out and impress the manufacturers, we fail in our purpose. Let us go outside and

say to the manufacturers: 'Open your eyes; it is a condition, not a theory, that confronts us; be just! be patient!' and say to labor men: 'Don't be prejudiced because your employer is a so-called capitalist; be reasonable! respect the rights of others.' Gentlemen, I can say to-night it is the greatest blessing to us that the machinery of this Civic Federation has been given to us for the purpose of accomplishing good. It is a tremendous engine. It has the confidence of the community. Yes; let us spread the good influences of our conferences. We can thus make the Civic Federation a great power tending toward industrial peace." [Applause.]

Mr. Nixon, referring to Mr. McMillin, said he would like to hear from him, as another member of the New York branch engaged in active and effective work. Mr. McMillin declined to make a speech, saying: "I have really but one suggestion to make to-night and that is in the interest of the Committee on Conciliation. When the labor organizations send out their organizers to make new regiments they might instruct them to drill their men for ninety days in their own rules and laws before permitting them to rule themselves. We are having a great deal of trouble in the subway through a new organization becoming a little previous. If the organizers could drill such men up to self-government before letting them walk alone, it would relieve the Committee on Conciliation a great deal." [Laughter and applause.]

As the diners dispersed the comment was general that every one present might well say he had been present at an event certain to become historic. It had been plainly discernible to all that a new element was rapidly developing which would be destined to have a strong influence on the course of events in American industrial progress. The cause had already brought to the front eloquent and influential champions, all agreeing on the means to be pursued in pushing forward to the common end—peace and prosperity for all. As the evening had passed without a single untoward incident, it might be well hoped that the future course of the Federation would be helpful not only to New York but to the entire country.

THE EXCLUSION OF THE NON-UNION MAN.

BY MARCUS M. MARKS.

Questions of wages and of hours can usually be arranged if wage earners and their employers confer in the proper spirit and have sufficient patience and judgment.

The question of restriction of output—one of the most serious in connection with the labor problem—although generally understood by our national labor leaders, has not been brought home clearly to the rank and file of organized workmen. Unless union men realize the grave dangers underlying arbitrary restriction of output, the solution of the problem may ultimately force itself upon them when the advancement of the non-union man, who is free from restriction and thus able to push his way to the front, teaches in a striking way that the strength given to each individual should be developed and expressed in his work up to the extent permitted by security to health. The subject is one that needs considerable light, and it is only by frequent friendly conferences between employers and wage earners that we may hope to clear away the haze which in many cases still envelops the whole theory of restriction. The employer should never forget that he must insure full payment for extra service before the wage earner can be enthused into bringing out his best powers.

But there is one problem in connection with the labor movement regarding which there seems to be less hope for early understanding and agreement, and that is the status of the non-union man. Shall wage earners refuse to work with a man who cannot be persuaded by them to join their union? Shall the employer be urged to coerce this man into joining the union or else discharge him? These questions usually arouse considerable feeling on both sides, and employers as a rule refuse to confer on the matter, which they consider a question of principle and therefore not subject to arbitration. This disinclination to confer makes the question very serious, because, as already suggested, it is only by kindly discussion that misun-

derstanding between employers and wage earners can be removed.

In England, where the labor union movement is old established and twice as strong as in this country, union workmen do not object to non-union men being employed in the same shops. In this country a great many of the national labor leaders understand that the hope of the labor movement lies in evolution and not in revolution, and that workmen can best be brought into a union by convincing them that good is being accomplished by association. Our leading labor leaders realize that a man coerced into joining the union makes a poor union man and is apt to drop out when his affiliation is most needed; but many of the local leaders throughout the country do not yet fully appreciate this.

Only recently a conference between employes and employers was in danger of being seriously disturbed



MARCUS M. MARKS.

when the remark was made by one of the local representatives of the union that "he would rather work next to a man with the smallpox than next to a non-union man." Manufacturers present who happened to employ many non-union men of good character and ability were incensed at this statement, and it took coolness and patience to smooth over the situation. It was pointed out to this union man that as only ten to twenty per cent. of the workmen belong to unions, his remark was a gross insult to the vast majority of workmen in this country. Of course his statement was exaggerated and fortunately does not represent the feelings of union workmen as a class.

Most men now agree that great good can be accomplished, and is being accomplished, by unions of workmen as well as by associations of employers. But it must always be borne in mind that the best results are brought about by moving along the lines of least resistance. Persuasion and argument may be persistently used, but the line should be drawn at coercion. If a workman is convinced that it is not to his best interests to affiliate with the union, it is both unwise and wrong for his comrades to coerce him to join. If unionism is for the good of the wage earner, he is bound to find it out. Let the demonstration of the value of association be made clear and the union movement will win out in the end.

Many cases have presented themselves where serious strikes and lockouts were brought about because the unions insisted that the employer discharge non-union men, while, on the other hand, in some cases where this demand was not insisted upon, the men subsequently joined the union of their own volition.

The national labor leaders in the Civic Federation can do much to throw light on this dark place in the workings of local labor unions throughout the country, and it is to be hoped that these leaders will raise their voices fearlessly and frequently against coercive methods, which are against the spirit of the age and opposed to the best interests of true trade unionism.

Outside of its province to provide neutral ground

where contending parties may meet without loss of dignity or prestige to adjust matters of difference between capital and labor, the work of the Civic Federation is mainly educational. Leading men in many walks of life, coming together at its great conferences, exchange experiences resulting from broad, busy lives, and invariably leave one another the richer. However, were the good effect to end with the education of this Executive Committee the accomplishment would not be sufficient. Each man should become a center, radiating the good influences of the Civic Federation. The employers on this committee should pass on to their fellow employers the valuable ideas that have been absorbed at the meetings, and should counsel recognition of practical conditions as they exist in the labor world. They should advise and help to bring about frequent conferences between employer and employed, and impress on the employer the duty of great patience which his position in the community imposes upon him.

The labor leader has a corresponding duty. The atmosphere of the Civic Federation should be communicated as far as possible to his membership; his task in the future will be made easier and simpler if the rank and file of the organizations are impressed from time to time with the broad spirit of ideal unionism. If this policy of transmission is carried out thoroughly, the potent influence of the Civic Federation for good will be immeasurable. Then indeed will the members of the Federation, who are blest with the opportunity of using its powerful machinery, have ample cause to feel content with the results of their efforts.

THE WARFARE AGAINST UNIONISM. HOW SHALL IT BE MET?

BY HENRY WHITE.

General Secretary United Garment Workers of America.

The hostile declarations of a certain class of manufacturers against the unions, followed by the formation of business men's associations for the avowed purpose of fighting unionism, are evidence of the belief entertained by many employers that the vast power acquired by the unions is being used despotically and that the tendency is to become more so as their prestige increases.



HENRY WHITE.

So pronounced has this opposition become as to give rise to serious concern on the part of those most active in the labor movement. The welfare of the cause will not be served by making light of the accusations or belittling the antagonism engendered. Neither will it avail to reply in kind or to make extravagant claims for the unions. The better course is to consider the criticism calmly and to ascertain to what extent it is well founded, in order to remedy deficiencies.

The working class has all to gain by fair play. Until recent years helpless and disunited, it was long kept close to the life-line. The pressure of society bore heavily down upon it, and it could offer no counter-resistance. Through concerted action it has now gained a firm footing and has secured a measure of independence, a larger share in the product, and more recognition from society. There is nothing to interrupt its steady rise if its higher purposes are kept in view and it strives for the attainable. Should it depart from that course its steps will have to be retraced at a great cost. A few persons may levy tribute upon society or exact exorbitant pay for their services, but if the multitude attempts the same proceeding the harmony or balance of the social forces is upset, society being unable or unprepared to meet it. Any attempt also to apply to existing affairs the standards of justice based upon ideal conditions must meet with a like fate.

The necessity for labor organization is so apparent that the authorities in economic science are all agreed

as to the indispensable services that the unions render. They are based upon principles that make them invulnerable when acting within the bounds of reason. That is why the unions need not fear to acknowledge their shortcomings. Just as consciousness of our faults is necessary to their correction, so will a frank admission of the defects of the union lead to their correction. Hence, if fear of the movement is largely inspired by the inability or unwillingness of its leaders to recognize its faults and limitations, an acknowledgment of them would do more to inspire confidence than the most vehement denial of the accusations. It cannot be held that a union, like a king, can do no wrong. No one can expect the labor movement to be the only perfect human institution; as the membership comprises the average persons, it is not to be supposed that on becoming members they will be transformed into saints. When actuated by a common grievance they appeal to the highest sentiment, but when they feel secure in their power they are likely, unless controlled by rare wisdom, to apply it as ruthlessly as the other side, and the latter, hard pressed in turn, are moved to make the same appeal to justice. That is human nature, and we might as well be candid about it. The unionist is liable to seize his opportunity, just as the employer has done, to exact all he can without regard to ultimate consequences, and when he feels safe becomes deaf to all entreaties. And when a union officer, who, because of his knowledge and experience, is enabled to look further ahead, counsels moderation, he is apt to be thrust aside, and the membership only brought to its senses after a contest in which it has lost the fruits of years of struggle.

Nearly all union officers and labor leaders of my acquaintance have often taken great risks in boldly standing out against excessive demands and unworthy methods of their membership. Although in their representative capacity they are placed in the position of supporting their unions against hostile attacks, yet they know, what they are loth to say to the members, that an occasional resistance by employers is necessary to keep the restless element within bounds. It is a question as to whether the checking process is to be done by the membership or by the employers after a wasteful fight.

An amazing change has come over the laborer. A generation ago he was submissive, stolid, and contented. He could be depended upon to support existing conditions, and he seemed devoid of any feeling of solidarity with his fellows. To-day he has pooled his interests with them, has bettered his condition substantially, and he even contends for some say in the conduct of business. The vital question now arises: "Will the unions show a consciousness of the responsibility that goes with power, develop the ability to restrain themselves, and keep on in the path of least resistance, or will they plunge ahead, driven on by the clamor of the unreflecting among the membership?" "Whither are they tending?" is the question sometimes anxiously asked by the most sincere friends of the working-class movement. Will the unions find their functions in society by serving as an agency for effecting a more equitable distribution of wealth, or will they clash with other social forces and precipitate a hurtful internal conflict?

There is little that is strange in the hostility of employers toward unions. Industrial improvement is not possible without some forcing. If the workmen had to wait until employers voluntarily offered to increase wages and shorten hours they would remain where they were. It is by asserting themselves that concessions are granted and recognition given. In time, as the employer realizes the futility of trying to destroy a union, he becomes reconciled to it as a factor to be dealt with in the conduct of his business, and his active opposition ceases, especially when he finds that he does not suffer as a competitor when wage conditions are made uniform. When, however, he becomes subject to harassing demands, his latent opposition is again aroused.

The present organized movement against unionism means something more than this normal opposition. It is due rather to the fear that industry is being menaced by an irresponsible and insatiable power. The unions can allay that fear only by the force of example—by demonstrating that it has no real basis.

ORGANIZATION AND CONCILIATION.

Hon. Oscar S. Straus, as President of the American Social Science Association, in an address on "Industrial Peace," at its session May 14, brought out these points:



OSCAR S. STRAUS.

The results accomplished by the National Civic Federation have not only justified its existence, but have also clearly shown that along the lines of its endeavors the best results toward adjusting labor disputes and securing industrial peace are attainable.

The "Conciliation Committee" has been applied to for its good offices within the past fifteen months in many important and large labor controversies. These applications have come sometimes from the one side, sometimes from the other side, and not infrequently from both sides. The committee has succeeded beyond its most sanguine expectations in bringing about or materially contributing toward an adjustment in nearly every instance, with the exception of the anthracite coal strike.

The plan of organization of the industrial department of the Civic Federation has been unfavorably criticised for not giving unorganized labor a representation, and as a consequence, unduly leaning toward, if not actively supporting, organized as against unorganized labor. This point of view did not escape the careful attention of the Executive Committee of the Federation, and for that reason its "statement of purpose" contains the following: "That at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized and unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of differences or disputes," etc.

Besides, these considerations presented themselves, that the third group, "on the part of the public," could certainly be relied upon to represent all the laboring elements irrespectively, just as they represented the welfare of the entire community. In what other way could it select representatives, for had the Civic Federation summoned unorganized labor to have a conference and select delegates or representatives for its committee, then it could have been charged that by that very act it had promoted the organization of unorganized labor.

As a member of the Conciliation Committee, I have had frequent conferences with many of the leading labor leaders in the country, and I am free to state my point of view has undergone a complete change in respect to the evolution of the labor question. I have grown more and more hopeful that, as this country was the first to organize religious and political equality, it will lead the way to a peaceful co-ordination of the economic forces by equalizing the opportunities for advancement, which is the nearest practical approach to economic equality. The maintenance of the open door of opportunity is a fundamental American doctrine as old as the Declaration of Independence.

Without organization, however, and with unrestrained competition, the well disposed employer is often prevented from granting his workmen more liberal terms which he regards as reasonable, so long as his less well disposed competitor holds out against making like reasonable concessions, and as a result strikes on the part of organized labor are brought about to correct evils growing out of a lack of harmony among unorganized employers.

Besides, strong organization among employers will have a far-reaching moral and disciplinary effect upon labor, and make it easier for the leaders to labor to control their followers and restrain them from making unreasonable demands. Just as among nations one sword keeps the other in its scabbard and makes for peace, so will equality of might conduce to equality of right, and strengthen the forces of wisdom and conservatism on both sides.

How much more intelligent and economical and useful a branch of the National Civic Federation in every city of importance in the Union than a national organization formed for the express purpose of pitting capital against labor, of fostering hatred and breeding strife!—[Chicago Post.

A CHECK ON RAW STRIKERS.

Hasty and ill-advised strikes were condemned by vote at a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor on May 4, and the Federation immediately proceeded to put its resolution into practice. A strike of the 6,000 employes at the Deering harvester plant and an attempt at calling out 7,000 at the McCormick plant were denounced on the floor of the Federation by Barney Cohen, a member of the Executive Board. The two plants are now a part of the International Harvester Company's property. Mr. Cohen said that from an investigation at the McCormick plant he



W. G. SCHARDT.

thought there was no trouble there that could not be settled in half an hour by using good judgment. No demand had been made on the management by the employes. A number of these said that their only demand was the right to organize. "Superintendent Wood of the twine mills," said Committeeman Cohen, "told us that it would be the last thing he would think of to interfere with the personal liberty of his employes. The question of joining a union was one for themselves to decide. Superintendent Flather of the reaper works told us the same thing. No one had ever been discriminated against for being a member of the union. All of the blacksmiths and two-thirds of the machinists are union men. They have made no complaints of discrimination."

"I believe," continued Committeeman Cohen, "that many of the strikes now disturbing the city could be avoided if good judgment were used in the first place. By acting conservatively we can have the support of those who are now opposed to organized labor, and who think our main object is to stir up strife. On the contrary, the object of this federation is to secure the best possible conditions for the workers, and to do so with as few strikes as possible."

The recommendation of the Executive Board, as adopted by the Federation, was: "That the Federation take some action on the hasty calling of strikes at this time. We suggest that when there is any grievance existing the Executive Board should be notified before any strike is called to try and settle the matter without a strike. We believe that many of the troubles arising at this time can be adjusted without strikes."

The McCormick affair was quickly settled. The company invited an investigation of its works by representatives of the Chicago Federation of Labor. They found that the employes in general had no fault to find with their treatment by the company. President W. G. Schardt, of the Federation, on seeing the situation at the McCormick works, caused the union pickets to be withdrawn and interference with the company to be brought to an end. He and the Federation Executive Committee conducted negotiations for ten days with the officials of the International Harvester Company, at the end of which time the Deering strikers voted to return to work. Both sides made concessions and decided to submit their differences to arbitration by a joint committee representing the company and the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Complaints against the company in minor matters, especially by the girls and women, who were forced to work in unsatisfactory surroundings, were investigated by the company. As a result it will systematically set about improving the conditions.

The Secretary of the Chicago Federation estimates the union membership represented on its floor as 300,000, including thousands of youths under age and women. Many others are unskilled laborers, not naturalized citizens.

The Chicago Federation for two years has been actively engaged in the work of arbitration, of which its most active members are usually strong advocates. It is making a reputation in this regard as an agency for public order.

Mr. Schardt, the president, was a union carpenter in Spokane in 1896, the union's business agent in Seattle in 1891, and in a similar position in Chicago in 1894. From 1895 to 1902 he was financial secretary of Local No. 1 in Chicago. He is a skilled worker at his trade, and has established a reputation as an aggressive but moderate leader.

A DISTRICT AGREEMENT.

New York Metal Trades Association and the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.

In the April number of the REVIEW an account was given of the conference between the New York Metal Trades Association and the Marine Trades Council which was brought about through the efforts of members of the New York Civic Federation. This conference agreed to call off the sympathetic strikes of the boilermakers in the shipbuilding yards of the members of the Metal Trades Association, and also the sympathetic strike of all the crafts in the Townsend-Downey Shipbuilding and Repair Company. After that agreement was made the boilermakers presented demands to all the employers in the New York district asking for an increase in wages, shorter hours, and exclusive employment of union members, to take effect May 1. Neither organization was at first willing again to enter into conference, both having determined that the only solution of their difficulties was to be found in a trial of strength. At this juncture, through the offices of Mr. Marcus M. Marks of the Civic Federation, the Metal Trades Association consented to hold a conference with the boilermakers, whose District Council also assented. Each side appointed five committeemen, who arranged a meeting for 11 o'clock on the last day of April. If the strike, which was to go into effect the next day, was to be avoided it was necessary that a prompt agreement be reached. The committees were in session continuously nineteen hours, from 11 o'clock on Thursday morning until 5 o'clock on the morning of May 1. They finally reached an agreement in which concessions were made on both sides.

While the union had demanded a nine-hour day on all shop work and a half-holiday during the summer months, it was agreed that the custom as to hours prevailing in the several plants should be continued. The agreement also provided:

"There shall be no restriction or discrimination on the part of workmen as to the handling of any materials entering into the construction of the work upon which they are employed.

"There shall be no limitation placed upon the work to be performed by any workman during working hours.

"There shall be no restriction as to use of machinery, or tools, or as to the number of men employed in the operation of the same.

"There shall be no restriction whatever as to the employment of foremen.

"There shall be no sympathetic strikes called on account of trades' disputes.

"No person other than authorized by the employer shall interfere with the workmen during working hours.

"The employer may employ or discharge, through his representative, any workmen, as he may see fit; but no workman is to be discriminated against on account of his connection with a labor organization.

"In cases where misunderstandings or disputes arise between the employer and workmen, the matter in question shall be submitted to arbitration without strikes, lockouts or stoppage of work pending the decision of the arbitration.

"Each member of the New York Metal Trades Association affected by this agreement shall be held individually responsible only for the performance of the same, and his, or its, violation of this agreement shall subject such member to expulsion from the association."

In return for the concessions of the boilermakers in the matter of discipline and management of the shops the employers conceded an advance of wages to \$3 per day for boilermakers, riveters, chippers and caulkers, and an increase of 5 per cent. for others.

MR. GOMPERS GIVES SOUND ADVICE.

He Favors Employers' Unions and Rebukes a Reckless Organizer.

Two letters which President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor has recently written have been widely quoted by the press with approval.

Of the organization of employers he wrote:



SAMUEL GOMPERS.

"Employers will find it to their advantage to be organized, and not only this but to deal with organized labor. The movement to form unions among the business men will tend rather to prevent conflict than to promote trouble. The better the organization on both sides the better it will be for business. Organized employers will be better able to understand the demands of organized labor and to meet these demands without friction.

"There has been much hot talk about the increasing demands of labor. My experience has taught me not to be an alarmist, and I am not alarmed over this particular situation in general. So long as human nature is as it is there will be manifestations of discontent, both from laborers and from employers. But I believe that every day is making for better conditions. We hear more of labor troubles now than we did years ago, but we must not judge too hastily from this that laborers are any more widely discontented or that they are unreasonable. When an industrial dispute occurs in our time it involves so much that it must attract more attention. But every dispute is an influence toward a better condition of things in the future."

To an organizer of the Federation operating in San Antonio Mr. Gompers wrote:

"Through the courtesy of some fellow unionists, I am in receipt of copies of newspapers containing references to remarks alleged to have been made by you at a conference where the subject of unionizing the men employed in the Fire Department was under consideration, and that during this conference you made a statement substantially as follows: 'That being asked what the firemen, if organized into a union, would do in the event of a strike, you said you would be in favor of not letting an engine be touched, and that you would be willing to let the whole city burn.'

"I do not want to take it for granted that you did make the remarks referred to, and yet all the circumstances indicate it; but when I first saw the utterance it shocked me beyond expression. The American Federation of Labor is a standing protest against wanton destruction, injustice, brutality or inhumanity, and I would be recreant to that organization as well as to my entire make-up did I allow such a remark to go unrebuked, particularly when made by one holding a commission as organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

"You will please advise me promptly whether the remarks above stated have been made by you, or any remarks which are similar in substance. If you can give but an affirmative answer to this statement, you will please return the commission you hold as General Organizer for the American Federation of Labor."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS.

The Declaration of Principles Adopted at New Orleans, April 15, 1903.

1. Fair dealing is the fundamental and basic principle on which relations between employes and employers should rest.

2. The National Association of Manufacturers is not opposed to organizations of labor as such, but is unalterably opposed to boycotts, blacklists and other illegal acts of interference with the personal liberty of employer or employe.

3. No person should be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization, and there should be no discriminating against or interference with any employe who is not a member of a labor organization by members of such organizations.

4. With due regard to contracts, it is the right of the employe to leave his employment whenever he sees fit, and it is the right of the employer to discharge any employe when he sees fit.

5. Employers must be free to employ their work people at wages mutually satisfactory, without interference or dictation on the part of individuals or organizations not directly parties to such contracts.

6. Employers must be unmolested and unhampered in the management of their business, in determining the amount and quality of their product, and in the use of any methods or systems of pay which are just and equitable.

7. In the interest of employes and employers of the country, no limitation should be placed upon the opportunities of any person to learn any trade to which he or she may be adapted.

8. The National Association of Manufacturers disapproves absolutely of strikes and lockouts, and favors an equitable adjustment of all differences between employers and employes by any amicable method that will preserve the rights of both parties.

9. The National Association of Manufacturers pledges itself to oppose any and all legislation not in accord with the foregoing declaration.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION INDORSED.

At the annual convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, held at Columbus, O., in April, the following indorsement of the National Civic Federation by President T. J. Shaffer was unanimously approved by vote of the delegates, and it was resolved that the association adhere to its connection with the Civic Federation:



T. J. SHAFFER.

"The investor of capital has certain rights which we must grant, but at the same time he must recognize and grant to us conditions which belong to us, because without our co-operation he cannot succeed, and as a coadjutor we shall be without employment, if he be not with us.

"The time has come, and I believe it is propitious, when capital and labor in organized capacities, must unite to oppose and defeat the purposes of their common enemies. This union has been started, but has not attained the strength it must have to protect the interests of the employer and the employed. The union to which I refer is the Civic Federation, composed of statesmen, clergymen, philanthropists, educators, business men, and leaders of organized labor. They aim to procure industrial peace, equitable divisions of earnings, proper conditions, better citizenship and corrected government.

"When labor presents intelligently its claims to capital, educated by labor's reasoning, then shall capital and labor be partners and share equitably in common production and mutual investment. This desirable condition is sought by the Civic Federation, within whose ranks are men of thought, reason, soundness of judgment and pure tendency of heart and disposition."

Mr. Eidlitz on the Building Trades Unions.

Otto M. Eidlitz, Chairman of the Emergency Committee of the Building Trades Employers' Association, has made public this statement regarding the present employers' movement:

"It must be understood first, last and all the time that this is a movement that is making for industrial peace, that is our one and only aim. At the outset it may appear to some people that this is not the case. But in the end we will demonstrate that out one and only purpose has been to bring about peace and amity between employer and employe.

"There is an immense amount of work that we shall have to do before we can get down to a specific working plan. In the first place, we will have to find out the exact status of the relations between each of our associations and the labor unions with which it does business. In some instances men are out on strike and in others they are locked out, and in others they are prevented from working because of the rival claims of contending unions or because of the non-delivery of materials.

"In a matter of such great importance as this we must move very slowly. We cannot afford to make mistakes. The eyes of employers throughout the whole country are upon us. We are determined that this movement shall have a successful issue, and that the results we shall achieve will be beneficial to all of the interests involved.

"With great care we are working out our plan and scope, and until that has been completed it will be impossible for anybody to say just what action we shall take in dealing with the different problems before us. In mapping out our plans we keep before us all the time the knowledge that unions of labor, instead of being a menace, are a help to us. We do not want to exterminate the labor unions or hamper them in any way. We want the unions. They bring about competition, and competition is of the greatest value in every trade. We do not regard the unions as a necessary evil that we have got to meet. We welcome them.

"But we do think that there are some phases of unionism that are unfair. The foremost of these, in my opinion, is the discrimination of individual unions against individual employers. This, we believe, should be stopped."

High Commendation from Mr. Wallace Downey.

I desire to express my appreciation of the splendid services rendered by the New York Civic Federation in connection with the several difficulties that have existed during the past five months between the New York Metal Trades Association and the employes of the members of that association, particularly in the matter of the sympathetic strike called against the members of the New York Metal Trades Association last March. In this case after several conferences the interested parties had come to a deadlock, and there seemed no recourse except a continuation of the strike condition, until either one side or the other gave way. Then by an especially clever stroke the Civic Federation demonstrated its full value by creating an opportunity for the contending parties to meet under conditions which made for peace. Then as a result of most faithful and unbiased effort the merit of the matter was brought to the fore and an adjustment of the difficulty made, which was based absolutely on merit without concession to sentiment or prejudice. I take special pleasure in mentioning this matter since I am convinced that the Civic Federation will be a great power for good by standing firmly for the recognition of merit on either side of the many controversies that are bound to grow out of the present strained condition between capital and labor.

WALLACE DOWNEY.

Townsend-Downey Shipbuilding Company, 12 Broadway, New York, May 26, 1903.

TRADE AGREEMENT.

H. Coulby Praises the Longshoremen's Union.

I am asked, first, whether any improvement has taken place in the character of the longshoremen's organization and its observance of agreements; second, the effect upon the industry from the employers' standpoint which has followed the increase in wages during the past few years and the exclusive employment of union workmen coupled with the system of joint trade agreements.

In answer to your first question I will state that the dock managers of the great lakes are now entering upon their fourth year of dealing with the Longshoremen's Union by the contract system, and after giving it a fair trial I have no hesitation in saying it has been, on the whole, satisfactory to both the managers and the men. In fact the results have been such that the Lake Carriers' Association of the great lakes has this year, for the first time, made contracts with the Firemen, Water Tenders and Oilers' Union, the Seamen's Union and the Cooks' Union. The Great Lakes Towing Company has also just entered into contract with the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association and Tug Firemen and Linemen's Organization for manning their tugs during the ensuing year. All of these contracts contain the usual arbitration clause and provide that the men shall continue to work pending such arbitration. In addition, it is provided that all men working under the contracts must be satisfactory to and under the direction and control of the management, which I regard as the most essential features of the contract, because it clearly defines the relation between employer and employe. The officers of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association were the pioneers in establishing the contract system on the lakes, and to them is largely due the success that has attended its adoption. They have always insisted that a contract once entered into must be lived up to conscientiously and faithfully. During the life of our first contract there naturally arose some misunderstandings and wrong constructions of its terms. At the following annual conference with the men these were largely cleared up and since that time I know of no serious instance where the contract has been violated.

In answer to your second question: I believe the increase of wages during the last few years is largely due to the inevitable law of supply and demand. We are enjoying an era of prosperity which has created a great demand for labor, and it is only natural to expect that it would result in a higher wage scale.

The laborer is worthy of his hire and is entitled to his share of the results of the good times. I believe the supply of labor on the great lakes is nearly all included in the several unions. Just so long as labor leaders keep up their supply of labor to fill the trade agreements they enter into, insist upon the elimination of sympathetic strikes, and that all matters in dispute be submitted to arbitration, the men in the meantime continuing to work, and that they shall not encroach upon or interfere with the executive part of the work, I believe satisfactory results will be obtained for both sides through trade agreements. It is certainly a vast improvement over the old method which often resulted in strikes and interruptions two or three times a month.

The sociological problem of the ultimate outcome of the exclusive employment of union workmen, coupled with the system of trade agreements, must, in my judgment, remain for the present a tentative one. A student of the history of trade unions in England for the last century finds its pages filled with things that dwarf commercial development. To successfully apply this method of dealing between employer and employe entails responsibilities on both sides. The employer must recognize that while all men are not endowed with the same ability we are all human and entitled to fair treatment, and that the best results are always obtained from men who feel they are well treated. At the same time, he must jealously guard his right to run his own business in his own way, as there is a tendency in unions to encroach upon the executive part of the work. On the other hand the trade unions must recognize the right of every man living under our form of government to sell his labor in the best market he can find, to rely upon the power of moral suasion and example to recruit their ranks and eliminate from their creed the weapons of boycott, tyranny and oppression that seems in the past to have been part of their stock in trade.

H. COULBY.

Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland, O., May 4, 1903.

President Newman Warmly Commends the Longshoremen.

Prior to the year 1903 our company had no direct dealings with labor organizations; that is, while we employed mostly union men there were no formal contracts entered into. In consequence more or less trouble ensued, especially during the year 1902, when a general strike of our employes occurred lasting some five or six months. Our past trouble, in my opinion, was largely caused by a failure to meet the various organizations and arrive at proper bargains. The failure to do this I attribute to the organizations themselves, our company being desirous of such a meeting. But be that as it may, we have since that time met with the chief executive officers of the labor organizations, and after careful negotiations have completed bargains and written contracts for the employment of all men for the ensuing year, which agreements we have every reason to believe will be faithfully observed.

Our having met with the labor organizations and arrived at agreements indicates to me that the labor organizations are constantly improving in their general character and the personnel of their officers. And while the wage scale has in most every instance been increased over former years I can see advantages to the employer which should compensate for the increase in the wage scale. My opinion is that every employer of labor would do well to carefully negotiate with the officers of the various trade unions whose men they desire to employ, and undertake to arrive at satisfactory agreements before they decide that such agreements cannot be made or would not be carried out. Labor organizations as a rule, I believe, are desirous of observing the contracts they make, and with the good work the employer can accomplish at the time the bargains are made the importance of this to the trade unions will become more and more apparent and strikes and lockouts less frequent.

T. F. NEWMAN, President.

General Office The Great Lakes Towing Company, Cleveland, O.

(Chicago Inter Ocean, May 5.)

CAPITAL AND LABOR WELDED BY LEADERS.**Senator Hanna and John Mitchell Felicitate Chicago at Organization of Branch of National Civic Federation.****Distinguished Ohio Senator Refutes Anarchy Charges and Praises the Way Strikes Are Handled Here, but Is Mute on the Subject of Politics.**

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH.

Capital and labor, figuratively speaking, put their feet under the same table at a love feast at the Auditorium Annex yesterday afternoon. The meeting marked the organization of a local branch of the National Civic Federation, with representatives from the money and working classes and from the general public to form an Executive Committee. In attendance and warmly championing the proposed movement were Senator M. A. Hanna, John Mitchell, William R. Harper, Bishop Fallows, the Rev. Emil G. Hirsch, George A. Schilling, Franklin MacVeagh, Lambert Tree, Judge Murray F. Tuley, John C. Driscoll, Albert Young, Daniel Keefe, Colonel John J. McCook of New York, and a large number of others. Senator Hanna and Mr. Mitchell assisted in the forming of a similar branch at St. Louis last Friday.

R. M. Easley, secretary of the National Civic Federation, called the gathering to order a few minutes after 4 o'clock. Franklin MacVeagh was made chairman and John C. Harding secretary. In a few words of explanation the chairman stated the purposes of the session, and pointed out that the organization was not to be confounded with the local Civic Federation, although it had grown out of that body.

"The national movement was started in Chicago in 1900," said Mr. MacVeagh, "and, like many another good thing born here, moved to New York. It may be said that Chicago again assumes the leadership, for it is the only city in the country that has a Board of Arbitration, and the only city that has a Federation of Labor that is avowedly going about the work of conciliation.

REMEDIES AND PROBLEMS.

"It has been said that Chicago breeds the problems. It also breeds the remedies. The National Civic Federation, therefore, meets different conditions here from those existing in New York and St. Louis."

Mr. MacVeagh then introduced Senator Hanna. "It is indeed a gratifying time to me," said Senator Hanna. "It is more than gratifying to see this representative assemblage of Chicago citizens from the world of capital, of labor, and of thought. I believe in organized labor, and have had to deal with it for thirty-five years. When I had an opportunity I became a member of this organization, because it represents principles in which I believe. When men with differences have met on a common ground, in a spirit of fairness, a peaceful settlement has been the result.

"The National Civic Federation is engaged in a work of education and the bringing of the differing forces together upon a middle ground where they can reach an agreement. There never was a time in the history of this country when the questions which we are organized to deal with have assumed such economic importance as at present.

PRAISES ORGANIZED LABOR.

"I am glad to learn since I came here of your splendid organization for arbitration. I am more than glad to learn that organized labor has taken the lead in such an important thing. We are not arbitrators. We have never been called upon to act in that capacity, but in our sphere and in our way we have brought the opposing forces together and settled disputes involving millions of dollars. In this work which you have undertaken to further, I say, gentlemen, God speed you."

John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, said that he was glad to add his voice in the furthering of the work in hand.

"More strikes and more trouble," he said, "have resulted through the failure of representatives of labor and capital to get together than from any other cause. I desire to compliment the Chicago Federation of labor on its action of yesterday. It marks an epoch in the advancement of labor. The best thing, in my judgment, that trade unions can do is to adjust their difficulties without strikes.

NEED POWERFUL AUXILIARY.

"It will be a good thing for you all to form this branch of the National Civic Federation. You have a

good Board of Arbitration, a good Federation of Labor, and you need this powerful auxiliary to aid both. In the language of Senator Hanna, I say, 'God speed you.'"

Judge Tuley, the Rev. Mr. Hirsch, Albert Young, President of the Teamsters' National Union of America; Daniel Keefe, President of the International Longshoremen's Association; Professor Laughlin, of the Chair of Political Economy in the University of Chicago, and Colonel John J. McCook, of New York, addressed the meeting in furtherance of the work and approbation of sentiments that had been expressed.

On motion of B. J. Rosenthal the chairman was instructed to form an executive committee of twenty-three members, seven representing capital, seven labor, and seven the public, and to include the chairman and secretary.

Mr. MacVeagh appointed the following:

Representing the public—Judge Tuley, W. J. Onahan, B. J. Rosenthal, Bishop Fallows, Prof. H. P. Judson, W. W. Tracey and George A. Schilling.

Representing employers—Charles R. Crane, T. K. Webster, John M. Clark, Charles H. Hulburd, G. Watson French, George C. Prussing and W. T. Brownridge.

Representing employees—William G. Schardt, Carpenters; J. Keppler, President district No. 8, International Machinists' union; Harry Horder, Locomotive Engineers; F. C. Bender, Teamsters; William Miller, Wood Workers; Charles A. McCauley, president L. T. P. Association of the Great Lakes, and J. J. Corcoran, Bricklayers and Stonemasons.

The committee of twenty-three at a meeting, May 8, placed sixty-six names on the rolls of the general committee. Of these twenty-two represented the employers, twenty-two the wage earners and a like number the public. Other members will be added from time to time.

George A. Schilling, John C. Harding and B. J. Rosenthal were appointed a committee on constitution and to perfect the organization.

The general committee are:

J. Keppler	A. C. Barlett	Judge Tuley
A. L. Young	H. G. Selfridge	W. J. Onahan
F. Buchanan	J. A. Poor	B. J. Rosenthal
J. Fitzpatrick	J. O. Armour	Samuel Fallows
Chas. Peterson	F. P. Bagley	H. P. Judson
G. Thompson	A. A. McCormick	H. W. Tracy
J. J. Corcoran	H. W. Hoyt	G. A. Schilling
Herman Lillien	H. F. Vories	F. MacVeagh
W. G. Schardt	J. H. Seiz	J. H. Eckels
Charles Hanks	H. F. McCormick	E. J. James
J. C. Harding	R. A. Keyes	C. S. Darrow
Wm. Belloway	J. M. Roach	Lambert Tree
L. P. Stranlee	R. T. Lincoln	Adolf Kraus
W. Miller	J. C. Driscoll	T. C. MacMillan
A. W. Simpson	N. L. Brown	John S. Miller
F. A. Pouchot	E. P. Ripley	E. G. Hirsch
J. W. Morton	C. R. Crane	T. A. Moran
F. C. Bender	T. E. Webster	L. A. Seeburger
Matthew Carr	J. M. Clark	Rev. E. K. Kelley
H. W. Horder	C. H. Hulburd	Graham Taylor
Ralph Hahn	G. W. French	Rev. R. A. White
C. A. McCauley	G. C. Prussing	M. A. Ryerson
E. J. Conway	W. T. Brownridge	Judge Kavanagh

TRADE AGREEMENT OF MARBLE DEALERS AND MARBLE WORKERS.

The joint agreement adopted at Buffalo, N. Y., on March 18, 1903, by the executive committees of the National Association of Marble Dealers and the International Association of Marble Workers, the latest new trade agreement in the labor market, has several points of interest. It is an innovation in the agreement system of the building trades in that it is entered upon by national associations rather than by local associations. The agreement provides for conciliation committees, for a nine-hour work day, the abolition of piece work, the abolition of sympathetic strikes and sympathetic lockouts. It gives preference of employment to members of the Marble Workers' union, in so far as the union can supply a sufficient number of competent workmen, and stipulates that members of the union shall not work for firms or corporations which pay lower wages than those paid by members of the Employers' Association; nor shall they work upon material not finished by members of the organization on the basis of hours and wages stipulated in the agreement. All grievances or requests from the workmen are to be presented through the shop steward only.

The full text of the agreement is as follows:

Whereas, there has heretofore existed a sentiment that the members of the National Association of Marble Dealers and the members of the International Association of Marble Workers were necessarily enemies, and in consequence a mutual dislike and distrust of each other and of their respective organizations has arisen, provoking and stimulating strife and ill-will, resulting in severe pecuniary loss to both parties,

now this conference is held for the purpose of cultivating a more intimate knowledge of each other and of their methods, aims and objects, believing that thereby friendly regard and respect may be engendered and such agreements reached as will dispel all inimical sentiments, prevent further strife and promote the material and moral interests of all parties concerned.

Resolved, That this meeting adopt the principle of conciliation in the settlement of any dispute between the members of the I. A. M. W. and the members of the N. A. M. D.

Resolved, That a Conciliation Committee be formed consisting of six members, three of whom shall be marble workers appointed by the International Association of Marble Workers and three persons appointed by the National Association of Marble Dealers. If a member of the Conciliation Committee is a party to the dispute, or a member of a local union whose member or members are involved, he cannot serve on the Conciliation Committee in the settlement of the case involved. The President of his National Organization shall appoint a member to take his place in the settlement of that particular dispute.

Resolved, Whenever there is a dispute between a member of the N. A. M. D. and the Marble Workers in his employ (when the latter are members of the I. A. M. W.) and it cannot be settled amicably between them, it shall be referred to the Presidents of the two associations before named, who shall themselves or by delegates give it due consideration. If they cannot decide it satisfactorily to themselves, they may, by mutual agreement, summon the Conciliation Committee, to whom the dispute shall be referred, and whose decision by a majority vote shall be final and binding upon each party for the term of twelve months; pending adjudication by the Presidents and the Conciliation Committee neither party to the dispute shall discontinue operations, but shall proceed with business in the ordinary manner. In case of a vacancy in the Committee of Conciliation, it shall be filled by the association originally nominating. No vote shall be taken except by a full committee, or by an even number of each party.

Resolved, That on or before the first of June, 1903, the N. A. M. D. will run the finishing departments of their factories nine hours per day. The men to receive for the nine hours the same amount of pay as they now receive for ten hours. Any change in wages that cannot be agreed upon between a member of the N. A. M. D. and his employees shall be settled in the manner provided for the settlement of other disputes.

Resolved, That on or before the first of June, 1903, the members of the N. A. M. D. will abolish piece work in their finishing departments, except for the polishing of plumbers' slabs, backs and aprons.

Resolved, That there shall be no sympathetic strikes or sympathetic lockouts in the shops.

Resolved, That the National Association of Marble Dealers recognize the International Association of Marble Workers on and after the first of June, 1903, and agrees to give preference of employment to members of the International Association of Marble Workers in so far as the I. A. M. W. can supply a sufficient number of competent workmen.

Resolved, That no member or members of the I. A. M. W. shall work for any person, firm or corporation (not a member of the N. A. M. D.) on the basis of over nine hours per day or for less wages than those being paid by members of the N. A. M. D. for similar services.

Resolved, That no member or members of the I. A. M. W. shall handle or set any marble that is not finished by members of the I. A. M. W. working on the basis of not more than a nine-hour day and receiving the same wages as are paid by members of the N. A. M. D. for similar services and under the same conditions.

Resolved, That any request emanating from and affecting the workmen in the shops (when they are members of the I. A. M. W.) in the employ of a member of the N. A. M. D. shall be presented through and handled by the shop steward only.

Resolved, That except where otherwise specified, these resolutions shall go into effect this eighteenth day of March, 1903.

National Association of Marble Dealers,
by

W. H. Evans, President,
Fredk. P. Bagley, Secretary,
Wm. Lautz,
Alex. Davidson,
Peter Gray,
Executive Committee.

International Association of Marble Workers,
by

Robt. W. DuBorg, Grand President,
John A. Carroll, Grand Vice-President,
Henry Roberts, Grand Secretary-Treasurer,
William J. Kelly, Secretary,
Thos. P. F. Reilly, Organizer,
A. J. Hambecker,
C. R. Bonter,
W. B. Wilson,
Grand Officers and Grand Executive Council.

(St. Louis Republic, May 1.)

"CIVIC FEDERATION IS SOLUTION OF LABOR AND CAPITAL PROBLEM."*Former President Grover Cleveland*

United States Senator Hanna, John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers' Union, David R. Francis, President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and Bishop D. S. Tuttle Address the National Civic Federation in the Interest of Peaceful Relations Between Employer and Employee.

MITCHELL URGES ORGANIZATIONS TO SUPPORT MOVEMENT.**Suggestions on Settlement of Labor and Capital Differences.**

"It is necessary that neither capital nor labor should regard itself as infallible. In contentions which arise it is utterly impossible that both sides should be right. Both sides should concede that they may possibly be wrong."—Grover Cleveland.

"A proper understanding between labor and capital will be of great help to St. Louis, especially during the next year, when the responsibilities of St. Louis are so great. A delay of thirty days would mean that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition would not be completed when its gates are thrown open to the world."—David R. Francis.

"I have been before the public as one in favor of industrial war instead of industrial peace, but I want to tell you that never in my life did I urge a strike until all other means had been exhausted."—John Mitchell.

"If the employer and the employee will meet face to face, tell each other the truth and be honest with each other, strikes will be reduced to a minimum."—John Mitchell.

"I believe that strikes and lockouts have grown out of a failure of the employer and the employee to understand each other."—John Mitchell.

"The workmen of St. Louis should give this movement their support."—John Mitchell.

"A united effort should be made to get these great factors, capital and labor, together. They must meet, and it seems to me the time to meet, to get together, is now."—Senator Hanna.

"In labor difficulties the public is the final arbiter."—Senator Hanna.

"In a labor controversy mutual confidence on both sides is the foundation that leads to good results."—Senator Hanna.

"Patience and common sense as against an appeal to force."—Bishop Tuttle.

A St. Louis branch of the National Civic Federation was established yesterday at a meeting held in the Administration Building at the World's Fair.

The purpose of the National Civic Federation is to promote a better feeling between capital and labor, to urge arbitration in difficulties which arise between the two great forces of capital and labor and to create means to avert strikes and lockouts and other troubles, serious alike to employer and employee.

The gathering in the Administration Building was a notable one. Among the speakers were former President Grover Cleveland, United States Senator Mark Hanna, John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers' Union and a labor leader of national reputation; Lewis Nixon, President of the New York Civic Federation, and best known as the designer of the battleship Oregon and as ex-leader of Tammany; Oscar Straus, member of The Hague Arbitration Court; David R. Francis, President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition; Reverend Father D. S. Phelan, who was delegated to address the meeting by Archbishop Kain; the Right Reverend Daniel S. Tuttle; Bishop of the Episcopal Church; Festus J. Wade, President of the Mercantile Trust Company, and Albert Young, President of the National Teamsters' Union.

The chapel in the Administration Building was crowded and the utterances of every speaker were cheered. Former President Cleveland and Senator Hanna occupied seats near the chairman. They sat side by side and faced the audience. Directly in front of them sat John Mitchell, the resolute labor leader. The countenance of Mitchell bore a serious expression all during the proceedings. Senator Hanna smiled frequently, while Mr. Cleveland was quiet and attentive.

CLEVELAND AND HANNA APPLAUDED MITCHELL.

When John Mitchell arose to address the meeting Senator Hanna and Mr. Cleveland applauded vigorously, and Mr. Mitchell just as warmly applauded the words of Mr. Cleveland and Senator Hanna.

Festus J. Wade was made temporary chairman of the local federation, and J. A. Jackson of the Typographical Union was chosen secretary.

Former President Cleveland was the first speaker called upon. When Mr. Cleveland arose there was an outburst of applause that lasted several minutes. Mr. Cleveland is a member of the National Federation and he was one of the promoters of the organization.

"I came here this afternoon," said Mr. Cleveland, "not to speak, but to see in what spirit the Civic Federation of this city would be formed. I came here to gather new inspiration and hope from a movement in which I am deeply interested and one which has my hearty sympathy."

"I have always believed that those who labor with their hands and those who labor in other ways should be nearer together. There should be a balancing power, with the end that when differences arise peaceable adjustments could be made. It seems to me that when these differences arise, the first and best thing to do would be to see if the parties in antagonism cannot be reconciled."

POSSIBLE FOR EITHER SIDE TO BE WRONG.

"It is necessary that neither capital nor labor should regard itself as infallible. In contentions which arise it is utterly impossible that both sides should be right. Both sides should concede that they possibly may be wrong."

"If capital and labor can be brought to a realization of these things it is natural then to call in some one for the purpose of arbitration, and if the feeling of arbitration is stimulated and cultivated the day will come when we will have a tribunal that can settle these difficulties."

"A local organization of this character is absolutely necessary in the maintaining of peace between employer and employee. Most of the great labor troubles are the result of local differences. It is apparent, then, that expediency in the handling of these difficulties is necessary, and a local organization such as the Civic Federation is the solution of the grave problem of labor and capital."

"Upon the success of this movement here will depend the success of similar movements in other cities. This meeting is one of vast importance and St. Louis has the opportunity of setting a grand example for every city in the United States."

PRESIDENT FRANCIS LAUDS MOVEMENT.

President Francis, who followed Mr. Cleveland, said that he was in hearty accord with the movement.

"I trust," he said, "that this great celebration of the dedication of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition will be remembered as being the occasion of the birth of an organization destined to create a better understanding between the employers and the employees. A proper understanding between capital and labor will be of great help to St. Louis, especially during the next year, when the responsibilities of St. Louis are so great."

"The Civic Federation will be of great good to this community, and to all other communities, and I heartily approve of the objects of this meeting. As President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and as a private citizen, I promise to lend a helping hand to this organization."

"On the World's Fair work there are now more than 5,000 men engaged, and differences between employers and employees during the present year in St. Louis would be most deplorable. A delay of thirty days would mean that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition would be incomplete when its gates are thrown open to the world."

John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers' Union, spoke briefly: "I am in favor of the organization of Civic Federations," said Mr. Mitchell, "and my advice to those under me is to support these movements. I favor local branches of the Civic Federation in all large cities and think they can work great good, both to employer and employee."

MITCHELL DECLARES IN FAVOR OF PEACE.

"I have been before the public as one in favor of industrial war instead of industrial peace, but I want to tell you that never in my life did I urge a strike until all other means had been exhausted."

"I believe that strikes and lockouts have grown out of the failure of the employer and the employee to understand each other. If they will meet face to face, tell each other the truth, and be honest with each other, strikes will be reduced to the minimum."

"A Civic Federation, I think, should make all possible effort to compel the rival forces—labor and capital—to meet together."

"I want to say to the workmen of St. Louis that, in my judgment, labor organizations should give this movement their support. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition is a great project, and the workmen of St. Louis should take a hearty interest in its building. It is necessary at this time that labor and the men who employ labor should have a thorough understanding, and the Civic Federation is the agency to perfect that understanding."

Senator Hanna is the President of the National Civic Federation, and much of his speech was along the line of work that had already been accomplished.

HANNA SAYS TIME TO GET TOGETHER IS NOW.

"It is fitting," said Senator Hanna, "that this meeting should be held following the great event of yesterday. There should be a united effort to bring these great industrial factors, labor and capital, together. They must meet, and it seems to me that the time to meet, to get together, is now."

Senator Hanna said that the work of the National Federation had met with universal success. He urged the business men to appreciate the importance of the local organization, and pointed out the work of the national organization as inspiration for renewed efforts on their part. He said that the public should take an interest in these great questions of labor and capital, for, after all, the public is the final arbiter, and mutual confidence on both sides of the controversy is the foundation that leads to good results.

Other speeches were made by Lewis Nixon, Albert Young, Reverend Father Phelan, Oscar Straus and Bishop Tuttle.

Father Phelan said that differences between labor and capital could no more be eliminated than wars between nations, but he expressed the opinion that many strikes are unnecessary and that they could be minimized as to extent and number.

Father Phelan made an argument in favor of a just wage for labor.

"It would be a crime," he said, "to raise the price of bread in time of famine," and at all times it is a crime to lower the price of labor."

BISHOP TUTTLE SAYS PATIENCE MUST BE EXERCISED.

Bishop Tuttle said the contending forces should exercise patience and good



GROVER CLEVELAND,
Member Executive Committee, National
Civic Federation.

common sense as against an appeal to force. He said that patience would always win.

Oscar Straus was the last speaker called upon, and in introducing him Chairman Wade said: "We always save the best for the last."

Mr. Straus was one of the founders of the Civic Federation in New York, and he outlined the plan of work that had been adopted in that city.

The gentlemen who will perfect the permanent organization of the St. Louis Civic Federation are:

Representing the public—Gov. D. R. Francis, President Louisiana Purchase Exposition; Festus J. Wade, President Mercantile Trust Company; Chas. H. Huttig, President Third National Bank; Thos. S. McPheeters, President McPheeters Warehouse Company; Frederick N. Judson, lawyer; Dwight F. Davis, Security Building; Frederick M. Crunden, Public Librarian.

Representing employers—W. F. Niedringhouse, National Enameling and Stamping Company; Wm. S. McCheaney, General Manager St. Louis Terminal Association; C. Gillick, President St. Louis Building Contractors' Council; Frank N. Johnson, Simmons' Hardware Press Brick Company; Geo. F. Steedman, President Curtis & Co. Mfg. Company; F. C. Schwedtmann, President St. Louis Metal Trades Association.

Representing wage earners—J. A. Jackson, President Typographical Union No. 8; Harry A. Walters, Chairman Grievance Committee Locomotive Engineers of Terminal Railroad Association; L. W. Quick, National Secretary Order of Railway Telegraphers; Victor Kleiber, Business Agent Iron Molders' Union of North America; J. G. Hoppenjon, President Central Trade and Labor Union of St. Louis and Vicinity; R. DeBarry, Secretary Building Material Trade Council of St. Louis and Vicinity; W. W. Morrison, President Building Trades Council of St. Louis.

Festus J. Wade was elected chairman of the federation; W. F. Niedringhouse, first vice chairman; Richard DeBarry, second vice chairman; Charles H. Huttig, treasurer and Ferdinand C. Schwedtmann, secretary.

The Executive Committee is composed of the following: Representing the public—Frederick M. Crunden, Elias Michael, W. S. Chaplin, Thos. S. McPheeters, F. N. Judson. Employers—W. A. Kenward, J. F. Wade, Thomas Kinsella, George C. Newman, H. A. Waiters. Employers—George W. Brown, F. N. Johnson, George F. Steedman, H. C. Gillick, Corwin H. Spencer.

The following were selected on the Conciliation Committee: Representing the public—Benjamin Schnurmacher, James W. Bell, John F. Lee, Jas. L. Blair, Dwight F. Davis. Employers—J. J. Morris, W. W. Morrison, A. W. Morrison, M. J. Dwyer, R. B. Parker. Employers—F. A. Drew, Paul Brown, O. L. Garrison, J. J. Collins, J. H. Conrade, Jr.

National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION THE EVIL TO BE MET—THE VARIOUS FORMS OF ORGANIZATION

That excessive competition is an evil is recognized by everyone when it occurs in his own business. It is recognized by capitalists, by farmers, by the professional classes and by wage-earners. The epithets used to describe it testify to the dislike of it. Excessive competition is "destructive," "unfair," and "cut-throat." The "price-cutter," "underseller" and "rebate giver" are as unprincipled in the eyes of the merchant and railroad manager as the "non-unionist" and "scab" in the eyes of the trade unionist. When excessive competition occurs in the field of capital it shows its havoc by depression of trade, long and risky credits, bankruptcy, and "demoralization." When it occurs in the field of labor its consequences are the sweating system, long hours, low wages, the "exploitation" of labor, unsanitary and dangerous work places, miserable homes and other phases of poverty. And the two series of results are usually found together, for the ruin of the employer's business means the destruction of employment, and the exploitation of labor means the survival of the unscrupulous employer.

Volumes might be filled with accounts of the efforts and methods both of capitalists and laborers to do away with destructive competition. And interesting enough is the fact that the methods of the two classes are similar. They all agree in the one policy of combining as many as possible of those who are competitors in an agreement not to compete with their fellows beyond a certain point and to deal effectively with those who will not enter into the agreement. The capitalists call themselves an "association," an "exchange," a "pool," a "trust," or even a "corporation," and the workmen commonly call themselves a "union." The capitalist organizations, of course, differ widely in details, but so do the unions. A pool is more compact than an association, and a corporation or a trust than a pool, but so is a highly skilled union, like the glass blowers, better disciplined than a miscellaneous union, like the cloak-makers. All originate in what they consider the absolute necessity of doing something to keep competitors from ruining one another, and all are open to the temptation of overdoing a good thing and carrying their methods, which originate in self-protection, over into monopoly and public menace. They have all been legislated against in varying degrees of penalty. They have been haled before the courts, and the courts have handed down hopelessly contradictory decisions. They have been sustained in one State and overthrown in another, and the same courts have reversed themselves, leaving the ultimate policy of the country toward combinations unsettled. Whether they are criminal is not our present concern. We are exercised only with the economic fact that they have sprung into being to meet the real evil of mutual destruction through over-competition.

In the following columns we have collected brief ac-

counts of various associations and unions, showing how similar are their methods in admitting and rejecting members, boycotting, posting spies and pickets, regulating output, setting up minimum wages and prices, and even entering offensive and defensive alliances.

BOYCOTT.

Boycotting in some of its forms is a natural and first-suggested means employed by both classes of associations in going beyond persuasion and putting pressure upon non-members to join in a common cause. Unions have developed large and systematic methods of boycotting, but their methods are much the same as those of the Publishers and Booksellers, the Wholesale Druggists, railroad associations which divert shipping from one line to another, and other capitalist associations.

The blacklist is a form of boycott, and similar in object to the boycott and blacklist, but the reverse in method, are the whitelist and the label, either of the Consumers' League or the union. The union label, in some trades like cigar making, clothing manufacturing, and breweries, has become a powerful instrument for directing consumers away from "unfair" establishments toward those which accept the union conditions of hours, wages, and employment. The Consumers' League, composed in part of wealthy society women, grants its label only to those manufacturers of women's wear who pass the standards of its inspectors, and their names are published in its "whitelist."

These are organized methods for making effective a force recognized whenever men associate together for a common object. Even the Christian church, with its avowed love for all men, sometimes discriminates in favor of believers, for the Methodists in their "General Rules" expect church members "to evidence their desire of salvation by doing good, especially to them that are of the household of faith or groaning so to be; employing them preferably to others; buying one of another; helping each other in business; and so much the more because the world will love its own and them *only*."

MEMBERSHIP.

While combinations both of capital and labor strive to bring all competitors into their fold, they also agree in trying to limit the numbers of competitors. The unions have initiation fees, examination of candidates, and limits to the number of apprentices. The associations have initiation fees and sometimes limitations to membership. When union or association passes from mutual protection to mutual aggrandizement, the change is likely to appear in higher initiation fees or stricter limits on admission, as when the New York Stone Cutters or the New York Stock Exchange resolves to admit no more members.

MINIMUM WAGES AND PRICES.

Both classes of these combinations establish minimum rates, the one of prices and the other of wages, and these rates are based on the necessities of the weakest competitor, as may be seen in the case of passenger fares on railroads. Professional associations, such as those of physicians, have a minimum scale of fees, sometimes unofficially promulgated as a part of code of ethics and sometimes drawn up and posted in the physician's office.

RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT.

When production is too great to support the minimum price, combinations sometimes place limits on the output, as when the whiskey pool limited production to twenty-eight per cent of each plant's capacity and the whiskey trust closed sixty-eight of its eighty distilleries, or as when a plumbers' union places a maximum on the amount of work a member shall perform and an assemblers' union on the amount of wages a member shall earn.

BUSINESS AGENTS.

Many organizations of both kinds have officers with duties designed to meet violations of the combination agreement. The walking delegate or business agent of the union who looks out for "scabs" and scale violators is similar to the inspectors of the Railway Classification Committee who examine shipments to discover whether shippers are cutting the freight rate scale by underbilling, and whether individual roads belonging to the association are conniving at the practice. Where, as in the hardware and iron and steel pools, there is a "commissioner," this officer is given the remarkable authority of apportioning the output to the several members, just as a walking delegate or a shop steward sometimes "calls down" a man who is working too fast.

PICKETS AND SPIES.

The Book Publishers' Association and the Wholesale Druggists have their spies and "pickets" for the purpose of watching a boycotted firm, to prevent it from obtaining a supply of books or proprietary drugs. These associations also, as well as many others, furnish their members and customers with lists of "fair" and "unfair" firms, carrying the "threat" open or implied, that those who deal with the unfair firms will themselves be cut off from supplies or customers.

JURISDICTION DISPUTES.

Many other points of resemblance, more or less refined, might be noted. Rival combinations and jurisdictional fights are as troublesome when occurring between railroads invading each other's territory, or between jobbers' associations and manufacturers' associations, as when occurring between the Carpenters'

union and the Woodworkers' union, and both kinds of fights compel some sort of a working agreement to be brought about. Where both the union of labor and the union of capital are strong enough in the same industry they come to a "joint agreement," and these agreements are of all degrees, from unstable verbal agreements to those monopolistic, exclusive alliances by which non-members of both associations are shut out from business and work.

There are differences as well as resemblances. The nature of the trade, the number of competitors, the strength of the organization, and other circumstances produce infinite varieties in detail, and there are constantly occurring many fluctuations in strength, many amendments and revisions in by-laws and practices, but rules, methods and functionaries are all directed toward the main object of regulating or eliminating

competition. When the capitalist association takes the form of a trust it brings into play a method of organization much superior to any possible for a mere association or a trade union, since it is based on common ownership. This object is aimed at in a lesser degree in the "community of interest" so recently popularized in railroad alliances, after other forms of union had been tried unsuccessfully.

An examination of the brief accounts herewith given of combinations of capital and unions of labor will give an idea of how universal are these efforts to lessen the hardships of free competition. The list we give is by no means complete. There are 125 national and international trade unions, with about 2,400 Federal unions, and the Interstate Commerce Commission requires a volume of 295 pages in order to publish its list of commercial and agricultural and pro-

fessional associations, a large number of which have as one of their objects the regulation of competition. Hence, if in the following article one association or union is mentioned rather than another, it cannot be regarded as in any way invidious. The conclusion is almost inevitable that, no matter how the courts and the legislatures treat these combinations, they are the product of necessity, and as such must be recognized. In some cases, such as railroads, they are recognized as necessary not only for protection to the members, but also for protection to the public, since rate-cutting is a discrimination between shippers which demoralizes the business of every industry that depends on transportation.

The problem regarding all of these combinations is not how to suppress them but how to preserve their benefits and prevent their excesses.

ASSOCIATED LABOR

The rules and methods of labor unions are the outgrowth of experience in dealing with the evils of competition. They might have been different if they had been drafted by philosophers. They differ widely among the unions in ways that can be accounted for only by the various competitive circumstances under which the unions are placed. Sometimes a natural strategic advantage, or a long experience, or a compact organization, leads one union to drop a practice which another considers essential. Yet all union rules and methods, whether governing membership, apprenticeship, working with non-unionists, minimum wage, piece work, machinery or output—all of which are described below—have come into vogue to protect the members at whatever points they feel competition to be destructive.

MEMBERSHIP.

From the standpoint of maintaining the position of the union the conditions of admission and the barriers raised against admission are first in importance. Nearly all unions in one form or another establish a term of probation or apprenticeship. In a few, such as the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, where exceedingly high skill is necessary, there are no formal rules or conditions regarding apprentices. Notwithstanding that modern conditions of production have destroyed the old apprentice system in many trades, and that through the specialization of work and the splitting up of trades a workman can often learn his particular work in a few months, yet the majority of organizations require an apprenticeship of three or four years. A number, among them the pattern makers and watch-case engravers, require five years. The number of apprentices is also usually fixed at a definite ratio to the number of journeymen, the machinist ratio being one apprentice to five or ten journeymen. The iron moulders allow one apprentice to each shop and one to eight journeymen; the glass bottle blowers by agreement each year with the manufacturers limit the number of apprentices according to the state of the trade, the ratio of 1899 being one to fifteen, and in 1901 one to ten; but in some years they close their apprentice books entirely. The steam fitters' helpers in New York open their books twice a year and admit only a few applicants, according to the state of the trade, though the number of applicants is always large. The lithographers allow one apprentice to the first five journeymen or less, one additional apprentice for the next ten, another for the next fifteen and another for the next twenty-five. The stone-cutters forbid employing more than one in a shop which employs less than fifteen journeymen, more than two where there are less than one hundred journeymen, or more than four in any case whatever.

Local organizations of the various trades do not always adhere to the national rules, and the ratio may be larger or smaller than that provided in the national constitution, according to circumstances.

While the requirement of a period of apprenticeship is maintained as a means of providing an all-round training in the trade yet it is also certain that one of the motives is the desire to diminish the competition within the trade.

The initiation fee, imposed at admission either on a journeyman or an apprentice on completing his term,

is usually placed at \$3 to \$5, but there are individual unions which have increased this fee to as high as \$50 or \$100. The fee of the architectural iron workers, the mosaic helpers, the electrical workers and others in New York is \$100; of the longshoremen, \$25; of the bituminous mine workers of Illinois, \$50. The stone-cutters of New York at one time went so far as to close their books, not only against all outsiders, but against members of their own craft from other localities. The outcry against this exclusive policy was so great that it was revoked. In some cases the international organization has prohibited local unions from imposing high initiation fees, the United Garment Workers, for example, fixing the maximum at \$5.

UNION AND NON-UNION WORKERS.

The exclusive employment of members of the union is maintained by the majority of unions wherever possible. They reason that in order to enforce the scale of wages and hours it is necessary that every workman be subject to discipline if he works below the scale, and that they cannot know whether he is actually working below the scale unless he is a member. If they can require his dismissal from employment for violating union rules they have the best possible means of holding him to fidelity to the union.

In this respect the railroad brotherhoods differ from other organizations, since they do not stipulate in any of their agreements that non-unionists shall not be employed. The longshoremen in their agreements with the dock managers, have a clause as follows:

Sec. 3. "All employees employed by the dock managers for the purpose of performing the work set forth in the schedules hereto attached shall be members of the local organization whenever such men can be had who can perform the work as is called for in the contract. When such men cannot be had the dock managers have the right to secure any other men who can perform the work in a satisfactory manner until such time as members of the International Longshoremen's Association can be procured."

In other unions, especially in the building trades, there is no provision for the employment of non-members, even when the number of members is not adequate for the work on hand. It is universally the case in those organizations that have the "union label" that establishments to which the label is granted shall agree to employ only members of the organization. In this case the label is a specific consideration given the employer in return for his promise to employ only union help. A reciprocal arrangement is also true of the arbitration agreement between the International Typographical Union and the American Publishers' Association, the international taking upon itself the obligation to furnish competent help in case the local union violates the agreement by a strike, and protecting the publisher against boycotts or "any other form of concerted interference with the peaceful operation of the department or departments of labor so contracted for by any union or unions with which he has contractual relations."

The object in the policy of exclusive employment is that which distinguishes the unions in general, namely, the prevention of destructive competition. By limiting employment to their own members they prevent the introduction of workmen willing to work

below the established scale of wages, and especially they protect such members as may officially represent the organization.

RECIPROCAL EXCLUSIVE ARRANGEMENTS.

An extension of the principle of exclusive employment is occasionally found in a reciprocal arrangement to the effect that members of the union shall not work for employers not members of the employers' association.

Arrangements of this kind, where both associations are strong, are apt to lead to excessive monopolies in that the employers use the unions to intrench themselves against competitors. It is alleged that in the building trades of Chicago at the present time there are serious abuses in combines between employers and employees. Recently a former member of the Sheet Metal Contractors' Association of that city brought suit against the association and the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, alleging that they had formed a pool by which he was prevented from getting workmen on jobs obtained by bidding against the members of the contractors' association.

The Chicago Tribune, August 13, 1903, contains the following:

"The Chicago Employing Plasterers' Association has limited competition by a close agreement with the members of the plasterers' union. This is held to be the most perfect combination of its kind in the city, and through its ironclad rules has forced even the contractors doing subcontract work to pay tribute to the association.

"The agreement has rules covering the way work shall be done," said Attorney Charles D. Francis, "and these were not put into it to benefit the union, but to make the plans of the contractors possible."

These rules prohibit the completion of work by a firm that does not have the original contract. They prohibit the members of the union from working for firms that attempt to take work started by another firm. They do not even allow a plasterer to patch up the holes made by plumbers, steamfitters, or carpenters unless extra pay is obtained for the work.

The employing plasterers force the observance of this law in the following manner:

"Any person or persons who shall estimate or take contracts for any building or job in violation of this rule shall be fined 5 per cent of the contract price for the first offense, 10 per cent for the second offense, and for the third default he shall be subject to such penalty as the joint arbitration board shall see fit."

It is alleged that the plasterers have a pool on large buildings similar to that in the other trades. It is asserted that this has increased prices between 10 and 40 per cent and has given practically all the work in the city into the hands of a few firms.

Other employers' associations in the building line in Chicago alleged to have similar agreements or understandings with the unions are the Electrical Trades Association, the Master Steam Fitters' Association, the Master Roofers' Association, the Plumbers' Supplies Association, the steam heating and boiler and fireproofing companies, and the sewer contractors.

The agreement of the coal team owners and coal team drivers of Chicago, adopted May 1, 1902, reads as follows:

"Party of the first part (the Coal Team Owners' Association) agrees to employ none but members of the Coal Teamsters' Union, Local No. 4, in good stand

ing and carrying the regular working card of the organization.

"We (the Coal Teamsters' Union) further agree that we will not work for any firm that does not belong to the Coal Team Owners' Association."

In the agreements in the marble industry of New York it is provided:

"That the members of the Marble Industry Employers' Association agree to employ no cutters in New York City or vicinity (vicinity to be a radius of twenty-five miles from City Hall) excepting those being members of the Journeymen Marble Cutters' Association, or such others as will be recognized by them through application."

And also:

"The members of the Journeymen Marble Cutters' Association agree that they will not work for any person or persons doing business in New York City or vicinity not members of the Marble Industry Employers' Association in New York City and vicinity (vicinity to be a radius of twenty-five miles from City Hall)."

The arrangement in the stone cutting industry in New York, between the union and the employers' association is said to go so far as to provide for payment to the union treasury of a percentage on contracts in consideration of limiting their work to the members of the employers' association, and the employers thereby are enabled to do away with competition on contracts.

The agreement of July 1, 1902, between the Association of Master Plumbers and the Journeymen Plumbers and Gasfitters of New York contains the following section:

"Art. II. No master plumber shall employ any non-union man or men after receiving due notice from the Delegate or Chairman of the Joint Conference Board not to do so. A member violating this rule shall be fined twenty-five dollars and five dollars per day for each and every day he retains such man or men in his employ thereafter. Any journeyman plumber or gasfitter working for a non-union employer when notified not to do so by the Delegate or Chairman of the Joint Conference Board shall be fined four dollars and twenty-five cents for each and every day he continues so to do."

At a joint conference, held recently at Detroit, the Window Glass Workers of America and the American Window Glass Co. reached an agreement to withhold all the wage scales until the present available stock of glass in the country is depleted, and to keep all factories idle until a general resumption is ordered. An increase in wages was agreed upon and all current price-lists for glass were to be withdrawn in order that an advance of probably twenty per cent. to the public might be made. Owing to a split in the union this agreement has been hindered somewhat, and certain independent companies have begun work with the dissatisfied mechanics.

An interesting episode in this chapter of alliances between unions of employers and unions of workmen is found in the horseshoers' trade. The Master Horseshoers' Association is in most particulars similar in its objects and methods to the Journeymen Horseshoers' Union. The masters do not differ much from the journeymen in wealth or social standing. Owing to the very small amount of capital required to set up a blacksmith shop, journeymen often become employers and vice versa.

The organizations of the two sides in New York and several other American cities are at present engaged in a struggle over the question of label. The Masters' Association insists on putting exclusively its own label on horseshoes leaving the shops, while the journeymen demand that the label of their union also be included. As the patrons of the horseshoers are largely workmen, such as teamsters, coachmen and cab drivers, naturally in sympathy with the union journeymen, the employers regard the union label as too strong a weapon in the hands of the union in the case of a trade dispute. The constitution of the Masters' Association of New York provides penalties for members using the union label. On the other hand, in several cities the two labels are used side by side, with the effect of keeping down competition from newcomers.

The following provisions of the agreement between the Master Horseshoers' Association and Journeymen Horseshoers' Union of Pittsburg illustrate the trade situation in most of the large cities:

1. Members of Master Horseshoers shall not em-

ploy any journeyman unless he is a member of the Journeymen's Union, nor shall any journeyman work for any employer not a member of the Masters' Association.

2. Prior to a member of the Journeymen's Union starting a shop, he shall resign his membership in that body before joining the Masters' Association, and any Master quitting business shall resign from the Masters' Association before he can be admitted to membership in the Journeymen's Association.

3. No member of the Journeymen's Union shall work for so-called corporation shops that may hereafter be opened up, or for any corporation shop black-listed by the Masters' Association.

6. The Journeyman shall observe that his employer lives strictly up to the rules of the Master Horseshoers' Protective Association.

The foregoing classes of agreements between employers and unions are well calculated to carry the principle of self-protection over into the policy of monopoly. There is another class of agreements, not open to the charge of monopoly, which simply provide that all employers in the same line shall be treated alike. For example, the agreement entered into March 18, 1903, between the National Association of Marble Dealers and the International Association of Marble Workers does not provide for exclusive employment on either side, but provides for preference of employment to members of the union and forbids the union to work for non-members of the employers' association for less wages than for members. Misunderstandings have arisen in the execution of this agreement, and a lockout has followed, but it illustrates the principle. Sections touching on this matter are as follows:

That the National Association of Marble Dealers recognize the International Association of Marble Workers on and after the first of June, 1903, and agrees to give preference of employment to members of the International Association of Marble Workers in so far as the I. A. M. W. can supply a sufficient number of competent workmen.

That no member or members of the I. A. M. W. shall work for any person, firm or corporation (not a member of the N. A. M. D.) on the basis of over nine hours per day or for less wages than those being paid by members of the N. A. M. D. for similar services.

That no member or members of the I. A. M. W. shall handle or set any marble that is not finished by members of the I. A. M. W. working on the basis of not more than a nine hour day and receiving the same wages as are paid members of the N. A. M. D. for similar services, and under the same conditions.

The following, similar in its aims, is the agreement between the Electrical Contractors' Association and Local No. 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of New York City:

(3) That the members of the association shall employ only members of the union, as journeymen and helpers, to do electrical work in any building, bridge, ship, or pole work, and that in consideration of such exclusive employment the union agrees that it will not work for any electrical contractor not a member of the association who does not sign and conform to an agreement similar to this, the original of such agreement to be shown to the Secretary of the Association if requested.

WAGES AND HOURS.

Almost universally the union endeavors to establish the principle of a standard wage or a minimum wage, whether paid by the hour, day, or week, and a maximum number of hours per day or week. Employers argue that this wage is placed so high that they cannot afford to pay members more than the minimum, and the unions, with very few exceptions, refuse to grade workmen in classes with a different wage for each class. They hold that if the union assigns members to several classes there will be occasion for jealousy and favoritism, and if the employer assigns them to particular classes he will place as many as possible in the lowest class, which would be equivalent to cutting the scale of wages.

Unions do not generally prohibit members from receiving more than the minimum wage, but they establish the minimum on the basis of what they consider a fair wage for the bulk of their members. On this account those who in the opinion of the employer are not able to earn the minimum are discharged when business slackens and are the last to be employed when business expands. The unions enforce the minimum wage rule by fines and expulsion in case of its violation.

Occasionally unions modify the minimum wage rule by grading the workmen. The stonecutters of New York have three grades, the scale being \$5 for the first grade, \$4.50 for the second, and \$4 for the third. Many unions issue special permits to old or sick or incapacitated men to work below the scale. This is usually done through a committee created for the purpose.

PIECE WORK.

Piece-work wages are opposed by a number of unions while by others they are favored.

The unions which object to piece work do so on the ground that it places them at a disadvantage in preventing the destructive competition which brings about the reduction in piece-work rates. Especially among the machinists, where there are great differences between job and job, piece-work rates practically do away with the union scale and reduce the remuneration of labor to a matter of individual bargain. The glass bottle blowers have elaborate printed price-lists containing more than 1,000 specifications. Where a union is not strongly organized the objection to piece-work is found in the fact that the employer frequently bases his pay on the output of the speedier men and cuts the prices so that the less capable are placed at a disadvantage and cannot earn the amount of wages which the union considers fair.

The following lists were prepared by the Industrial Commission:

Unions whose members work by the piece, at least in some department, without active opposition on the part of the organization:

Boot and Shoe Workers.	Piano and Organ Workers.
Hatters.	Coopers.
Garment Workers.	Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
Tailors.	
Custom Clothing Makers.	Stove Mounters.
Ladies' Garment Workers.	Sheet Metal Workers.
Lace Curtain Operatives.	Wire Weavers.
Mule Spinners.	Longshoremen.
Typographical Union.	Cigarmakers.
Steel and Copper Plate Printers.	Leather Workers on Horse Goods.
Glass Bottle Blowers.	Stogie Makers.
Flint Glass Blowers.	Upholsterers.
Potters.	
United Mine Workers.	
Northern Mine Workers.	

Unions which either forbid piece-work or actively discourage it:

Bookbinders.	Mechanists.
Bricklayers.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
Carpenters, Brotherhood.	Iron Moulders.
Painters (Paper-Hanging excepted).	Pattern Makers.
Plasterers.	Blacksmiths.
Plumbers.	Bakers.
Stonecutters.	Brickmakers.
Tile Layers.	Watch-Case Engravers.
Amalgamated Glass Workers.	Jewelry Workers.
Woodworkers.	Oil and Gas Well Workers.
Wood Carvers.	
Carriage Workers.	

OUTPUT.

In some instances where piece-work prevails the union has a rule prohibiting its members from earning more than a designated amount of wages and enforces this by fines and expulsion. Wherever this rule is imposed it is not done by the international, but by the local organizations, and therefore under the same international union a limit may be placed in one locality or one shop and not be found in other localities or other shops.

Even where unions are paid by the day or week, and not by the piece, they sometimes place limits on the amount of work, as when the clothing cutters limit the number of suits to fourteen a day. Similar limits are sometimes found among machinists, molders, polishers, tile layers, marble setters, plasterers, and others. One of the reasons given for limitation is the "unfair" competition of unusually swift workmen—"leaders," "pace-makers," "rushers," "rooters." This is seen in the following by-law of the Brotherhood of Carpenters of New York:

"Any member who does an unreasonable amount of work, or who acts as a leader for his employer for the purpose of getting all the work possible out of the men working in the same shop or job with him, shall be fined for the first offense ten dollars; for the second offense he shall be suspended or expelled."

The Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers have for many years placed a limit on the output of the hot rolls in the sheet and tin plate mills. By agreement with their employers this limit has recently been modified in the case of tin plate, but it continues to be enforced in the sheet mills. In the window glass factories the union usually has secured a rest for the two hot months of July and August, and during the recent depression of trade this was increased to four or five

months by agreement with the employers to prevent overproduction. The plumbers of Chicago in 1899 had the following rules regarding a day's work:

Rule 1. When working on lead work, eight wiped joints shall be considered a day's work.

Rule 2. When working on iron pipe, the measuring, cutting, threading, and placing in position of 15 threads of one inch, or under, shall be considered a day's work.

Rule 3. Ten threads on one and a quarter, one and a half, and two inch pipe shall be considered a day's work.

Rule 4. When running soil pipe in a vertical manner, the following shall be considered eight hours' work: 6 inch, 6 caulked joints; 5 inch, 6 caulked joints; 4 inch, 9 caulked joints; 3 inch, 10 caulked joints; 2 inch, 12 caulked joints.

Rule 5. When running soil pipe in a horizontal manner, the following shall be considered eight hours' work: 6 inch, 4 caulked joints; 5 inch, 4 caulked joints; 4 inch, 6 caulked joints; 3 inch, 6 caulked joints; 2 inch, 8 caulked joints.

Rule 6. When finishing on flats or apartments, hotel or office building, one fixture shall be considered an average day's work, except laundry tub, then each apartment shall constitute one fixture.

Rule 7. When working on Durham system, the running of 2½, 3, and 4 inch pipe, when working on stacks, three stories shall be considered a day's work. When working on 5, 6, and 8 inch pipe on stack, two stories shall be considered a day's work.

Rule 8. Pump pipe down spouts, and other straight stacks of pipe: 2½ and 3 inch, 50 feet shall be considered a day's work; 4 and 5 inch, 40 feet a day's work; 6 and 8 inch, 30 feet a day's work.

Rule 9. In cases where work is of a complicated nature, or workmen are delayed through no fault of theirs, the absolute performance of amounts as laid down in schedule shall not be considered as compulsory by this association.

Rule 11. Any member violating any of these rules shall be dealt with according to section 16 of working rules, which reads: 'A fine of one day's pay for first offense, and two days' pay for second offense, and if he persists in his violation, the association shall deal with him as it sees fit.'

The plasterers in New York have the following scale of work incorporated in their agreement with the employers' association, designed partly to prevent rush work on inferior and speculative buildings:

Section 1. In tenement houses where there are ten rooms and a lobby or hallway to each floor or flat, the time for scratch coating rooms and hallway on said flat or floor shall be two days, or one day each for two men.

Section 2. The time for browning in said tenement houses for ten rooms and hallway shall be six days, or three days each for two men.

Section 3. In browning where there are extra rooms or extra closets, there shall be extra proportionate time allowed.

Section 4. The time for hard finishing ten rooms and hallway in tenement houses shall be six days, or three days each for two men.

Section 5. For corning and finishing tops of rooms in tenement houses, the time for each room, with four angle and two break mitres, done with a common mould, about seven inches projection, shall be one day, or one-half day each for two men. When there is a square panel the time shall be one and one-half days, or three-quarters of a day each for two men.

Section 6. If the moulds are extra large, or extra members or quarter circles in panels, or extra panels on the ceiling, there must be extra proportionate time allowed.

Section 7. In the larger tenement houses, called apartment houses, where there are large front and back room of about 13x16, and the common cornice mould is about ten inches in projection, the time for corning such a room, with four angle and two break mitres in it, shall be three-quarters of a day each for two men, and when there is a square panel in each room the time shall be one day each for two men.

Section 8. In small rooms, where there are only four mitres where a common mould of six or seven inches is used, two men shall cornice three and finish ceilings and tops of walls of said rooms in one day. Coving in above class of buildings to come under the heading of corning.

Section 9. In private houses, known as speculation and such like, all corning and panelling shall be governed by the rules of large and small rooms in apartment houses, and if the parlors in said private houses are larger than the ordinary 13x16 feet parlors or apartment houses, or the moulds larger or more difficult to work, or more panelling on the ceiling, there must be extra proportionate time allowed.

The window glass cutters stipulate in their agreement with their employers that—

"No cutter shall be allowed to cut more than 3 pots or 360 boxes of double strength. The boss cutter shall be directed to see that cutters short in their quantity shall have spare cutting in preference to cutters who have their full quota."

While trade unions, generally recognizing that this is a mechanical age, are endeavoring to maintain wages while not opposing machinery, yet individual unions have placed obstacles in the way of machinery or its economical use. The pressmen's union, to protect its members, stipulates that on a double press one pressman and three press hands shall be employed, whereas in certain offices employers have contended that two press hands would be adequate; similarly on a quadruple press, the union requires four press hands, on a sextuple six, and on an octuple eight, being in each case two to three press hands more than some employers believe can be economically employed.

The International Association of Machinists has this rule:

ASSOCIATED CAPITAL

manufacturer, who may fix his own price and adopt such plan for the sale as he in his judgment may determine. At one time the sale of these goods was largely made through travelling agents, who worked upon commission and supplied the goods to the customer or retailer. At the present time they are sold almost entirely to wholesalers and jobbers who are members or who abide by the rules of the Wholesale Druggists' Association.

Prior to the origin of this association the manufacturers sold goods to some of the wholesalers on more favorable terms than to others, thus permitting large dealers to make a profit while a great number of the smaller firms found the handling of proprietary goods unprofitable. The Druggists' Association devised a plan for the conduct of the business which was accepted by the Proprietary Association. It provided that the latter should establish a uniform jobbing price for fixed quantities, as well as a price to be charged by the wholesale druggists, which both were to agree to maintain, the wholesale druggists being allowed the difference between the jobbing and their selling prices as their profit.

In December, 1893, the so-called Detroit plan was adopted instructing a committee of the wholesalers' association to

Request the proprietors selling their preparations under the contract system to refuse supplies of their preparations to any party whom they may find on a full investigation to be wilfully, deliberately and systematically, even though secretly and indirectly, violating the contracts of any one party, un-

"Any member running more than one machine in any shop where such is not now the practice, unless such introduction is upon the decision and advice of the local lodge and approved by the grand lodge, shall be expelled."

A statement by an officer of the union was issued in 1902 showing the gains made by the members of the International Association of Machinists during the previous two years as follows:

"We prevented the introduction of the two-machine system in 137 shops, employing 9,500 men. It is safe to say that if this system had been introduced the force of men would be reduced one-eighth; hence, in this we have saved the position of 1,188 men, whose daily wages would amount to \$2,613.60 per day, or \$818,056.80 per year.

"Thirty-seven lodges reported having prevented the introduction of the piece-work system in shops employing 4,500 men. This system, when in practical operation, reduces the force on a fair estimate one-fourth. Thus the positions of 1,125 men have been saved, which amounts to \$2,475 per day, or \$774,675 per year.

"From the above figures you will see that we have declared a dividend which has gone into the pockets of the machinists, through the efforts of the organization, amounting to a sum total of \$2,181,278.22."

The Cigar-Makers' Union prohibits the use of the union label for cigars made in whole or in part by machinery, but does not forbid its members working on the cigar-making machine.

In the Report of the Industrial Commission the following statements are found:

"The stogie makers will refuse to admit machine workers to their organization, and both the coopers and the iron moulders maintained the same attitude up to 1899. It is only half a dozen years since the coopers appealed to the Federation of Labor to declare against ale and beer packages made by machinery. The Federation, however, did not approve the proposition. The stone cutters prevent the use of stone-planing machines wherever they can. When a new machine was invented two or three years ago for blowing lamp chimneys, the flint-glass workers proposed to the manufacturers that the machine be bought up and eliminated, and that the selling price of chimneys be advanced to pay the cost. The rules of the plumbers contain a long list of plumbing goods which were formerly made by hand as they were used, but which are now appearing in the market as products of machinery. The plumbers declare that this change is taking away the work of their trade, and that the use of these goods should be stopped. The plate-printers have always opposed the introduction of steam presses, and have succeeded in keeping them out of the largest plate printing office in America, that of the United States Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The reason given is that the work done on a hand-roller press is far better."

til the subcommittee have become satisfied that such practice will be discontinued.

That our committee on Proprietary Goods be authorized to omit from future official lists of rebate articles the preparations of such proprietors as may continue supplying to parties found guilty of violating any contract under the foregoing resolution, and announce to our members that this committee will no longer regard such articles as really restricted.

This resolution is directed against such proprietary firms as refuse to enter into the agreement, and it was considered by the counsel for the plaintiff as equivalent to placing such manufacturers on a boycotted list. A further provision of the plan was:

That when complaints of violation are properly lodged with the committee in writing against any dealer the chairman, with the consent and advice of his associates, shall proceed to have thorough investigation of such charges made, and shall have full power to engage for this purpose any assistance he may deem proper to corroborate such charges.

Under this the committee employed spies, who tracked shipments to the Park Sons Company, and reported the names of the intermediaries through whom purchases had been made. These intermediaries were thereupon placed on the excluded list.

Another resolution establishes a whitelist and a blacklist:

That the committee on proprietary goods furnish rebate proprietors with a list of parties who advertise proprietary articles at cut rates at retail, also of parties who are purchasers for division, in violation of the letter and spirit of their contracts, and that we

PROPRIETARY DRUGS.

The Wholesale Druggists' Association, organized in 1882, represents 90 per cent of the wholesale jobbing trade of the United States. Of this trade 45 or 50 per cent is in the form of proprietary drugs, sold under trade-marks, copyrights or patents, which secure exclusive right of sale to the manufacturers. The manufacturers themselves, organized as the Proprietary Association of America, have an arrangement with the Wholesale Druggists' Association to control wholesale and retail prices. A number of retail associations have also been formed in the several States, with a National Association of Retail Druggists, which co-operates with the jobbers and the manufacturers' associations.

From its organization to the present time the Wholesale Druggists' Association has conducted a vigorous attack upon wholesale houses declining to become members of the association or to abide by its conditions with respect to sales. This contest has all the more significance for our present purpose because of the decision of the highest court of the State of New York sustaining the legality of the arrangements thus effected to regulate competition. This decision was rendered by the Court of Appeals April 28, 1903, in the case of John D. Park & Sons Company vs. The National Wholesale Druggists' Association. The facts, as agreed upon by both parties to the suit, were as follows:

The medicines are known as proprietary goods and their manufacture and sale are under the control of the

request that orders for such parties be not hereafter filled, except at long prices.

That in justice to those proprietors who have in the past and will now agree to act up to this measure of protection to retailers, the committee of proprietary goods note, in the official rebate list, the names of all manufacturers who will act in accordance with the spirit of that resolution.

That all proprietors selling goods on the contract plan are hereby requested to forward names of new firms or associations wishing to purchase goods to the sub-committee on rebate contract; said committee shall at once inquire as to the business methods and organizations of said firms or association, and report to the proprietors, in accordance with resolution No. 5, passed at the Indianapolis meeting of the N. W. D. A., if in their opinion said firm or association are entitled to purchase rebate goods. And all proprietors are requested to abide by said decision. On the adoption of this resolution by the association, a copy shall be forwarded to all parties selling goods on contract plan.

In conformity with these resolutions, joint committees of the Proprietary Association and the Druggists' Association were created, which proceeded to compile lists of the firms throughout the United States entitled to direct quantity sales at the rebate discount, and also to furnish to the proprietors lists of all firms refusing to abide by these rules or furnishing goods as intermediaries to other firms that so refused. The committees, through a system of spies, received daily reports of shipments to or from the firms on their blacklist and furnished these lists to all manufacturers of proprietary goods.

The Committee on Proprietary Goods at the session of the Wholesalers in 1902 affirmed that "the continuous advocacy of the rebate plan has involved no hardship upon any branch of the trade nor has it dulled the edge of competition. It has simply restrained it from taking an unreasonable and destructive form. The opportunities for those members which have ample capital and capable management are as great as ever and their operations have not been restrained with the practical working of the rebate plan."

The Committee of the Proprietary Association, at their session in 1902, reported:

"It is a pleasure to be able to say that all are coming to realize, as they have not heretofore, the immeasurable superiority of co-operation over the kind of competition that for forty years has tended to render the retail drug business more and more a life of profitless drudgery, while the profits of proprietors and jobbers have also seriously diminished.

"The great majority of the jobbers are living up to the terms established by the proprietors for the sale of their goods, but there are undoubtedly a number on the uniform list that need discipline of the kind they will certainly remember.

"The retail trade, or at least the members of the National Association, are with few exceptions carrying out conscientiously the stipulation made that, in exchange for an honest effort by proprietors and jobbers to secure them, the retailers, a reasonable profit on proprietaries, the various preparations of the proprietors shall be sold by them, when called for, *without argument*."

The importance of the New York decision in the Park & Sons Company case make it worth while to give extracts showing the grounds of the decision. The court held that the wholesalers' contract system did not create a monopoly, since its terms were open to non-members as well as members of the association. Judge Haight, in the majority opinion, said:

"Under the plan adopted every dealer has the right to purchase goods from the manufacturers upon the same terms as the members of the association with the right to the same rebates or commissions upon complying with the requirements of the manufacturers with reference to following their price list in making sales of goods. . . . It is true it does away with the competition among the dealers as to prices, but it creates no restriction upon them as to the quantities they may be able to sell or the territory within which they may confine their transactions. . . . An active competition and rivalry in business is undoubtedly conducive to the public welfare, but we must not shut our eyes to the fact that competition may be carried to such an extent as to accomplish the financial ruin of those engaged therein and thus result in a derangement of business and inconvenience to consumers and in public harm. . . . It is true, many of the proprietors refuse to sell to the plaintiff proprietary goods except at long prices, which I understand to be the selling price. They have refused to allow plaintiff commissions or a rebate upon the goods purchased, but this refusal is based upon the ground that the plaintiff refused to sell at the price fixed by the

proprietor. The plaintiff can at any time avail itself of the right to purchase upon the contract plan by complying with the requirements of the proprietors. The plaintiff could command large capital, and by reason of this they could purchase proprietary goods in larger quantities and more cheaply than the other wholesale and jobbing druggists, and that by reason of the contract plan the plaintiff was unable so to do. Under the contract plan the prices of these goods were made uniform for fixed quantities, and dealers possessing large capital and thereby enabled to purchase in large quantities could not purchase for a less sum than the ordinary wholesale and jobbing druggist, and not being able to purchase for a less sum could not handle the goods more cheaply. The situation is not new. It is one to which the attention of the public has been frequently drawn in recent years. The great merchants possessed of large capital will persuade manufacturers to sell to them more cheaply in consequence of their taking large quantities, and thus they are enabled to undersell and drive out of business the small merchants in their vicinity. I am not here to question the right of the big fish to eat up the little fish, the big storekeeper to undersell and drive out of business the little storekeeper, but I do believe that the little fellows have the right to protect their lives and their business, and if they can by force of argument and persuasion induce manufacturers to establish a uniform price for fixed quantities so that they can purchase as cheaply as the great merchants and thus compete with them in the retail trade, they have the right to do so, and that no court of equity ought to interfere and restrain them from the exercise of this privilege."

Since the decision of the New York court the arrangement is still maintained, works satisfactorily, and is earnestly defended by the association and those interested in its maintenance. A manufacturer signs a contract with the officers of the association agreeing that prices shall be maintained and that orders shall be refused from all dealers whose names appear upon a blacklist furnished the association from time to time. These conditions are being enforced, and since the Park suit the contract seems supreme. The jobber is permitted to cut the price on certain specified quantities, as, for instance, for orders for three dozen of Ayer's goods he may make a discount of 5 per cent at his discretion, and the same discount on orders amounting to \$36 of Pierce's goods, etc., each proprietor electing the size of the quantity ordered that permits the discount. Retail druggists and wholesale druggists find it very difficult and always more expensive to buy these goods if they violate provisions of the contract.

There is in the drug line another scheme, known as the "Miles plan," inaugurated by the Miles Medicine Company. This company, which markets its goods through jobbers, prohibits a jobber from filling orders from any firm or person whose name is not found on the list furnished him by the Miles Company. To get on this list a retailer must contract to sell the Miles goods at full price. The retailer forwards his contract, if he is not already on the list, to his jobber. The jobber in turn forwards it to the proprietor, who, if accepting him as in good standing, adds the retailer's name to his general list. On receiving from a regular customer not on Miles's list an order containing an item calling for any of Miles' goods, the jobber fills the order less the Miles goods even if his customer is a valuable one to him. This causes much irritation to the retailer and considerable explanation from the wholesale druggist. The wholesalers, however, seem pleased with the plan, and are standing by it to a man.

BOOK PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS.

In the latter part of 1900, the American Publishers' Association was organized, with, it is supposed, about 95 per cent, both in number and extent of business, of the publishers of all kinds of books, magazines, and similar commodities throughout the United States. The association included such publishing houses as: McClure, Phillips & Co., D. Appleton & Co., Dodd, Mead & Co., Doubleday, Page & Co., The Funk & Wagnalls Company, Harper & Bros., Henry Holt & Co., Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Macmillan Company, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Baker & Taylor Company, Fleming H. Revell & Co., and others. Shortly thereafter the American Booksellers' Association was organized, composed of a large number of bookdealers at wholesale and retail, with about 90 per cent of all

such dealers both in number and extent of business throughout the country.

The Publishers' Association adopted an agreement providing that all copyrighted books published by any of them after May 1, 1901, should be published and sold at retail net prices, that is, the published price, and not be subject to any discounts. It also provided that these books should be sold only to those booksellers who would maintain the retail net prices of such books for one year, and to those booksellers and jobbers only who would sell books at wholesale to no one known to them to cut or sell at a lower figure than such net retail prices, or whose name would be given to them by the association as one who had cut such net prices. An office was established for the purpose of carrying out this plan.

Soon afterward the American Booksellers' Association issued a statement announcing that the plan of the Publishers' Association would take effect May 1 and giving as reasons for this measure the demoralization of the book trade, both as regards publishers and retail dealers, in the cutting of prices by department stores, home library associations, and other mail order agencies which advertised books at "wholesale prices."

The Booksellers' Association stipulated that its members should co-operate with the American Publishers' Association in supporting the latter's agreement as to prices and conditions of sale. The Publishers' Association on its part refused to sell to the person violating his agreement any book published by any member of the Publishers' Association, whether copyrighted or not, until the association should be satisfied that such persons would co-operate with it and its members in maintaining the uniform net price system.

In carrying out the arrangement the American Booksellers' Association sent a circular letter to publishers who had not joined the Publishers' Association, containing the following statements:

"By special arrangement entered into with the Organization committee of the American Publishers' Association, the members of our association are bound not to buy, not to put in stock, nor to offer for sale the books of any publisher who shall finally decline to cooperate with us in the maintenance of the net price system by joining the American Publishers' Association and issuing books under the net price system. Inasmuch as the publishers have carried out their part of the agreement upon which our conduct was conditioned, it now becomes necessary for us to preserve our part of the agreement. We had sincerely hoped that you would be pleased to join the American Publishers' Association and co-operate with us through it in the maintenance of the net price system; and if you will take the matter into consideration at the present time, we are confident that you will now join the Publishers' Association and not compel us to take final action in this matter. We inclose a copy of the last issue of the Booksellers' Bulletin. By referring to page 6 of the Bulletin you will see that one publisher has already been cut off by the members of our association. We sincerely hope it will not be necessary to extend the list. Very truly yours,

"American Booksellers' Association."

The resolution on which the above notice was based is as follows, adopted by the American Booksellers' Association June 17, 1902.

Whereas, all publishers of trade books still remaining outside of the Publishers' Association have been repeatedly invited by us to join the organization and through it co-operate with us in the maintenance of the net price system, and,

Whereas, such publishers of general trade books as still remain outside of the Publishers' Association are continuing to sell their publications to the few persistent price-cutters, and thus encouraging them to continue their opposition to the net price system, therefore,

Be it Resolved that we, the American Booksellers' Association in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our secretary to give final notice to such publishers that it is our intention to apply Reform Resolution No. 1 unless they immediately join the American Publishers' Association and co-operation through it with us in the maintenance of the net price system, and therefore,

Be it Resolved that should any such publisher on receiving such notice decline to co-operate with us by failing to make application to the American Publishers' Association after receiving final notice, the secretary shall promptly issue notice to all members that Reform Resolution No. 1 is thereafter to be applied to such publisher, and all members shall discontinue handling the books of such publisher as provided by Reform Resolution No. 1 until further notice.

As a further illustration of the methods adopted and the success with which they were carried out the following extracts are given from a circular letter sent out by one of the publishers:

"Several things have already been demonstrated of interest to the entire trade in connection with the 'No Cut rate' movement.

"1. The substantial loyalty to the association of all dealers. In only one case (up to date of this letter) has there been any cutting of price,—one large department store in New York City.

"2. The vigor and promptness of the association to punish those who violate its regulations. The association immediately took steps to assure itself that the cut in price was deliberate and intentional. The entire wholesale publishing trade was at once notified not to sell a book of any kind published by the members of the American Publishers' Association to the offending concern. There is every indication that this order will be loyally carried out by all publishers and wholesalers."

A number of department stores accepted the conditions imposed by the Publishers' Association, but the firm of R. H. Macy & Co., of New York, brought suit in December, 1902, in the New York Supreme Court for an injunction and for \$100,000 damages against both the Publishers' Association and the Booksellers' Association. The petition cited that the two associations had entered into a combination to maintain prices and to prevent competition, and that they refused to sell any books to R. H. Macy & Co. It was also alleged by the plaintiff that the Publishers' Association had sent their spies into the store of Macy & Co. and had bribed their employees and followed them to their homes and elsewhere in order to discover the parties who were selling books to them in violation of their contract with the Publishers' Association not to do so; and that, in some cases, when these parties were discovered their supply of books was immediately cut off by all the publishers.

In reply, the President of the Publishers' Association contended that the object of the association was not to create a monopoly, since it admitted all reputable publishers that might wish to become members. Neither did the association attempt to fix the price of any one of the books. This was done by each publisher, and the effect of the rules was therefore not to stifle competition but rather to increase competition by providing settled methods of doing business. It was intended in no way to limit the sale of books, but to furnish them to all jobbers and dealers who would agree to prevent sales at less than the fixed retail price, and it was intended that such jobbers and dealers should be treated with justice and equality and without special concessions, rebates or discounts. It was held that the publishers' profits had not been increased by the association.

This suit was decided in a lower court in favor of the publishers and booksellers; in an intermediate court in favor of Macy & Co., and is now pending on appeal taken by the publishers to the Court of Appeals.

THE PLUMBING BUSINESS.

The National Association of Master Plumbers of the United States was organized in New York in 1883. In 1884 at Baltimore the organization adopted certain resolutions which have constituted a bone of contention ever since between the master plumbers and the manufacturers and jobbers of plumbers' materials, whose organization is the Confederated Supply Associations.

While the supply men seem to have been willing to confine their sales to people legitimately engaged in the plumbing trade, as originally called for in the Baltimore resolutions of the Master Plumbers' Association, they refused to go a step further and accede to the association's demand that they should sell only to its members. At a meeting at which the Central Supply Associations' organization was effected the following declaration of policy was adopted:

Whereas, Many members of this association have been requested by State and local master plumbers' associations to refrain from selling licensed master plumbers, regularly engaged in business, who are not members of said association; and

Whereas, We deem such discrimination inexpedient and unwise from a business point of view and contrary to the laws of the United States and the principles on which our government is formed; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we reserve the right to sell plumbing

goods to any licensed master plumber, regularly engaged in business, in accordance with the definition of the Baltimore resolutions as made by the National Association of Master Plumbers, at its annual meeting in Washington in 1892.

The master plumbers adopted a policy of patronizing only those supply men who agreed to their demands, thus boycotting others. The struggle between the two associations went on with varying success, the supply men expressing their willingness to abide by the Baltimore resolutions of the plumbers and urging arbitration for grievances and disagreements between members of the two bodies. Finally a conference in New York of the executive committees of the two associations adopted an agreement embodied in seventeen resolutions, the more important of which read as follows:

Whereas, we believe it would be to the best interests of the manufacturers, jobbers and plumbers of the United States that the sale of plumbing goods be confined to master plumbers as herewith defined:

1. A master plumber is one who has an established place of business and represents the industry of plumbing, and who has qualified under State or local enactments regulating plumbing and plumbers where such exist; or, where no license is required, an individual or firm with an established place of business and representing the industry of plumbing;

2. Resolved, That we recommend the establishment of a Joint Standing Committee on Conciliation to which shall be referred all cases of dispute between the plumber and the dealer. This committee shall be constituted by the appointment of six members, three of whom shall be named by the President of the National Association of Master Plumbers, and three by the Chairman of the National Committee of the Confederated Supply Associations. In case they cannot agree they shall submit the question to three arbitrators, chosen in the usual way.

3. That plumbing goods shall not be sold to dealers who do not confine their sales to master plumbers.

8. Supply houses, doing a plumbing supply business and contracting for plumbing work, directly or indirectly, are considered unjust competitors.

9. Net prices or any discounts from list prices furnished to others than those allowed to buy under these resolutions are violations thereof.

11. The members of the National Association of Master Plumbers shall not sell plumbing material to consumers when they do not furnish the labor for putting the material in.

14. The penalty for violation of these resolutions shall be left to the discretion of the arbitrators and be commensurate with the violations and circumstances.

By these resolutions the master plumbers gave up their claim that plumbers' supplies were to be sold to members of their association only, while they succeeded in establishing a more strict definition of the master plumbers to whom the privileges of the trade were to be confined. The resolutions were adopted unanimously by both organizations.

But in spite of its acceptance by the convention of the master plumbers the agreement was repudiated by their National Executive Committee at a meeting held in Cleveland, October 8, 1901, where resolutions were unanimously passed which revived the old demand. As these "Cleveland resolutions" were "enthusiastically and resolutely approved" at the succeeding annual convention of the master plumbers held at Atlantic City, June 18, 1902, and as the master plumbers are still trying to enforce them, their most important provisions are quoted verbatim:

1. The members of the National Association of Master Plumbers are requested to confine their purchases of plumbing goods to manufacturers and jobbers who are willing to assist in improving the condition of the plumbing business, and who sell plumbing goods in localities where there are members of the National Association of Master Plumbers only to recognized master plumbers whose names appear in the national Directory of Master Plumbers, published under the supervision of the National Association of Master Plumbers. No plumbing goods shall be furnished to consumers under any condition.

2. It shall be the duty of the secretary of each State or local association affiliated with the National Association, to furnish a list of recognized master plumbers in his locality to the President of the National Association of Master Plumbers. All this must be submitted to the officers of the various State associations and approved by them before being sent to the National Association.

4. The names of manufacturers and jobbers who are considered in accord with these resolutions shall be printed in pamphlet form, under the supervision of the National Association of Master Plumbers, and distributed to those who are members of the N. A. of M. P., with the request that they bestow their patron-

age upon those whose names are upon the said list of manufacturers and jobbers. Supplements to this list shall be issued monthly, or more frequently if necessary.

5. Manufacturers and jobbers who sell or exchange plumbing goods with other manufacturers and jobbers who furnish plumbing goods to those not on said list of recognized master plumbers shall not be considered in accord with these resolutions.

6. In order to aid in honest dealing and the payment of just debts, manufacturers and jobbers are requested not to furnish plumbing goods to any one for a building, or addition to a building, where a manufacturer or a jobber in accord or a member of the N. A. of M. P. has not been paid in full what is justly due him for goods furnished for such building or for work performed upon such building. Manufacturers and jobbers furnishing plumbing goods contrary to this section shall not be considered in accord with these resolutions.

7. Master plumbers shall not finish work, or furnish plumbing goods for any building, or addition to any building, where a manufacturer or jobber in accord, or a member of the N. A. of M. P., has not been paid in full what is justly due him for goods furnished for such building, or for work performed upon such building. Master plumbers finishing work or furnishing goods for such buildings contrary to this section shall not be recognized as master plumbers.

10. It is a recognized rule in all lines of business that manufacturers and jobbers confine themselves to manufacturing and wholesaling. Manufacturers or jobbers who conduct a plumbing business directly or indirectly or who establish and maintain others in the plumbing business shall not be considered in accord with these resolutions.

11. Master plumbers selling plumbing goods that they do not install, or who install plumbing goods that they do not furnish, in localities where there are members of the N. A. of M. P., shall not be recognized as master plumbers.

12. Manufacturers, jobbers or their representatives in plumbing goods who give net prices or any discounts from list prices to those who are not recognized as master plumbers by the National Association shall not be considered in accord with these resolutions.

The Supply Associations refused to comply with the Cleveland resolutions, and at a meeting at Chicago, Nov. 12, 1902, the National Committee of the Confederated Supply Associations adopted what are known as the "Chicago trade resolutions," in which, reaffirming their belief in "the spirit of conciliation and arbitration," they laid down the following definition of a legitimate master plumber "to whom sales of supplies are to be confined:"

"A party who represents the industry of plumbing, who has an established place of business, doing a general merchant and contracting plumbing business with the public generally; who has qualified under the State and local enactments regulating plumbing and plumbers where such exist, or, where no license is required, who fulfils the other requirements, and represents the industry of plumbing in the locality."

Besides the legitimate master plumbers, section three provides that—

"The following are entitled to buy plumbing goods: Federal Government, State and county institutions. Also water works, railroads, steamship companies, ship building companies, car building companies, packing and stock yard companies, educational and charitable institutions, municipalities, manufacturing companies, for use only in the requirements of their business, providing they are regularly employing journeymen plumbers the year round to install same.

"No plumbing shall be sold to any of the aforementioned parties for use of any officers or private individuals connected with said excepted parties.

"No plumbing shall be sold to any of the aforementioned, mail order or catalogue houses, buildings, office buildings, or hotels, or retailers not doing a legitimate plumbing business."

The Chicago and Cleveland resolutions are at present still the subject of dispute. In the words of a prominent manufacturer of plumbers' supplies, as matters stand at present—

"The Cleveland resolutions are not strictly enforced. There is more or less elasticity about their enforcement, according to locality and custom. It is implied in them that legitimate plumbers, to whom the supply houses are required to limit their sales, are all in their directory. This is admittedly impossible. In many places only their association members are reported. We all sell to any legitimate plumber, regardless of his association membership, when he is otherwise in good repute."

The master plumbers, however, insist upon their demand that goods be sold to members of their association only, and resort to threats of boycott, as the following letter, recently sent by the secretary of a

local association of the plumbers to a manufacturer of plumbers' supplies, shows:

Dear Sirs: On March 2, Mr. —, Secretary of the — Local, wrote you that you had shipped tubs to — people who were not members of the Northwestern Association, State or National. Yours of March 3 read as follows: That you had not done so, as far as you knew. You also say that Mr. —'s letter to you of March 2 was indefinite. He, again, on March 7, wrote you in answer to yours that the tubs were shipped to — direct from your factory. Yours of March 11 says: "The tubs were shipped on the order of a jobber." In connection with that I would say that we hold you accessory to this matter as much as if you had shipped them direct. If a horse is stolen, and you had helped to secrete him, the law says you are accessory to the crime, and the Northwestern will hold you to that point that you are a party to this wrong, and we will give you to March 23 to adjust this matter with the — people to their satisfaction, and when it is settled they will report to me, and that will end the difficulty, but at the end of that time, if Mr. — reports to me that this matter has not been settled satisfactorily, then the Northwestern will take this up against you in their usual custom. As this is the first offense against you, we hope you will be prompt in straightening this matter out, but you cannot be excused for selling to non-member on a jobber's order. Yours respectfully,

(Signed)

The "usual custom" referred to is the placing of the manufacturer's name on the list of those "not in accord," which is equivalent to a boycott of his goods by the members of the association.

That these threats are being carried out in different parts of the country the following cases of recent date go to show:

The Spokane (Wash.) Chronicle of July 9, 1903, contained the following item of local news:

"In the case of Maxwell & Hollinberry vs. The Master Plumbers' Association, brought in the Superior Court for an injunction to stop the boycott which has been enforced against the plaintiffs, the final hearing of which was held July 2, Judge Kennan this morning granted a decree, perpetually restraining the defendants from intimidating Holly, Mason, Marks & Co., the Griffith Heating and Plumbing Supply Company, and all other dealers in plumbers' supplies and materials in the city of Spokane, either by use of threats, coercion, fine or otherwise, and from further interfering with the business of the plaintiffs or in any way injuring the trade of the plaintiffs by intimidation, threats or fine, either by agreement among said defendants, either express or implied, open or in secret."

The "Plumbers' Trade Journal" of August 1, 1903, contains the following:

"Suit was begun in the early part of last month at Birmingham, Ala., by J. E. Barnes against the Milner & Kettig Company and the Birmingham Pipe and Casting Company. The suit is brought under what is known as the Sherman anti-trust law, which forbids combinations.

"Barnes, who is a master plumber, claims that he cannot purchase plumbing material from either of these firms. The reason, he states, is owing to the fact that he is not a member of the National Association of Master Plumbers, and that both firms in question have conspired with said association and refuse to sell to them. The case will be watched with a good deal of interest."

In St. Louis the local association of master plumbers succeeded by threats and intimidation in compelling the manufacturers and jobbers to confine their sales to members of the plumbers' association only. A plumber by the name of Walsh found himself cut off effectually from all supplies, and applied to the court for relief. The "Plumbers' Trade Journal" of May 15, 1903 (page 479), contained the following account of the case:

"In the case of Walsh vs. Association of Master Plumbers of St. Louis et al., the St. Louis Court of Appeals held: 'Capitalists have the right to combine their capital in productive enterprises and by lawful competition drive the individual producer and the smaller one out of business. . . . We think it is competent for the court to declare the agreement complained of as illegal and void, and to restrain the parties to the agreement from keeping its terms or demanding that they be kept, and thus have the respondent corporations and each of them free to deal or not to deal with the appellant (Walsh) as they may choose.'"

Barclay, J., concurring with the decision said:

"While any or all dealers in plumbing materials may *sponte sua* (of one's own accord) refuse to sell to appellant, they cannot combine and conspire to that end as the statute law now is."

An attempt was made in the early part of this year to bring the two warring organizations together. At a conference between the National Executive Committees of the two organizations held in February, 1903, the President of the Plumbers' Association proposed, as a basis for compromise, that in every locality where the plumbers' organization included two-thirds of the plumbers engaged in business and represented 75 per cent of the purchasing power, the dealers should confine their sales to members of the association. This was rejected by the supply people, and the conference was terminated. In the meantime, the over-aggressive policy of some of the local organizations resulting in adverse decisions from the courts, the National Association of Master Plumbers asked its local organizations not to take action in their controversies with the supply people except through the National Committee. Several of the local associations were displeased by this step, the dissatisfaction being especially great among the members of the Northwest Association of Pennsylvania, who seceded from the larger body.

HARDWARE.

Observers in close touch with the hardware trade differ as to the extent to which the hardware industry in the country is regulated by means of pools or "gentlemen's agreements." Varying estimates place the figures at from 60 to 95 per cent. of the output of the entire industry. Some of the most important lines, such as screws, shovels, axes, etc., are organized in pools. The general tendency is toward combination, since it is so often found that unrestrained competition is ruinous. Although many pools fail, yet almost invariably a new pool springs up to replace the old one, to profit by its mistakes and prove more stable. Moreover, after the prejudices and mutual suspicions of the members have been overcome, a pool that has attained success tends in the course of a few years to develop into a complete merging of the individual concerns into one company.

The avowed object of a pool is to maintain prices at a profitable level. The common means to that end is the apportionment of the market among the members in proportion to plant capacity. Ascertaining the capacity is confided to a special commissioner, who alone is thus made familiar with the facts regarding each plant, the members remaining in ignorance of the particulars of one another's business. The apportionment made, each member is told what his output is to be, and it becomes henceforth the commissioner's duty to audit the books of the constituent concerns at regular intervals, to see that all live up to the agreement. Members selling less than their share are compensated from the common fund, while those exceeding their allotment are required to pay into it the excess. Members detected in selling below the prices agreed on are subject to forfeiture of part or all of the money paid in by them as a guarantee of good faith. To insure more perfect control a central selling agency is sometimes established, often managed by the commissioner. In other cases the manufacturers composing the pool are left each to market his own product, the earnings being adjusted at stated intervals by the commissioner.

Not all the lines of hardware industry are organized in pools. Some are mere gentlemen's agreements, as in the case of the manufacturers of bolts and nuts. These agreements are sometimes in the nature of an informal understanding as to prices. More frequently they take the shape of a formal contract, signed by all the parties thereto, and providing for penalties in case of violation. All of these forms of agreement, however, have one feature distinguishing them from pools, which is that there is no attempt to regulate output or to allot it among the several manufacturers. The latter are free to compete for sales, so long as they do not attempt to undersell one another. Such agreements are known to exist among the manufacturers of hammers, tool-handles, cabinet backs and door-hangers, and other lines of builders' hardware.

The prices agreed upon by the manufacturers are those charged to jobbers. Between these two elements there is constant friction on account of direct sales by manufacturers to retailers, department stores and mail-order concerns. The jobbers have sought without success to become the agency for all the manufactur-

ers' product, but the manufacturers will not even agree to sell to retailers at prices bearing a fixed percentage to the prices to the jobbers, and they vary the prices to the retailers with the size of orders, terms of payment, etc. In some cases, as in wood-screws and horseshoes, described more fully below, there are different scales of prices, according to the importance of the jobber.

In the skate and lawn-rake combinations each manufacturer has been assigned a number of jobbers, through whom he does business exclusively. The jobbers were not consulted in this assignment, but the experience of each manufacturer as to what particular jobbers he did most business with was taken into account. The agreement, which is called "iron clad" in the trade, as it provides for severe penalties in case of violation, has been in force for several years and has worked very successfully. Jobbers are sometimes dissatisfied when unable to get the particular goods made by a manufacturer to whom they do not happen to be assigned, but they carry out the agreement faithfully, as they are bound in their turn to their respective manufacturers by contracts providing for a rebate on their prices at the end of the year, with loss of the rebates on any violation of the agreement. The pools and the agreements as a rule take in all the manufacturers in a given line. Competition sets in, if at all, at a later stage, when the high prices maintained by the combination make the field attractive to newcomers.

The mutual relations between the manufacturers and jobbers in the hardware trade are summed up in the following extract from a speech by E. B. Pike, of the Pike Manufacturing Company, New Hampshire, delivered before the annual convention of the Southern Hardware Jobbers' Association, in July, 1903:

"I believe it is the policy of the average manufacturer to depend upon the jobber to distribute his goods. Of course, some mistakes have occurred, some manufacturers have been foolish enough to sell their goods to retailers, some even to consumers, and some have been so absolutely bad that they have sold to catalogue houses. But I think most of them have sooner or later come to realize and repent of their sins.

"Of course every line of goods cannot be handled in the same way. Manufacturers of machinery must necessarily sell a large portion of their product direct to the user, while manufacturers of such articles as tacks and screws would be very foolish to do so."

At the same meeting, C. M. Fouche, of the Crucible Steel Company of America, Chattanooga, Tenn., made an address which contained the following statement:

"When it is thought that the manufacturer is making too much profit our jobbing friends will urge embryo manufacturers, with more money than brains, to go into the business, and we soon have over-production and the resultant seeking after markets by the manufacturer who cannot dispose of his goods through the regular channels."

The following are among the more important combinations in the hardware trade:

WOOD SCREWS POOL.—Has been in existence for about six months. It is organized as a regular pool on the lines above described. It has a commissioner who has charge of the pool funds and the matter of compensation and of charges for excess made to each manufacturer, according to his output. There is no common selling agency, but members are subject to forfeiture for selling below prices. There are three scales of prices: One for very large jobbers, another for the medium jobber, and a third for small jobbers or retailers. The effect of this pool has been to raise prices 40 per cent, but it is claimed that before the combination prices were unprofitable.

SHOVELS.—The association controls about two-thirds of the total output of the country. The manufacturers allow jobbers a rebate provided they refrain from purchasing from outside manufacturers.

AXES.—The pool controls practically the entire output of the industry. It has recently been formed and no changes in prices have yet been made, but an advance is expected. Among the concerns in the pool is the American Axe and Tool Company, a consolidation of about a dozen independent concerns, which control about one-half the entire output of axes in the country.

HORSESHOES.—Controlled by a pool organized on the lines described above. There is only one im-

portant concern, the Burden Iron Works, of Troy, N. Y., outside the pool. A new independent concern, the Standard Horseshoe Company, of South Waltham, Mass., has also come into the field recently, but it is not operating on a large scale at present. The prices of the pool are graded according to the importance of the jobber. A jobber ordering not less than one thousand kegs in six months is allowed a rebate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ cents per keg, equivalent to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; those buying not less than two thousand kegs in the same period get a rebate of 15 cents per keg. The buyer in large quantities is thus deemed to be entitled to greater consideration and protection.

AGRICULTURAL HAND IMPLEMENTS.—Are controlled by a trust with only one serious competitor.

AMMUNITION.—Metallic ammunition, powder and shot. The association, controlling over 90 per cent of the total output, consists of three concerns: The Union Metallic Company, the Winchester Arms Company, and the United States Cartridge Company. The only outside concerns are the Robin Hood Powder Company, and the Peters Cartridge Company, of Cincinnati, O. This is said to be the most successful of all the pools and has been in existence for several years.

ICE CREAM FREEZERS.—There is a "gentlemen's agreement" as to prices on the part of the four concerns engaged in the manufacture of this article. It effectually keeps out competition.

IRON AND STEEL.

The following associations, pools or "gentlemen's agreements" are known to exist in the iron and steel industry:

The *Steel Rail Pool* includes all the leading concerns with two exceptions. The output of the pool, which is fully 90 per cent of the total output, is by agreement apportioned among the constituent concerns in proportion roughly corresponding to the capacity of their respective plants. The apportionment is a matter of bargaining, carried on every year at the renewal of the pool. There is no central selling agency, each company filling its own orders, but all the inquiries received by each company are compared daily at the office of the commissioner in New York to insure uniformity of prices and terms. The pool has been in existence several years.

The two outside concerns are the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which co-operates with the pool, and the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, which is a competitor.

STEEL BILLET ASSOCIATION.

The recent revival of this pool has been made possible through the decrease in the number of independent concerns as a result of consolidations. The pool includes now the United States Steel Corporation, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, the Wheeling Steel and Iron Company, the Cambria Steel Company, the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the Lackawanna Steel Company, and the Maryland Steel Company. Meetings are held in New York every day, at which inquiries and sales are regularly reported. The agreement refers exclusively to prices, which have been established for the principal points of consumption. Though popularly called a pool, the combination is merely a "gentlemen's agreement" and each firm is free to sell all it can.

The *Beam Association* is a regular pool organized in the form described under hardware. Owing to adverse court decisions the feature of compensation when falling short and payment for excess of allotments has been dropped. The output is still apportioned among the various concerns, and no one is permitted to exceed his share, the matter being regulated through a commissioner. A concern receiving orders in excess of its allotted share will turn them away, thus indirectly compelling the customer to apply to another member. The pool controls about 90 per cent of the total output.

The *Plate Association* includes all the principal manufacturers of plate, with the exception of the Lukens Iron and Steel Company, which, however, co-operates with the pool. Organized in the same manner as the Beam Association, this pool controls more than 90 per cent of the output.

The *Pig Iron Association* of the Mahoning and

Shenango valleys maintains a common selling agency. It is a combination of outside furnaces which sell their output to the United States Steel Corporation. It has recently decided to shut down all of the furnaces for 30 days at some time prior to January, 1904, to prevent an accumulation of stock.

The *Association of Steel Bar Manufacturers*, west of the Alleghany Mountains, has been in existence for about two years. It is in the nature of a "gentlemen's agreement" to maintain prices.

There is an association of manufacturers of shaftings, which is not strong.

A meeting of representatives of blast furnaces located in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey was held Sept. 21 in New York, at which it was practically agreed to curtail production. One of the conferees is reported as giving out the following statement:

"No formal action was suggested or taken at the meeting. The question, however, came up as to whether it was advisable to undertake any restriction of output. It was decided that, first, no price agreement was worth talking about, and, second, that no formal restriction of output could be carried through. Informally, however, it was the sense of all present that we should limit production to consumption."

RAILROADS.

Probably in no other field of capital does destructive competition cause such waste as it does in the railroad business. It is no longer competition, it is "war." "No competition," says the Interstate Commerce Commission, "is so destructive as that between railways." If these wars are less frequent in recent years than they were in earlier stages of the business, it is because means have been found by combination or otherwise to prevent them. The fight is often as bitter to prevent a new road coming into the field as it is between existing roads, and the vigorous efforts of the Pennsylvania railroad interests to prevent the Gould lines from getting Atlantic Coast terminals are well known matters of recent history. Sometimes the contests between existing roads are carried to such extremes that they become actually ridiculous, as in the case of the passenger-rate war one year ago on lines between Chicago and Texas, as described in the following telegraphic item:

"Houston, Tex., Aug. 17.—Five hundred tickets were sold to Chicago yesterday at startling prices as the result of a war of ticket brokers, the outgrowth of the fight of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas, the International & Great Northern, the Cotton Belt and the Santa Fe for Northern passenger business.

"The lowest rate before yesterday was \$18 for the round trip. One broker cut it to \$8. Another broker at once cut it to \$4. Yet another announced Houston to Chicago, 30 cents; Houston to St. Louis, 20 cents; Houston to Kansas City, 10 cents.

"Another met the cut and offered a \$5 box of cigars with each ticket."

Railroad combinations differ from others in that railroads are public utilities, and railroad wars and discriminations inflict a public injury. On this account the Interstate Commerce Commission, representing the people, has recommended that poolings be legalized. For, says the Commission:

"If public transportation can be bought and sold like a commodity the largest purchaser will, some of the time if not all of the time, get the best terms. It is idle to expect that railroads will actually and all the while compete with each other as to every item of service or facility and at the same time expect that all their patrons, large and small, will be treated exactly alike. The policy now pursued cannot and will not prevent an outcome of vicious discrimination. And, what is most unfortunate of all, these discriminations favor the few and place the many at a disadvantage."

To place competition on a stable basis the railroads find it necessary to resort to two kinds of agreements, viz., uniform classification and uniform rate-fixing. For the purpose of classifying freight uniformly the different trunk lines of the country are associated through their representatives in what are known as Classification Committees. The entire United States is divided among three such committees, the Official, the Western, and the Southern.

The roads represented in the Official Classification Committee cover the territory lying north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Mississippi and the city of Chicago; those in the Western Committee

the territory west of Chicago and the Mississippi River; and those in the Southern Committee the territory south of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers and east of the Mississippi.

The Classification Committees, composed as a rule of General Freight Agents or Traffic Managers, are voluntary associations of the railroads. Their object, as stated in the Articles of Association of the Southern Classification Committee, is to establish "uniform freight classification and the publicity of the same."

The membership of these committees ranges from fifteen in the Official Committee to forty-two in the Southern. In addition to the representatives of the roads each committee has a chairman, a paid officer, not representing any road. The Classification Committee, without attempting to fix the actual freight rates, confines itself to classifying commodities. Nevertheless, it is evident that by changing an article from one class to another, the classification committees are able in so far to fix rates. By making a sweeping change of this kind these committees in January, 1900, advanced freight rates 20 to 100 per cent.

The Official Classification Committee works hand in hand with the Trunk Lines Association, which includes the roads connecting the Atlantic Coast cities with Chicago. This association fixes the actual rates by classes and also the so-called "commodity rates," i. e., special rates on commodities not included in any of the regular classifications. There is no provision for penalties of any kind for violating the rates or the classifications, yet it is believed that the roads abide by both.

The way in which this observance of rates and classifications is brought about is one of the most interesting facts in the history of all the ingenious devices for escaping destructive competition. By the anti-trust laws as interpreted in the Trans-Missouri cases, the roads are prohibited from organizing pools or associations to agree on rates, and this decision has intensified their efforts toward the now famous method of "community of interest." A person or a corporation in the interest of a competing line secures enough of the stock of its competitor to influence the election of the board of directors. A Federal Court, in the Northern Securities decision, has interdicted this practice when managed by a holding company organized for the purpose, yet that other form of community of interest, where individuals hold stock in competing roads, is not checked and is an increasing influence as a means of preventing rate-cutting.

Each of the associations which co-operate with the classification committees maintains a staff of men who inspect shipments to prevent the practice, said to be common among shippers, of underbidding weights and misdescribing goods to get lower than the published and legal tariff rate. The practice, when successful amounts practically to a discrimination in freight rates, the unscrupulous and successful underbiller getting virtually a rebate on his freight bill. The inspectors are responsible directly to the associations, and not to the individual railroads, being constantly shifted about from one road to another. Though they are supposed to watch the shippers and not the railroads, the latter themselves are sometimes the instigators of underbidding as a means of secret discrimination, and it has been stated by a prominent representative in the Trunk Line Association that the practice is on the increase in the Official Territory.

The experience of the trunk lines in arranging differentials on the limited passenger fares between New York and Chicago is an interesting example of the principle of agreeing on a minimum compensation. When a passenger pays \$8 more to ride between New York and Chicago on the Twentieth Century train than on the ordinary train this principle is recognized. The regular rate is based on the slowest line, which has \$20 for a twenty-eight-hour run. To overcome in a measure the advantage of the quicker lines, the latter agree to charge the \$8 excess. Were this not done all of the travel would be by the quicker lines, and the slower one might be forced into bankruptcy, to the ultimate disadvantage of all the lines.

The express companies and telegraph companies, like the railroads, have uniform rates for similar services.

LUMBER TRADE.

The National Wholesale Lumber Dealers' Association has for its object "the protection of its members against unbusinesslike methods of wholesale and retail lumber dealers and others. It shall give such security in the way of debarring 'scalpers,' the regulation of inspections and credits, the arbitration of disputed matters, as may be within the lawful power of such an association." (By-laws, Article I., Section 2).

Article XIX, referring to "relations with retail associations," provides that "whenever it shall be determined by the Board of Trustees . . . that any firm, person or corporation is not a legitimate customer for the wholesale trade according to the principles recognized by this association, as best conserving the interests of the lumber business, the members shall not thereafter sell to such person, firm or corporation."

Any member violating this provision "shall be notified to explain to the Committee on Arbitration, and should he fail to satisfactorily explain his conduct to said committee he shall be suspended or expelled by the Board of Directors as said Board may deem proper." (Article XV., Section 2.)

The local associations have their own rules for carrying out the spirit of these provisions. Thus the New York Lumber Trade Association has the following provisions regulating prices of lumber to members and to non-members of the association:

"First, the retail dealers hereby agree to purchase their stocks of spruce timber entirely from the wholesale commission houses who are members of the New York Lumber Trade Association in good and regular standing; second, the wholesale commission firms who are members of the New York Lumber Trade Association hereby agree to sell spruce timber in New York only to such persons, firms and corporations as shall be members of the New York Lumber Trade Association in good and regular standing.

"No member shall sell or deliver any lumber not mentioned in the above agreement in connection with or in consideration of the sale of lumber and timber mentioned in this agreement, at a less price than the wholesale price of such lumber in this market at the time of sale; members shall not sell to other members who are not in good standing with this association, except at the regular retail price."

Owing to the publicity recently given to these rules, the New York association has appointed a committee to revise them, and it is not yet announced whether changes have been made in the sections just quoted.

GROCERIES.

In the grocery business the increase in the number of "chain stores" and department stores is giving considerable concern to wholesalers and retailers, forcing them to organize more compactly for defensive purposes. Already one concern is operating 230 retail stores; another 114; and many from 5 to 50. The Retail Grocers' Association of Milwaukee has passed resolutions not to handle the products of manufacturers who place their goods in department stores, and the president of the association predicts that their action will be followed in every one of the States in which the National Retail Grocers' Association has branches. The National Association has recently passed resolutions asking manufacturers to maintain retail prices.

Wholesalers' and retailers' associations are working together in certain localities, as may be gathered from the following statement of the President of the Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association:

"About three years ago the retail grocers of Birmingham were in a bad way. There were dead beats coming into the town all the time, cutting and slashing prices and causing trouble to the retailers. What hurt the retailers hurt the wholesalers, and the wholesalers determined that the solution of the trouble was to organize the retailers so that they could protect themselves against irresponsible competitors. After the organization of the Birmingham retailers, the Minnesota wholesalers followed the lead, organizing the retailers of that State."

The "factor" or "equality" plan, which the wholesale grocers induced the sugar refiners to adopt in 1895, was designed to overcome the extreme competition which had wiped out the profits of the jobber. The plan provides for the payment of a rebate to the wholesalers by the refiners upon condition that they maintain the price fixed by the refiner. The refiners were to aid in the maintenance of the plan and to con-

fine their business strictly to the jobbing interests, and on the other hand refiners not a party to it were not permitted to reach the market through the wholesale grocers, and no additions were to be made to the list of approved refiners. Thus importers and outside refiners were compelled to reach the retail trade direct or through outside jobbers. This arrangement was gradually broken into by the rise of new refiners and was definitely abandoned about a year ago. In its place has been substituted the "limited price" agreement between jobbers and refiners without the exclusive features. During the present year this also has been broken and prices have been cut, and for this the jobbers are blaming the refiners and the refiners the jobbers.

Similar price-fixing arrangements exist in many other lines of goods sold by the grocers.

Wholesale grocers' association in certain states and sections are beginning to show a tendency to take another step in eliminating competition, by organizing under the corporate form. Leading firms in Ohio have recently consolidated under a New Jersey charter, and are expecting to take in firms in other states.

THE CONFECTIONERY TRADE.

The collective regulation of the confectionery trade is divided between the organization of the jobbers and that of the manufacturers.

Among the objects of the National Jobbing Confectioners' Association, which are enumerated in Article II. of its Constitution, are "to establish a uniform price, to harmonize all conflicting interests, if possible, and protect all persons engaged in the business that are affiliated with this body."

In a resolution adopted in 1902, at the eighth annual convention of the jobbers' association in Philadelphia, the following passage occurs: "That we support those manufacturers who sell jobbers at jobbing prices and retailers at association prices." The National Association leaves its local organizations free to adopt any measures they think best calculated to attain their ends.

The Association of Confectionery Jobbers of New York City has recently assumed an aggressive policy in an attempt to regulate prices to the retail trade. It states, first, that owing to the small capital required to engage in the confectionery jobbing business there has been such an influx of dealers as to reduce prices to an unremunerative level, and, secondly, that unscrupulous members of the trade cut prices practically below cost to build up a trade quickly and secure a large credit, and then by failing in business recoup their losses. The association maintains that no jobber who intends to remain in business could adopt such methods, and therefore they are subjected to dishonest competition.

With a view to putting an end to this practice, injurious to the interests of manufacturer and jobber alike, the New York Confectionery Jobbers' Protective Association has adopted a system of fines terminating in expulsion directed against price cutters.

Section 8 of the association's by-laws reads:

"When a member is found guilty of selling below the price list of the association he shall be fined \$10 and not above \$50 for the first offense, \$50 for the second offense, and may be expelled for any subsequent violation."

To make the punishment of expulsion effective the manufacturers were requested not to sell to jobbers who were not members of the association. It was also understood among the members of the jobbers' association that manufacturers refusing to comply with their demands were to be deprived of the jobbers' patronage.

The manufacturers on their part have taken a position which in many but not all respects is sympathetic with that of the jobbers. At the annual meeting of the manufacturers of the Eastern Confectioners' Association held at New York in April, 1902, the following were among the declarations adopted:

"Having this end in view, the manufacturers recognize that it is essential to the existence and well being of such associations that their membership should include, so far as may be practicable and possible, all jobbing confectionery houses doing business within the limits of the territory covered by the jobbers' associations, and the manufacturers are therefore in duty

bound to lend their assistance in increasing and strengthening the membership of such jobbers' associations, so long as they are conducted on right and equitable principles. On the other hand, this association believes that no jobber should be constrained to become a member of any association in opposition to his own judgment and choice, much less should he be forced into membership by the use of threats or any form of intimidation.

"This association believes that manufacturers should refuse to sell their goods to any jobber of confectionery who bears the established reputation of being what is known as a 'cutter,' or who will deliberately and persistently undersell the schedule of prices adopted for his territory by a jobbers' association.

"This association, however, does not believe that jobbers' associations have any right to expect or demand that manufacturers shall refuse to furnish goods to a responsible and reputable jobber who will maintain association prices, whether said jobber belongs to said association or does not.

"The association further declares that it should be the unquestioned right of every manufacturer to sell to any jobber who maintains association prices without any discrimination on the part of the jobbers' association or any member thereof, against such manufacturer."

The latest expression of the attitude of the manufacturers is found in the following resolution adopted at a special meeting of the Eastern Confectioners' Association held at Gettysburg, July 8-9, 1903:

"The Eastern Confectioners' Association can not and will not blacklist any person or persons or take any action intended to injure any one's business or to drive him out of trade."

As stated by a prominent manufacturer against whom a boycott had been instituted by the jobbers' association, it has been his invariable practice to "cut off" every jobber, if after fair warning he did not cease cutting prices. But while he could do so of his own accord upon information received from the jobbers, without making himself liable to prosecution before the law, he could not discriminate against a non-member of the association at its request without exposing himself and the association to the danger of prosecution for conspiracy.

There is another noteworthy feature in the present disagreement between the manufacturers and the jobbers. The New York jobbers, believing that their field is overrun by unnecessary competitors, are exacting an initiation fee of \$250. This keeps out of the association the candy jobber, who is practically a peddler and confines his sales to the small candy stores. The manufacturers, however, are disposed to welcome additions to the number of distributors so long as they sell at a reasonably profitable price. Hence one objection to the demand of the jobbers that the manufacturers confine sales to members of the jobbers' association.

The difference in attitude of the manufacturers and the jobbers is shown also in another point. The manufacturers contend that when a jobber is detected in cutting prices it should be the business only of the particular manufacturer who supplied the goods to discipline the jobber, and "cut him off" if necessary. The jobbers, on the contrary, insist that the jobber caught cutting prices of even one manufacturer should be "cut off" by all other manufacturers when notified to that effect by the jobbers' association.

THE JEWELRY TRADE.

Owing to the great variety of products no uniformity of trade methods prevails in this industry, conditions differing widely in the various lines of manufacture. Several lines have no regulations as to prices or methods of selling. The following trade organizations are believed to exist:

The watch case manufacturers have an understanding as to the distributors with whom they will deal. Each manufacturer has a list of jobbers whom he recognizes as his distributors, and will sell direct to no other individual or firm in the trade, whether jobber or retailer. The manufacturers deny the fact of this agreement, but the retailers find by a singular coincidence that the lists of distributors of the several manufacturers are identical. Prices to retailers have advanced, in some cases more than 50 per cent, since this method of selling came into vogue. It is employed by all the leading manufacturers, such as the Elgin, the Waltham, the Crescent, the Keystone, the

latter controlling several minor concerns, among them the Philadelphia, the Boss, etc.

The American Association of Wholesale Opticians has among its objects the doing away with excessive competition. Their members, however, aver that there is nothing beyond a gentlemen's agreement, remembering the anti-trust laws.

The cut glass manufacturers are similarly organized. The relations with jobbers are left to the discretion of the individual members, each being free to sell both to jobbers and retailers. The manufacturers fix the prices at which the jobbers are to sell to the retail trade, and keep them to strict account. A prominent manufacturer of cut glass states that they "cut off" one of the leading jobbing houses in the country as a punishment for selling to retailers at lower prices than the manufacturer himself. There is said also to be an informal understanding among the manufacturers as to prices.

The New England Manufacturing Jewelers' and Silversmiths' Association has a "gentlemen's agreement" as to prices.

ANTHRACITE COAL.

The production of anthracite coal is divided among the six "anthracite railroad lines" on the one hand and a number of private operators called "independents" on the other. The private coal operators ship their coal through one or other of the anthracite railroad companies or its subsidiary coal company. The railroad companies themselves have an understanding both as to rates and the apportionment of coal tonnage to each road. The tonnage is fixed in these proportions:

	Percentage of Total:
Lehigh Valley	22.88
Central of New Jersey	17.12
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western	19.52
Erie	5.64
New York, Susquehanna and Western	4.68
Philadelphia and Reading	29.96

The contract for buying the coal of the independent operators is made between each coal operator and the railroad company to which he sells his coal. But all the agreements, being the result of a joint deliberation by the representatives of the different roads and the independent operators, are identical.

The essential points in these agreements, as they exist at present, are that the operator agrees to deliver all of the anthracite coal mined or to be mined by him to the railroad coal company in question, to be marketed by the latter, the operator receiving 65 per cent of the tidewater price. The railway, however, does not undertake to buy all the coal that the operator produces. It only promises "to use its best efforts to find a market for the seller's coal, so as to enable the seller's collieries to be working as many days as practicable with due regard to the general market conditions." It also "agrees that it will not discriminate in favor of its own mines, or any persons, firms, or companies with which it has contracts to buy coal, but that the quantity to be ordered monthly shall be a just proportion of the entire quantity of coal agreed to be purchased by the buyer, measured by the colliery capacity of the respective sellers."

The colliery capacity is "determined as of the first of January, by the parties thereto, and on their failure to agree the President for the time being of the Guaranty Trust Company shall select a suitable expert for this purpose."

This anthracite railway pool has been successfully maintained since 1896, and when at one time it was threatened by the independent operators with a proposed railroad the roads affected took the heroic step of buying out the collieries of the largest independent coal company and thus breaking up the scheme. The deal was carried out on the joint account of the six anthracite companies. They took stock in a concern called the Temple Iron Company, in the proportion of their allotment of tonnage, and the Temple Iron Company was made the owner of the purchased collieries, with the Guaranty Trust Company of New York as trustee. The latter is intrusted with all the stock of the Temple Iron Company, together with the absolute right of voting it, and in turn it issues to the railroad companies their allotted certificates of beneficial interest in the stock.

INSURANCE.

Of the several classes of insurance companies, those in fire insurance have advanced furthest in regulating competition. The National Board of Fire Underwriters is a representative body of the largest companies, subordinate representative bodies being the State and rating associations and local boards of fire underwriters. The local boards, under direction from the head of each company, establish uniform rates for the different localities. They prescribe in the minutest detail the form of contract, the base rates, the additional rates for every specific kind of risk, such as the presence of gasoline, electric connections, etc., and the deductions to be allowed for safety devices diminishing fire risks. The boards, National, State and local, and the inspection bureaus, are conducted at an annual expense of \$1,500,000, which is assessed on the several companies on the basis of their premium receipts.

The "giant" life insurance companies, viz., the Equitable, Mutual, and New York Life, in April, 1903, entered into a tripartite agreement to refrain from the use of "competitive literature" referring in any way directly or indirectly to any other American life company, and issued a list of the standard publications which agents are permitted to use as not coming under the head of that class of printed matter. They agreed to destroy within thirty days all printed matter of the character prescribed, the order to this effect being celebrated by their agents throughout the country by "competitive literature cremations." The life companies have no agreements as to benefits or premiums, and the life underwriters' associations throughout the country represent, not the companies, but individual agents.

The leading "industrial" companies have for some time had an agreement like that just effected between the life companies, by which "no agent is permitted to misrepresent the policy of his own or another company, must not abuse or malign a competitor, must not twist policy holders, while agents cannot be taken from one company to another, and should they leave voluntarily are not employed in the same city by another company until two years have elapsed. No company issues any literature attacking another company."

In liability insurance the companies establish "conference rates," though there are outside companies that refuse to be bound by them. The International Association of Accident Underwriters has not gone so far as to prescribe uniformity in benefits and premiums.

At least one State recognizes that insurance, like railroads, is a public business, and Illinois has enacted a law prohibiting agents from cutting premiums.

NEW YORK BANKS.

The objects of the New York Clearing House Association are the "effecting at one place of the daily exchanges between the several associated banks and the payment at the same place of the balances resulting from such exchanges" (Sec. 2). But in addition to this labor-saving mechanism the Clearing House Association has during the past three years provided a scale of commissions to be charged by the New York banks on out-of-town collections, with heavy penalties for violation. All banks, members or non-members, clearing through the association are required to charge a commission for collections on out-of-town checks at a rate varying from one-tenth of one per cent to one-quarter of one per cent of the amount collected, according to the distance from New York of the banks on which the checks are drawn. "No collecting bank shall, directly or indirectly, allow any abatement, rebate, or return for or on account of such charges or make in any form, whether of interest on balances or otherwise, any compensation therefor." A collecting bank found guilty of violating this rule must pay to the association the sum of \$5,000, and in case of a second violation "any collecting bank may also in the discretion of the association be excluded from using its privileges directly or indirectly, and, if it is a member, expelled from the association." Expulsion from the association, by depriving it of the privileges of the Clearing House, is practically equivalent to driving a

bank out of business. An estimate has been made that the foregoing rule of the Clearing House Association has saved the New York banks \$3,000,000 yearly.

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE.

Although the transactions by and through the Stock Exchange are of vital importance to the business world, yet, unlike financial exchanges in foreign countries, it is subject to no special laws or regulations of the State, and it is not incorporated, but is governed solely through rules laid down by its own membership.

The primary object of this voluntary organization is to protect the common interests of its members by maintaining a code of conduct and a standard of remuneration for the services which they render to their customers.

The number of members, limited at present to eleven hundred, cannot be increased "except by action of the Governing Committee," who prescribe "the number of increase and the terms of admission" subject to the approval of the members. "Members admitted by transfer shall pay to the exchange an initiation fee of \$2,000," in addition to the amount they may have to pay to their predecessors who sell them their seats. Owing to the limited membership, there is a high money value on each seat, a recent sale being reported at more than \$80,000.

Clearly defined rules stipulate the commissions to be charged by members. Every member is obliged to charge a commission "under all circumstances upon all purchases or sales of securities dealt in upon the exchange;" this commission must be "absolutely net and free from all or any rebatement, return, discount or allowance in any shape, or manner whatsoever, or by any method or arrangement, direct or indirect." Brokers are not allowed to divide commissions with brokers on rival exchanges. The minimum fees are fixed by the exchange at not less than one-eighth of one per cent on business for non-members, and not less than one-thirty-second of one per cent on business for members.

To insure due observance of this scale the exchange subjects the business of members to strict surveillance, requiring registry of partnerships, a limit to the number of partnerships, regulation of branch offices, salaries and not commissions for clerks and employees, submission of books and papers to investigating committees, and prohibiting partnership with suspended or expelled members or with members of a competing exchange, prohibiting transactions with non-members on the floor of the exchange, and prohibiting dealings upon any other exchange or in public outside the exchange. A member is also prohibited from establishing telephonic or telegraphic connection with non-members without the approval of the Committee of Arrangements. This provision is directed against furnishing stock quotations to non-members, especially to that class known as "bucket shops."

Penalties for violating these rules are suspension for the first offense, and expulsion for the second, on a majority vote of the Governing Committee.

ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Telegraphic news is essential to the business of a daily newspaper, and the Associated Press is a mutual association of such newspapers for the collection and distribution of news. It is conducted not for profit but for the mutual service of its members, and the expenses are shared according to a scale agreed upon. It is natural enough that, having perfected their organization for exchanging news and having made valuable connections with other agencies for collecting and distributing news, the members should not be inclined to admit competitors to the enjoyment of their facilities. In each locality the members of the Associated Press therefore have the right to admit or reject applications for membership and to set the fee for admission. The veto of one local member is enough to exclude an applicant.

The Associated Press makes a contract with each of its members setting forth the conditions under which news shall be furnished, and it was brought out in the suit for injunction on behalf of the Chicago Inter-Ocean Publishing Company against the Association that the members were forbidden to furnish any news report to any newspaper published in the territory described in the contract or to any other news agency;

and also to receive news from any other person or association "which shall have been declared by the Board of Directors or the stockholders to be antagonistic to the association." When the Inter-Ocean procured and published news received from another association, its fellow members in Chicago made complaint, and, according to the by-laws, gave notice to the Inter-Ocean that it would be suspended from membership. This was not carried out, however, because of the injunction obtained by the Inter-Ocean Company and sustained by the Supreme Court of Illinois on appeal. The court held that the Associated Press discharges a public duty, and that a public interest attaches thereto, and that it could not restrict competition by preventing its members from purchasing news from any other source than from itself. The restrictive clause of the contract was declared null and void.

On account of this hostile decision in Illinois the Associated Press gave up its Illinois charter and re-incorporated in the State of New York. The Illinois decision does not require the Associated Press to admit an applicant to membership, and a case of that kind has never come up. Consequently, although the Associated Press is held to be a business affected with a public interest, yet the members in a locality continue to exclude outsiders and to protect themselves to that extent from excessive competition. For this reason the Associated Press franchise is undoubtedly the most valuable asset of a daily newspaper, since it is almost the sole protection which the business has against destructive competition.

FARMERS.

Efforts to prevent excessive competition among farmers are handicapped not only by the enormous number of the competitors in one country and in every country, all subject to the world's market prices, but by the isolation of the competitors, a large proportion of whom usually need ready cash. Where a crop is localized and the farmers can come together, it is not rare to find them resorting to the methods of other capitalists and the workingmen. The following news item is taken from a recent issue of the "American Agriculturist":

Trying to Form a Hop Pool.

"A letter from Secretary Winstanley of the Oregon Hop Growers' Association to A. Menke, a Sacramento hop grower, says:

"There are so many missing hills in the Oregon hop yards this year that it will be impossible for us to raise more than 50 to 75 per cent of last year's crop. We believe that this condition justifies us in asking you to co-operate with us in demanding better prices for our 1902 crop. Dealers are to-day offering to shade 20 cents, but there are no sellers, and we feel sure that hops will go to 30 cents if we unite in holding."

"There follows a form of agreement which is being signed to pool the remaining portion of the 1902 crop and hold it until the selling price reaches 25 cents or more. The pool is not to be effective until 6,000 bales are secured under the agreement. If any grower signing is compelled to sell by emergency before the end is achieved he agrees to give five days' notice, and the managers of the pool are to have the option of purchase at the ruling prices."

Associations to some extent similar have existed, or been attempted, among fruit growers and dairymen. To control world-wide crops there have been popular movements like the Farmers' Alliance, which inaugurated a "hold-your-cotton" and "hold-your-wheat" agitation. The Cotton Growers' Protective Association, organized in 1899, makes an effort each year towards this end. It is reported that recently the Russian Minister of the Interior received an invitation from 30,000 American farmers to join in a movement to hold the present world's wheat crop for better prices.

Recently fifty representatives of agricultural associations in a dozen or more states met in Chicago and organized a national body for the purpose of fixing prices of all farm products, regulating the marketing of crops and constructing grain elevators and cold storage warehouses for the use of farmers.

One of the organizers said, in the course of an address:

"The farmer holds the destiny of the industrial world

in his hand and he should take advantage of his position. We must form a national organization, fix a minimum price for our product and hold back our crops until we get our price. It is just as easy to get \$1 for corn as it is to get 80 cents."

A despatch from Oklahoma Aug. 18 is along the same lines:

"The Farmers' Co-operative Union of America has organized under the laws of Oklahoma to secure and maintain better prices for farm products and specifically 'to force the price of this year's wheat to \$1 a bushel on the Chicago market,' by storing and holding the supply in elevators owned by the union. The union is declared to be non-political."

Farmers often organize to do their own marketing, and thus protect the members from middle men, as illustrated in the milk trade of New York and vicinity.

The New York Milk Exchange is an association of city milk dealers which meets once a month, or more frequently if necessary, to fix the price to be paid for milk. This price rules throughout the entire territory tributary to the New York milk market. No dealer pays a higher price than that fixed by the exchange, but some dealers managed to pay a lower price to farmers who compete with one another. The farmers have long been dissatisfied with this arrangement, and the Five States Milk Producers' Exchange, at a meeting held at Binghamton, July 8, entered into an agreement to sell to the Pure Milk Company, a new corporation of dealers, "all of the milk produced from the cows owned or controlled by them severally, except milk used in their homes, for a term of five years, beginning October 1, 1903," at certain prices stipulated in the contract for each month of the year.

TRUSTS.

The foregoing examples of the many associations to regulate competition by agreement have the one great weakness that the parties to the arrangement cannot always be held to it strictly. Each competitor retains his business identity and the legal right to quit. This is because the courts are usually inimical to "combinations" and refuse to enforce their contracts at law, to say nothing of actually enjoining and dissolving them. In France and Germany, where the courts sustain such agreements, they have been found satisfactory in controlling competition, and in those countries the so-called "syndicates" or associations like some of those just described, are the highest form of the movement away from competition and are found in nearly all industries under the sanction of law. But in the United States the hostility of legislatures and courts has had exactly the opposite effect from that intended. Instead of compelling the parties to revert to the former state of suicidal competition, it has forced them to take on the highest and most compact forms of anti-competitive organization to be found in any country, namely, the trust and the corporation. Under these the individual competitors actually give up their identity and the management of their business in order to make sure of escaping the ravages of competition. In the case of the trust in its original legal form, the several competitors handed over the shares of stock representing their properties to a board of trustees and received in return certificates of an interest in the profits. The trustees then elected the boards of directors of the formerly competitive companies. When the courts followed up their attack by dissolving the trusts, they simply changed their legal form from a "trust" to a "corporation" and continued the same as before so far as the matter of competition is concerned. This is the reason why the name "trust" sticks to them, and in this article we use the term in its popular sense. The identity of competitors, which is lost in the trust, is even more deeply buried in the corporation. The change is legal not economic. A corporation charter is taken out. Corporation shares are exchanged for the trust certificates. The trustees become directors. The officials of the trust are the officials of the corporation.

Thus the trust is the highest form and the culmination of the movement on the side of capital to do away with destructive competition. But it goes further than a mere corrective of evils, for it usually strives to eliminate competition itself, by consolidating all, or nearly

all competitors under the joint ownership of a single stock company. It has not always been successful in destroying competition but there is no doubt that this has generally been the object. Says the National Biscuit Company to its stockholders:

"In the past the managers of large industrial corporations have thought it necessary to success to control or eliminate competition. So, when this company started, it was believed that we must control competition, and that to do this we must either fight competition or buy it. The first meant a ruinous war of prices; the second, constantly increasing competition. Experience soon proved to us that, instead of bringing success, either of these courses, if persevered in, must bring disaster. . . . It became the settled policy of this company to buy out no competitor."

But the Biscuit Company still continues to do all it can to escape from the pressure of destructive competition—it turns its energies, like hundreds of other companies in all lines of business, to specialties, trade marks and patents.

"On the package business we have practically no competition—not because the field is not open to all—not because we have had any special privileges, except such as were granted by the United States. These privileges lie in the patents we control and in our trade marks."

In a similar vein the president of the so-called whisky trust speaks of the monopolistic intentions of those who promoted the trusts. He says, in an official circular:

"Most of the recent consolidations of industrial enterprises have been based upon the theory of a practical monopoly for the purpose of regulating and maintaining prices. . . . The constituent companies of the Distillers' Securities Corporation have gone all through this phase of the industrial problem, and since 1899 have conducted their business in open competition and free from all artificial combinations to control prices or markets."

It is now four years since trusts became epidemic. During these years, as estimated by the "Journal of Commerce," the capitalization of industrial consolidations amounted to \$7,536,000,000, the largest flotations being in 1899 and 1901. The same journal mentions nearly 250 separate combinations in many lines of business, and it is no unusual thing to learn of a combination controlling 70, 80 or 90 per cent of the output in its particular line. The National Biscuit Company has 128 different plants in various cities. The Consolidated Tobacco Company makes 95 per cent of the cigarettes consumed in America, controls a majority of the plug and snuff concerns, has entered the cigar business, and has extended its business to England. To enumerate all of the trusts and to describe the extent to which they have gone in buying up competitors would be only to repeat familiar history. All sorts of competitive circumstances have played a part. In some cases, where the larger companies unite and only a few small and scattered companies are out, competition is controlled, and the little companies follow the prices set by the combine. In other cases, the smaller competitors combine, seeking to protect themselves from a large one, which thenceforth is perhaps induced to follow a less destructive policy towards the smaller ones. If not, the smaller ones must go a step further and buy off the big one.

The trusts furnish an impressive lesson to all organizations, both of capital and labor, of the limits beyond which organization cannot go in passing over from protection against excessive competition to attempted monopoly. Many of them have collapsed and the securities of nearly all have depreciated. A writer, recently speaking of the whole situation, states that "the actual market value of this prodigious product of the printing press to date is probably about 25 cents on the dollar."

It has also been found that new competitors could not be kept out, and the "Journal of Commerce" shows that, mainly in the past two years, new corporations, rivals to the consolidations, have come into the field with a capitalization of nearly \$500,000,000.

This failure of so many trusts arouses the painful suspicion that the recognized arguments as to the "wastes of competition," "cost of advertising," "traveling salesmen," "savings in freight charges," "economy of administration," "control of the market,"

arguments sound enough in connection with conservative combinations, were seized upon and taken advantage of by mere promoters to unload over-capitalized projects.

It does not follow that because many of the trusts have overdone the matter and invited competition they will be followed permanently by a condition of destructive competition. In the very nature of the

case such competition cannot continue. In fact, not all the trusts have failed. A goodly number have adopted a careful and far-sighted policy and have established their industries on an apparently stable basis.

SUMMARY

The foregoing recital shows that the efforts to escape destructive competition are almost universal. There is scarcely an industry that is free from combinations of capital or combination of labor in some form. The differences are found only in the extent to which the combination is successfully carried. There is an infinite variety in the methods of the various combinations, yet there is a general similarity in their efforts to regulate competition and to bring pressure to bear on persistent competitors, price-cutters, and non-unionists. What is true of the boycott, as stated by Carroll D. Wright, in his address before the National Association of Manufacturers, is in general true of other methods of the two classes of combines. Mr. Wright said:

"Everybody boycotts somebody, and to a certain degree it is a legitimate weapon for the defense or protection of proper methods. Carried to the extreme it is a crime against the individual and prevents that development of private character which is essential to public virtue. It never does, therefore, for either the employer or the employe to accuse the other of resorting to methods common to both."

It may well be asked, in view of these universal efforts to regulate or eliminate competition, What is to be the outcome? and, What should be the policy of the general public toward combinations? We may ask, Shall all combinations be suppressed and all industries be compelled to submit to the unregulated competition of anarchism? Or, shall these combinations continue to grow and competition be entirely eliminated in the ideal state of socialism. If neither of these extremes should be followed, what shall be the middle ground where competition may continue without being destructive and where the public shall not be exploited by monopoly of capital or monopoly of labor?

This number of the "Review" will be sent to employers, workingmen, lawyers, economists, and in the next number will be published a symposium of the views of all classes of people upon the phase of the industrial situation above portrayed. This symposium ought to throw light on such practical questions as follows:

Shall these combinations be left to work out their

purposes, or shall the courts and the legislatures be called upon to deal with them? Shall combinations of capital be treated exactly the same as combinations of labor, or shall the one be suppressed and the other encouraged? Shall legislation regulate the terms of membership and compel the employers' association and the trades union to admit members on the qualifications and fees determined by law? If not by regulating membership, how can the rights of independent manufacturers, and dealers and workingmen be protected? How far shall publicity be carried, and how much can be accomplished by publicity?

These are a few of the many questions suggested by the array of evidence which we have collected. The industrial problem is generally admitted to be the urgent problem of the day. It cannot be met by crimination or recrimination, for all classes are more or less involved in similar practices. It can be met only by candid and serious discussion based on knowledge of the facts, and to call forth such discussion is the object to be gained in the foregoing review of combinations of capital and labor.

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THREATENED PARALYSIS OF THREE GREAT INDUSTRIES AVERTED.

TRADE AGREEMENTS, THROUGH FRANK CONFERENCES, PRODUCE PEACE IN THE BITUMINOUS COAL, THE TIN PLATE AND SHEET IRON AND THE LONGSHOREMEN'S INDUSTRIES.



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
President Pittsburg Coal Company.

INTERSTATE BITUMINOUS CONFERENCE.

A Trade Agreement That Prevented a Strike That Would Have Paralyzed Industries.

The last month has witnessed the most important agreement between labor and capital that has been reached in this country for many a year. This is the adjustment of the wage-scale for bituminous mining in the four States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, entering into the interstate joint agreement between miners and operators. The events culminating in this adjustment centered in the conference at Indianapolis between the representatives of the operators and the delegates of the United Mine Workers of America. This conference failed to reach a final agreement; for the miners' delegates, being restricted by instructions from local unions were not able, even had they wished, to follow the counsel of President John Mitchell of the United Mine Workers and of the officers of State organizations, to accept the compromise proposition advanced by President Francis M. Robbins of the Pittsburg Coal Company on behalf of the operators.

This proposition from the operators was rejected by the Indianapolis conference. But it was unanimously rejected, only after an understanding had been reached whereby the compromise offered should be referred to a vote of the miners' organizations in the four States. This was a practical method of overcoming the difficulty offered by the instructed delegates to the Indianapolis conference, who did not consider themselves at liberty to vote in that body to accept directly the offer of the operators. As was anticipated, in view of the openly

expressed approval of President Mitchell and other leading representatives of the miners' organizations, this resort to referendum resulted in the acceptance of the new scale by the miners themselves, on March 15, of the compromise proposition.

A RED LETTER DAY.

Thus does that date, March 15, 1904, deserve recognition as a red-letter day in the calendar of the current history of the relations between labor and capital in the United States. Its decision meant the prevention of a strike whose possible consequences no man could foretell, and which have now happily been dismissed to the realm of hypothesis. It is plain enough, however, that the business interests of the country have escaped a disturbance potentially even more gravely disastrous than that which was actually caused by the anthracite coal strike of 1902. A bituminous strike in the four States might literally have stopped the commerce and paralyzed the industries of the country. More than this, and of a consequence more permanent, is the prevention of a disruption of the relations between organized labor and the employing coal operators in the four States concerned.



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Asso.

The continuance of those relations is a conclusion of the greatest importance, not alone to the coal industry, but to producers and consumers affected by conditions in many other industries, especially in transportation and manufacture.

The most general and far-reaching significance is attached to the fact that organized labor has proved, in this instance, its willingness to adhere to a joint agreement as to wages, when that agreement involves a reduction in wages, based upon lower prices for the product



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers of America.

and other adverse conditions of trade. It has been alleged that the joint agreement, when put to the test, would prove to be an arrangement that would work only in one way—in the direction of a share always for the employe in larger profits of an industry, but, never in the acceptance by the employe of his share of the privation caused by smaller profits. The interstate bituminous agreement involved precisely this proposition of the acceptance by the miners of a reduction in the scale of wages, in response to a reduction in the profits of the capital invested in the mining and marketing of coal. The action of the miners proves that organized labor can have the fairness to adhere to a joint agreement, when that agreement causes lower wages as well as when it causes higher. Their action furnishes a specific answer to the assertion of some employers that joint trade agreements are untrustworthy and ineffective.

A NOTEWORTHY BODY.

All these reasons lend vivid interest to the narrative of the proceedings of the Indianapolis conference and to the terms finally submitted to the referendum. The conference itself was an unusual body. Upon the side of the operators were men . . . while standing firmly for what they maintained were the rights and the necessities of capital, asserted freely their hope that the interstate agreement might not be terminated, and avowed candidly their sympathy with organized labor. Upon the side of the miners were delegates whose appearance and manner bespoke the constant uplift of education, and whose words were sustained arguments, of course in support of their contention, but in large degree animated by a response to the friendly expressions of employers, and

inspired by an apparent desire for co-operation. There were several critical passages in the debates. There were moments of dramatic earnestness, when none might tell how a passionate utterance, a misplaced word or a verbal collision might have widened the breach that it was the effort of the conservative leaders on both sides to bridge.

These debates reflected credit upon both the ingenuity and the prevailing sense of fairness of many of the speakers. The conference opened with the presentation by President Mitchell of the three demands of the miners. For these President Robbins offered as a substitute the first proposition of the operators. Upon that substitute the debate turned, with Messrs. Mitchell and Robbins as the leading champions of the two sides. But there were other doughty figures in the lists as well.

The three demands of the miners, as presented by Mr. Mitchell, were for payment upon a single, run-of-mine standard; for 7 cents a ton less for machine-mining; and for a uniform rate of wages for outside labor. The substitute offered by Mr. Robbins declared that "the conditions of the times and the reductions in the price of coal and the necessity of meeting competitive conditions, in districts where this interstate movement does not apply, demand and require a reduction of 15 per cent. from the present scale of wages."

PRESIDENT MITCHELL'S ARGUMENT.

Mr. Mitchell first stated his general argument. He uttered the broad proposition that the operators do not profit by paying low wages, and he enforced their position with this language:

"I am free to confess that it is to me a strange philosophy that a reduction of wages will relieve an industrial depression. I cannot understand how less wages will relieve over-production. To my mind the only way to relieve over-production is by making it possible for people to consume; and the workingman cannot purchase unless he has wages. A reduction in the price of mining means a reduction all around. If you reduce one industry it goes on and on, and finally the wages of all workers are reduced, for the purchasing power is cut off; and then you come back and start over and over again; it is an endless repetition. It means that when wages go down the consuming power of the purchasers is curtailed, and all the citizens of our country are compelled to suffer, whether they be workers or capitalists.

"I am, therefore, of the opinion that a reduction in wages will benefit no one; that it will not benefit the employer, who either secures it by agreement or is able to enforce it in the field of industrial conflict. Speaking specifically of our industry, my experience and my observation have been that whenever there was a reduction in the price of mining, that reduction has not benefited the operators. Instead of being benefited they were compelled to give, not only all of that reduction, but more, to the railroad companies who consumed a large portion of their product."

After discussing details of the industrial situation, Mr. Mitchell pointed out that lower wages and lower prices of coal would not bring about an increase in its consumption. Not one ton more of coal would be mined if coal were to sell for 10 cents a ton less. He then made this plea for harmony upon the then existing basis:

"The cost of living during the past six or seven years has increased in proportion to the increase in our wages, and, inasmuch as it is not within your power, even if you had the inclination, to offer us a reduction in the cost of our living, we cannot see our way clear to accept the proposition which you make. We are not living too well now. We are better than we have ever been before, but we are not going to return to the conditions that prevailed some years ago. The time will never come again, without consent at least, when the coal miners of this country will have to ask for charity when they are able to work, when they are willing to work, and when they are at work. We want these relations continued; we want you to be prosperous; we want to enjoy a reasonable degree of prosperity ourselves. We are free to say, we are glad to admit, that the conditions of our lives and of our labor were never better; but we also propose to say, and to insist, that they are not too good yet. We ask you, gentlemen, not to insist upon a reduction in wages where it can do you no good, and can do us in-

calculable injury. We ask you not to insist upon a part of our earnings in order to turn it over to the railroad companies. Let us go on as we are, making such modifications in our internal arrangements as seem necessary. Let us try and restore the good times, if we can."

Mr. Mitchell denied that the country had entered a period of industrial depression, that the demand for coal had in consequence decreased, and that the price of coal would necessarily fall. Mr. Mitchell supported these statements by a number of newspaper clippings, showing that mills that had been closed had resumed operation, in response to demand for their products that would continue during at least a year. He quoted from the last report of the Pittsburg Coal Company, and declared:

"I submit that, as a matter of fairness, it is not right for the operators to come into this convention and ask for a reduction in wages. If one company can increase



T. L. LEWIS.
Vice-President United Mine Workers.

its business and increase its receipts eighty-six per cent. in one year, I say they can well afford to stand a slight loss, a slight depression, without asking the miners to share it all for them. If I believed that the conditions of the coal trade were such as to warrant a reduction in wages, if I believed that industrial conditions generally warranted a decrease in wages, I would stand up here and advocate it. And I will say now that I wouldn't care if I were the only miner present that spoke for a reduction, I would do it if I believed it was warranted, and if I believed the future of this joint movement depended upon it. But I do not believe it."

Mr. Mitchell concluded his address with this plea for peace:

"I do earnestly hope that the operators present will see their way clear to withdraw their demand for a reduction in wages, and let this movement go on. They have enjoyed their full measure of prosperity during those last five or six years. We, too, have done very well. Our conditions of life and our conditions of labor are better than they ever were before; but, let me say to you, that in return for these better conditions of life and labor we have given you better service every year. The reports of our product show that for every day our people go down in the mines they give you a greater return. It shows you that we perform our labor better than we did during the old times when we were at war continuously. If it were possible for me to say anything that would perpetuate this movement, more than I have said, I should certainly not take my seat now. I hope that we will go on, and that we will continue to be, as we have been in the past six years, the leaders in the cause of industrial peace."

PRESIDENT ROBBINS' POSITION.

To this vigorous and eloquent appeal Mr. Robbins made cogent reply on behalf of the operators. He went at once to the basis of Mr. Mitchell's argument, the fact that iron and steel furnaces in the vicinity of Pittsburg had started up. Mr. Robbins admitted the fact, but he asked: "How have they started up? By a reduction for every man that works for them. Not a man but has

stood a reduction in order to start them up. We have reduced our coal to start them up, also. That is why they are started. And it is why you will start, and why you will get more work if you will make a corresponding reduction in your wages."

Mr. Robbins then analyzed the report of the Pittsburg Coal Company, which Mr. Mitchell had cited as an evidence of the returns upon capital invested in the mining and selling of bituminous coal. Mr. Robbins pointed out that this statement covered the calendar year, from January 1, 1903, to January 1, 1904. It thus included three months, January, February and March, of the last scale year, when prices were abnormally high because of the anthracite strike and the scarcity of bituminous coal. In order to make its earning, the company had found it necessary to expend, in addition to the \$32,000,000 original cash, \$40,000,000 more. The earning had been six and three-quarter millions of dollars, upon an investment of \$70,000,000, or less than 10 per cent. "That is a great thing to talk about, isn't it?" asked Mr. Robbins. "This company has gone into this investment of \$70,000,000 in order to give you gentlemen employment, and it makes 10 per cent. on its investment."

In reply to a question by Mr. Mitchell, as to whether in addition to the \$6,000,000 and more of profits the company had not been able to put \$14,000,000 of its earnings into the purchase of property, Mr. Robbins admitted that this was approximately true, but that the investment covered a period of four years, not one year. Moreover, it had been made possible only by paying 7 per cent., reserving the rest of its profits for investment. An issue of \$25,000,000 of bonds was about to be made for further investment. Then Mr. Robbins made this striking statement of the meaning to labor of this financing:

"Did you ever realize what an investment of a large operating company means? Do you realize that, to start with, it takes the coal in the ground, that is not worth five cents a ton, and everything from that on until it reaches the consumer is labor—labor for you, labor for the day men, labor for the railroad men, labor for the men where it goes into the vessel from the dock, labor for the vessel men that transport it over the lakes, labor for the men that take it from the vessel and put it on the dock, labor for the men that put it on the railroad, and for the railroad men that transport it, and for the laboring man that takes it out of the cars and delivers it to the consumer? Did you ever realize that it is all labor, and that the people who have received this less than 10 per cent. are furnishing labor for the people of the country?"

PROFITS AND INVESTMENT.

Mr. Robbins asked the miners' delegates to divert their minds from the idea of the large earnings of the Pittsburg Coal Company. He reminded them that they should consider the aggregate of the capital invested. They would not think an earning of \$20,000 or of \$10,000 in a year so very much. Yet that would be only 10 per cent. on an investment of but \$200,000, or of \$100,000. He attributed to the fear by capital of trade-unionism the fact that the stock of the Pittsburg Company, which had sold at par, was quoted at 49 cents on the dollar, despite its earnings last year of 10 per cent.

From the report that Mr. Mitchell had quoted Mr. Robbins made this further quotation, as showing the disposition of the company toward its employees:

"In the last annual report attention was called to the operations of the Pittsburg Coal Company's Employees' Association, under which employees are enabled to purchase preferred stock of the company, to secure for themselves and their families benefits in cases of accident or death, and are assured pensions under prescribed conditions. The number of employees who are taking advantage of this opportunity to purchase stock has grown from 1,040 to 1,571 during the year just closed, and the number of shares of stock thus being acquired has increased from 7,723 to 11,315. There has been distributed in accident and death benefits during the year upward of \$60,000, and the pension fund has grown to \$23,601.07. Your officers' expectations of great mutual benefits through the working of the employees' association are being fully realized."

Mr. Mitchell announced that he gladly made acknowledgement of what the company was doing for its em-

ployes, but that he did not consider that pertinent to the questions under debate. Thereupon, Mr. Robbins turned his attention to the conditions in competitive fields. There, he asserted, reductions had been made which the miners in the joint agreement States had been unwilling to meet. Operators in other fields had the advantages of more hours of labor, lower wages, lower deadwork. These conditions had to be met. Mr. Robbins dramatically exclaimed:

"I shall never sign a scale except upon these conditions. It has come to the parting of the ways, so far as I am concerned, and so far as my companies are concerned. It has come to the point where, in justice to the people who have put their money in the company, whose report you have heard, that we shall stand for fairness and justice. It has come to the point that, when conditions of the country require a reduction, you should be men enough to meet the situation."

Mr. Robbins closed with the following expressions as to the pending crisis:

"I tell you, gentlemen, it is a most critical time for organized labor in this country. You will never in this world stand upon any such unfair proposition. If it means only one way, if it means that it is all an advance, and that you are never going to be like your fellow-workmen in other fields, that you will never accept a reduction, and accept it in order to supply them with coal at reduced prices as well as to supply railroads and steam producers of all kinds and descriptions, we should know it now. If you are to be a favored class that stands no reduction, but always onward for an advance, I am not with you."

"I have talked to you now as frankly and fairly as one man can talk to another. I have talked to you as honestly as any man ever spoke to another, with just as great a feeling in this heart of mine for you as you have for your fellow-men. I have been all through it. I started as a boy, and have done everything but dig coal, and I have done that on occasions. I have been through the whole thing, and I know it all, and it is perhaps because of that I have this feeling for you. It is, perhaps, because of that I interceded for you with the anthracite presidents before the strike occurred, and tried to get them to recognize you, and it is because of that I labored along with others in the Civic Federation. It is because of a feeling I have had that one man feels for another, but the base of it always was that when the time came when it would be necessary for you to do what was fair to meet fair conditions you would do it. If that feeling is not in your hearts, gentlemen, I am not with you."

Mr. Robbins announced his willingness for "an arbitration of what reduction you shall stand, based upon the reduced price of coal." Mr. Mitchell proposed instead to arbitrate what should be paid for machine mining as against pick mining. That proposition Mr. Robbins pronounced an absurdity, pointing out that only because of the introduction of machinery had the operators been able to advance wages in the past.

Mr. Tennant of Indiana reminded the conference that it was only a part of the American people. The people expected to pay less for coal. That was a concrete fact that could not be ignored.

Mr. Bogle, president of the Indiana operators, dwelt upon the fact that his was a State of individual operators. He protested, therefore, against basing the debate upon the operations of a large company.

VICE-PRESIDENT LEWIS SPEAKS.

Mr. T. L. Lewis, vice-president of the United Mine Workers, discussed the alleged reduction of wages in other industries and the shrinkage or values in this country. He said in part:

"We will not admit the statement that there is any shrinkage in values; and when we deny that statement some one will point out that all that is necessary to do is to pick up our daily papers and show where the stock of the United States Steel Trust has gone down from 90 to 50; that the common stock has gone down as low as 10 cents on the dollar; that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company has depreciated in value, and, in fact, that every other industrial and railroad stock in the country has been affected. Why? Is there any business man in this convention who will attempt to prove that the great

railroad system owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is of any less value now than it was one or two years ago? Is there any man in this convention who will attempt to prove that the mills, the railroads, the shipping interests, the docks, and, in fact, all the property of the United States Steel Company, so far as the real value of it is concerned, is any less in value now than it was one or two years ago? If there is, I want to hear that argument, and I want to have the argument borne out by facts. We know, and every one who has made a study of this question understands, that when the Steel Trust was organized the stock placed upon the market was fictitious in value, and not real. The men who promoted that great combination, and the men who promoted many other combinations, inflated the value for a purpose, and it is unnecessary for me to say why.

"It may be true that you are not receiving as much for your coal at this time as you were this time a year ago, but, according to your arguments at that time, you



T. J. SHAFFER,

President Amalg. Asso. of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

were receiving much higher rates per ton in the market than you expected to receive the year following the signing of that joint agreement.

"If this is true, why then should we be confronted with a proposition at this time for a reduction of our wages? One of the gentlemen on the other side stated this morning that the enemies of this movement said it was all right as long as wages were going up; that this movement was all right as long as we were making concessions and advancing the mining rate; but when the time came when it was necessary to stop, we might come to the parting of the ways.

"This year we have not asked for advance in the pick mining rate, but we have asked for a readjustment of the differential between pick and machine mining. Why do we ask that? Mr. Bogle said this morning that we have come into this convention time after time and demanded that we should have a fair share of the wealth we produced. That is the keynote of the whole thing. We are entitled to it. We do not deny to the operators that they shall have a legitimate profit on their investments in mining machinery; we do not deny to the operators that they shall get profits to offset certain risks they take in the industry; but we certainly do deny that the placing of the machines in the mines shall reap all the difference between pick mining at 90 cents and machine mining at 60 cents per ton in the Hocking district, and the same relative difference in other places."

In response to Mr. Lewis, Mr. Robbins went into a detailed explanation of contract prices, which may be summarized in his words:

"As far as the Pittsburgh district is concerned, I want to reiterate that there is no trade, domestic, steam, railroad or any other trade in that district that has not met a very serious and a very large reduction, based upon meeting competition from outside fields that you are not in control of."

Discussion of prices was continued by Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Mullins and Mr. Chapman, Ohio operators, and by

Mr. Patrick Dolan, president of the Western Pennsylvania miners.

The conference rejected the substitute offered by Mr. Robbins. The issues were then referred to the scale committee, which reported back to the conference, with the result already recorded.

This action was preceded by brief arguments. In support of his proposition, rejected by the conference but afterward approved by the referendum, Mr. Robbins said:

"This reduction is wholly inadequate to meet present conditions. We offer it only because of a desire to, if possible, reach a settlement and not to terminate this movement, and because of the two-year contract where we are willing to contribute our portion, yea, more than our portion, to the benefit that will arise from it to the labor of this country and the business interests of this country.

"We want to assure capital, which is timid in this country at this time, that this movement, which stands for so much, upon which is focused the eyes of the thinking people of this country, is a successful one. In arriving at this proposition we have been governed very largely by this feeling."

Mr. Mitchell addressed a circular letter to the miners, summarizing his reasons for advising their acceptance of the compromise proposition. His counsel and the influence of other influential leaders of organized labor had much weight in bringing about the approving vote.

SHEET AND TIN PLATE.

An Agreement Involving a Wage Reduction of 10 Per Cent for the Scale Year.

The April conference in Pittsburg between the sheet and tin plate manufacturers and a committee representing the Amalgamated Association resulted in an agreement for lower wages for the scale year. The workers felt themselves obliged to yield to the demand of the manufacturers for a reduction in wages. The manufacturers acquiesced in a reduction of 18 per cent. instead of their original demand of 20.

President Shaffer of the Amalgamated Association was chairman of the delegates' meeting, in which forty-three lodges were represented. Mr. James Campbell, of Youngstown, Ohio, was chairman of the manufacturers. The discussion was opened by President Shaffer, who was followed by W. T. Graham, president of the American Sheet and Tinplate Company. Thus the interests of the United States Steel Corporation and of the Amalgamated Association were brought, through their representatives, face to face. In order to get at the facts a committee was appointed, composed of an equal number of manufacturers and delegates, to go over the figures and ascertain what the result would be after the proposed reduction of 20 per cent. In this joint committee the following represented the delegates: Sheet Mill—R. R. Williams, Charles Hughes, Charles H. Brown and Moses Chivers. Tin Mill—William L. Hull, William G. Young, John Eynon and D. R. Rees.

Chairman Campbell appointed the following to represent the manufacturers: Sheet Mill—Messrs. Davis, Robinson, Beatty and Warner. Tin Mill—Messrs. Goldsmith, Phillips, Davey and Bennett.

After this committee had reported there was a general discussion, followed by an executive session. There it was decided to appoint a special committee of nine sheet and nine tin delegates, to confer further with the manufacturers. The sheet delegates chose as representatives: Charles Hughes, William Hilton, W. J. Pearce, Roland Layer, Otto Sellers, R. T. Lynch, Charles H. Brown, Thomas O'Hare and Andrew R. Black. The tin delegates chose Walter Larkin, Adolphus Edwards, John Kiddell, David J. Jenkins, William G. Young, John Eynon, David J. Davis, Harry Irvine and Frank Piggott. Walter Larkin was made chairman.

This committee labored assiduously with the manufacturers to secure better terms. Their conference lasted four days, so that, with the preceding conferences, eight days were consumed in reaching the settlement.

The *Amalgamated Journal*, the official organ of the

Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tinworkers, thinks that the reduction will be accepted with poor grace by a majority of the rank and file, but it asks for fair judgment for their representatives upon the conference committee, who bear the onus of accepting the reduction. The *Journal* declares that "it was only a realization that conditions were entirely against the workers that spurred them to shoulder the weight of such a burden." The *Journal* has this advice to offer to the workers' organization:

"Everything was done with an eye single to the future welfare of the sheet and tin trades and the general interests of the Amalgamated Association. The future alone will reveal the wisdom of the delegates in accepting the onerous conditions which they had to face, and much depends upon the way in which the membership will act in face of such adverse conditions. If the rank and file will heed the scores of admonitions that appeal to them from the past they will awake and realize that the time has come when they must organize more thoroughly. To sulk because reverses have come through circumstances over which the Association had no control, and which the delegates will fully explain to their sub-lodges, would be the height of foolishness. Let us profit by the mistakes of the past, improve the machinery of our organization, so that it will be able to cope with the modern conditions, which are entirely different from those that its founders had to deal with. Let us go forward, in spite of the obstacles that loom up in the way."

The *Labor World*, of Pittsburg, says of the agreement:

"Before any harsh criticism of the agreement has been entered into the condition that forced it must be fairly considered. If this is done it will readily be discovered that the agreement is absolutely one of expediency. It was effected solely to escape what were believed to be worse results. This, and this alone, was the reason for the delegates of the workmen conceding the reduction. After, to their own satisfaction, having fully grasped the situation in all of its ramifications, they were fully convinced that two evils confronted them. One of them was to refuse to grant any reduction, which meant a strike or lockout, and the other was to agree to work for reduced wages. These delegates arrived at the conclusion that the latter was the lesser of the two evils, and acted accordingly."

THE LONGSHOREMEN'S AGREEMENT.

Wages, Hours and Working Conditions at Lake Erie Ports for the Coming Year.

The agreement between the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and the dock managers at Lake Erie ports for the ensuing year was reached in April. This agreement is one of the most noteworthy of its class, as it has been found to operate effectively as a preventive of strikes or lockouts. The Longshoremen's Association, of which Mr. Daniel J. Keefe is president, covers more territory than any other labor organization in the world. Its agreement is uniform, but covers thirty-nine divisions of trade. It is reached at an annual conference between representatives of the union and of the organized employers. The union delegates to this conference are vested with full power, without instructions, so that the agreement is not subject to ratification by a referendum. In the formation of the agreement, its subjects are referred to committees, and union men themselves present to these committees the employer's side of the case. By this method of procedure, the union conferees, when they meet the representatives of the employers, are able to discuss every article of the proposed contract, both from their own and the employers' point of view.

As a result, the annual conference is conducted with both dignity and harmony. Every demand made by the workers has been thoroughly threshed out in advance. The labor delegates are not likely to present a demand to the employers whose justice they have not been able to prove before a committee of their own fellow craftsmen. The conference this year was of the usual character. The Longshoremen's Union was organized by Mr. Keefe in 1882. The wage scale has been advanced an average of 60 per cent. since 1895. When the agreement is reached, its acceptance is made by unanimous vote, based upon the previous ascertainment of the will of a majority. The rule of the majority is thus made binding upon all. Any matter not covered by

the agreement is subject to arbitration, as is any dispute as to the construction of the contract. The contract is printed, and a copy is furnished to every worker, so that he may at any moment refer to its exact language.

The joint conference adopted the following resolutions:

"That any and all contracts made between the local manager and the men directly involved shall be held in-



H. COULBY,
President of Dock Managers.

violate for all work not specifically covered in exhibits attached to and made part of this contract, and that any one trying to break such agreement, or in any way interfering with its performance, shall be barred as a representative, and shall not be permitted to work under this contract, and in all cases work shall not be interrupted on any account.

"That all grievances or suggested changes of form of contract shall be submitted in writing to the chairman of the dock managers and president of the I. L. M. and T. A. prior to the convening of the next convention, and that no statement of grievances shall be entertained unless so submitted.

"That in future conferences any new addition to be added to the present agreement must receive the two-thirds vote of the delegates of the conference."

The agreement is for the navigation season of 1904, and also covers winter work from December 1, 1904, un-



H. N. TAYLOR,
Illinois Coal Operators.

til May 1, 1905. Schedules of wages are attached as part of the agreement, marked "A," "B," "C" and "D." All employees are to be members of the local organizations, whenever such men can be had who can perform this work, as called for in the contract. When such

men cannot be had, the dock managers have the right to secure any other men who can perform the work in a satisfactory manner, until members of the union can be secured. No man shall be discharged without just cause, and any man discharged shall be notified of the cause. The men may inspect bills of lading, to verify the tonnage. When unusual work arises in isolated cases not covered by this agreement, the men shall perform such labor. The compensation shall be adjusted between the representatives of the local organizations and the dock managers or owners. Any disagreement is to be arbitrated.

If any controversies and grievances cannot be settled by the local representatives of the union and employers, they shall be arbitrated by choosing a third disinterested man, the decision of any two to be final. "If the representative of the local organization and the representative of the employers cannot agree upon a third man, then each side shall choose a disinterested man—the two disinterested men thus chosen to choose a third disinterested man, and said three men shall constitute a board of arbitration, and the decision of a majority of said three shall be final, and all parties shall abide thereby." This board is to meet within ten days after the difference arises.

No beer, whiskey or other intoxicating liquors shall be brought upon the property of the dock managers. No man in an intoxicated condition or under the influence of liquor shall be permitted upon the premises of the dock managers. Employees are not permitted to leave the dock during working hours without permission. Pure and fresh drinking water, with oatmeal and ice, shall be provided on the dock.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF BOSTON.

The initial organization of the Civic Federation of Boston and vicinity was effected at a meeting at the Exchange Club, when addresses were made by Major Henry L. Higginson, who presided; Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, P. Daniel Driscoll, Lucius Tuttle, Henry Abrahams, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., and Ralph M. Easley. There was a large attendance of men prominent in business, labor, public life and the professions. The following committee of eighteen upon permanent organization and membership was appointed:

For the Employers: Arthur T. Lyman, Amory A. Lawrence, Lucius Tuttle, Frederick P. Fish and W. C. Winslow.

For the Unions: Dennis D. Driscoll, President of the Boston Central Labor Union; Jeremiah J. Donovan, President of the Boston Building Trades Council; R. H. Bradford, President of the Structural Building Trades' Alliance; Henry Abrahams, Secretary of the Central Labor and Cigarmakers' Unions, and Frank K. Foster, of the Typographical Union.

For the Public: Right Rev. William Lawrence, Charles Francis Adams, Charles S. Hamlin, John Mason Little and Louis D. Brandeis.

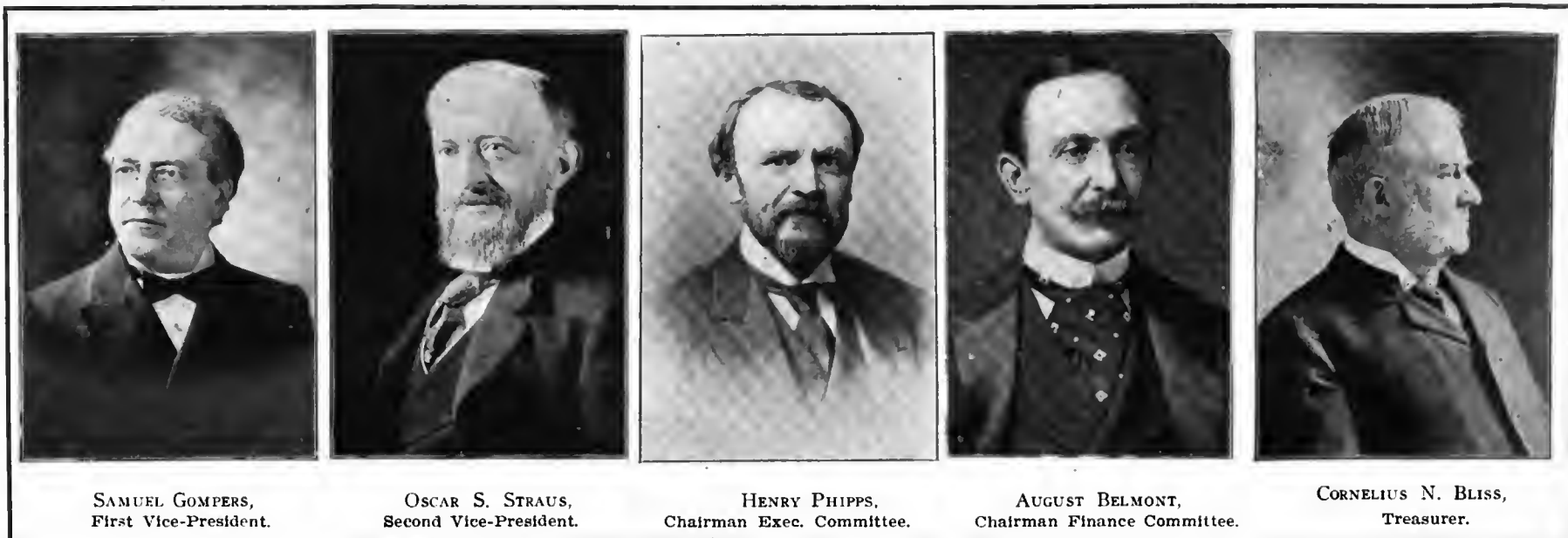
Major Henry L. Higginson, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., and James R. Crozier, President of the State Branch American Federation of Labor, were added as ex-officio members representing the public, employers and unions, respectively.

Unionism should mean competency and honesty of purpose. Earn your salary and earn something for the man who is paying it. There is nothing that adds as much to the cause of unionism as an honest, fair workman, and no one thing detracts so much as a loafer. Therefore make an effort to be a credit to your union and yourself as well.—Baltimore Labor Herald.

Those flamboyant and cock-sure men who were so certain that the Civic Federation would cease its work upon the death of Senator Hanna are now explaining. The federation met last week and a record of its proceedings shows that it is full of life and vigor and will go forward in its noble work with increased ardor.—United Mine Workers' Journal.

The trade agreement, therefore, is the result of the matching of forces, and follows after both sides have demonstrated their ability to inflict damage upon the other. Under such conditions the best results are obtainable, and conciliation and arbitration become effective.—Weekly Bulletin of Clothing Trades.

A wage agreement affords every possible opportunity for employers and employed to settle their own disputes in their own practical way.—Labor World, Pittsburg.



NEW OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

THE SUCCESSOR TO PRESIDENT HANNA TO BE CHOSEN BY A COMMITTEE—REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

The Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation held its semi-annual meeting in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City, on May 6. Wide interest was manifested in this gathering, both because of the general expectation that it would elect a successor to the late president of the Federation, Marcus A. Hanna, and because of the growing appreciation by the public of the purposes of the organization. The proceedings of the Executive Committee included, besides its regular business, a general interchange of views among its members, which disclosed a mutual determination to continue and extend the work of the Federation, and a spirit of confidence that its successful progress is assured. This feeling was strengthened by the reports presented, showing a record of notable accomplishment. All of the officers of the Federation were elected, except a new president, whose selection was referred to a Nominating Committee. A feature of the meeting was memorial addresses by members of the Executive Committee who had been closely associated with the late Mr. Hanna in his work.

The meeting was called to order by Samuel Gompers, first vice-president of the National Civic Federation and president of the American Federation of Labor. Those present were: Cornelius N. Bliss (ex-Secretary of the Interior), New York City; Oscar S. Straus (member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague), New York City; Isaac N. Seligman (of J. & W. Seligman & Co.), New York City; Archbishop John Ireland (of the Roman Catholic Church), St. Paul, Minn.; Bishop Henry C. Potter (of the Protestant Episcopal Church), New York City; James Speyer (of Speyer & Co.), New York; V. Everit Macy (capitalist), New York City; Ralph M. Easley (chairman Executive Council), New York City; Henry Phipps (director United States Steel Corporation), New York City; August Belmont (president Interborough Rapid Transit Co.), New York City; Frederick P. Fish (president American Bell Telephone Co.), Boston; Francis L. Robbins (president Pittsburg Coal Company), Pittsburg; Samuel Mather (of Pickands, Mather & Co.), Cleveland; Dan R. Hanna (of M. A. Hanna & Co.), Cleveland; Charles A. Moore (Manning, Maxwell & Moore), New York City; Franklin MacVeagh (of Franklin MacVeagh & Co.), Chicago; H. H. Vreeland (president New York City Railway Company), New York City; Otto M. Fidlitz (chairman Board of Governors; Building Trades Employers' Association), New York City; Marcus M. Marks (president National Association of Clothing Manufacturers), New York City; Charles H. Taylor, Jr. (president American Newspaper Publishers' Association), Boston; Samuel Gompers (president American Federation of Labor),

Washington; John Mitchell (president United Mine Workers of America), Indianapolis; Rezin Orr (treasurer Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees of America), Detroit, proxy for E. E. Clark (grand chief conductor, Order of Railway Conductors), Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Frank Buchanan (president International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers), Chicago, proxy for James Duncan (general secretary Granite Cutters' National Union), Washington; Daniel J. Keefe (president International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association), Detroit, Mich.; P. H. Morrissey (grand master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen), Cleveland; William H. Farley (secretary Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Workers' Association of New York City), proxy for James O'Connell (president International Association of Machinists), Washington; John Tobin (general president Boot and Shoe Workers' Union), Boston; Thomas B. Lavey (Iron Molders' Conference Board of New York City), proxy for Joseph F. Valentine (president Iron Molders' Union of North America), Cincinnati; James M. Lynch (president International Typographical Union), Indianapolis; J. J. Hannahan (grand master Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen), Peoria, Ill.; Henry White (general secretary United Garment Workers of America), New York City; William Launer (general secretary Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, United States and Canada), Philadelphia, proxy for Denis A. Hayes (president of the same association); J. P. Archibald (secretary Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of New York City), proxy for William Huber (president United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America), Indianapolis.

VICE-PRESIDENT GOMPERS' ADDRESS.

In calling the body to order Mr. Gompers said: "This is the first time since my connection with the National Civic Federation, and with its industrial branch—and my connection has been of quite a long duration—that I have had the honor of calling the meeting to order. I cannot say that it is a pleasure, except in a qualified sense, for I should have much preferred that we all would have had the pleasure and the honor of being called to order by the former president of the National Civic Federation, the gentleman who is no longer with us, and who a very few weeks ago passed from the midst of us and of those who knew and loved him to the Great Beyond. One of the things in which I am deficient is in readiness to pronounce an eulogium upon the dead. Notwithstanding my great admiration for the man, and his great qualities of heart and mind, I yet find myself in a position to express inadequately thoughts that press upon

my mind. I might say that it was my pleasure to have known our dear dead friend, Marcus A. Hanna, for a number of years. Even during those dark days when calumnies were heaped upon his head, his stout heart and his great mind were able to withstand them, and he lived at least to the time when calumny had receded, and nearly every one, if not every one, had begun to realize the higher qualities of which he was possessed in so eminent a form. He was a friend to organized labor, because he was convinced that through its agencies it would be the means of accomplishing better conditions and be helpful in bringing about more rightful relations between employer and employee; because he believed and was convinced that, notwithstanding all the calumny that is heaped upon organized labor, he, having gone through that crucial test, knew to a very large extent what one would suffer, and what men always suffer, by being misrepresented and misunderstood; and he realized that in the labor movement there were men in whom he could have unbounded faith and confidence to do for their fellows the best that was to be done. He was not a friend and advocate of organized labor because of a fad or a mere sentiment or a whim. It had grown upon him as a deep-seated conviction. He had, perhaps, as good relations established between himself as an employer and his workmen as employees as obtained in any industry in our country. He was of those who were pioneers among the employers not only to recognize, but to come to agreements with labor in its organized capacity. He has done much for his fellow-men. He has done much, especially in the line of work that he had chosen for himself. He did much to help give tone and character and standing, and to contribute in a large measure, to all the successes of the National Civic Federation. I know I but express the views of all those who knew him, and certainly of those who are associated with us here to-day, when I say that it is a matter of deep regret, and it is with a sense of deep loss, that we regard the death of our honored chairman, Marcus A. Hanna.

"In calling this meeting to order, may I ask whether it would meet the approval of the gentlemen present if we devote a little time to some expressions from some of the men who are here with us, and who I know would like to express their sense of regret at the loss we have sustained; and I therefore suggest that we devote a little while to what may be termed a 'memorial service' in honor of the memory of the late Marcus A. Hanna, our chairman.

"If there be no objection, I think we can proceed on that line."

Mr. Oscar S. Straus then arose to offer resolutions



H. H. VREELAND,
Chairman Welfare Department.



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
Chairman Trade Agreement Com.



JOHN MITCHELL,
Chairman Trade Agreement Com.



RALPH M. EASLEY,
Chairman Executive Council.



SAMUEL B. DONNELLY,
Secretary.

which he had prepared. Mr. Straus spoke as follows:

ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS BY MR. STRAUS.

"This occasion fills me with sadness, as it does all of you here who have been colleagues of our chairman in this work. Two and a half years ago, when we assembled in this city for the purpose of organizing the National Civic Federation, Senator Hanna was deeply engrossed in the work of national legislation; but he regarded this work which we were about to undertake of such transcendent importance, and his heart was so deeply interested, that he gave an expression of his views, briefly, to the press. I desire to recall to the memory and recollection of you, his colleagues in this work, the sentiments he expressed on that occasion:

"I would rather have the credit of making successful the movement to bring labor and capital into closer relations of confidence and reliance than be President of the United States. If by resigning my seat in the United States Senate I could bring to fruition the plans that we are now fostering to make strikes, lockouts and great labor disputes impossible, I would gladly do so. I think it is the grandest thing that could be accomplished in this country. I would want no greater monument than to have the world remember that I did something to end wars between American labor and American capital."

"It was my privilege on that occasion to introduce him, with these sentiments from his own lips, and I will extend my statement by reading from the opening of his speech on that occasion:

"Gentlemen, these are my sentiments. They came from the heart, and they came after a long experience in the industrial world and almost daily contact with labor since I have been a man of business. . . . To say that I am interested is to put it very mildly, and although I did not intend that that sentiment should have the publicity that your president has given it—and, perhaps, it may have seemed a little egotistical to have mentioned it in that connection—I reaffirm the sentiment by the statement that I stand ready and willing and anxious to give the best that is in me while life remains to accomplish this purpose."

"Mr. Chairman, I have the honor to introduce resolutions which but inadequately express the sentiments of my heart and the great loss that we have sustained:

"An all-wise Providence has called from the activities of this world Marcus A. Hanna, who was president of the National Civic Federation since December, 1901. His lamented death was a personal bereavement to us, his colleagues in this body, and the removal of a strong and earnest leader in its work; therefore, he it

"Resolved, That the National Civic Federation mourns the departure of a member who, as its official head, through his untiring energy, conspicuous ability and conscientious devotion, conveyed to the public mind the message of mutual confidence and respect, of equity and co-operation, in the relations between labor and capital; who had chosen the promotion of that purpose as the crowning work of his life, ranking it above all

other ambitions, and with steadily increasing conviction regarding a share in its accomplishment as the most patriotic service he could render his country, and the most philanthropic legacy he could bequeath to humanity; whose training in business and whose knowledge of public affairs had endowed him with peculiar fitness to carry forward the work of this organization, through his intimate relations with both employer and employed; whose quality of sincerity conveyed the irresistible conviction of the profound and lofty motive that inspired his zealous devotion to the high purpose of the Federation;

"Resolved, That his associates and fellow workers here record their sincere appreciation of the far-seeing and kindly sagacity, the rare and discerning judgment and the brilliant and earnest leadership displayed by Mr. Hanna as the president of the National Civic Federation;

"Resolved, That we, in the knowledge of the consecration of head and heart by our late president to a work that implied incessant appeals to both reason and sympathy, hereby pledge our continued and loyal devotion to the great cause which his intelligent perception and humane personality were forceful in forwarding;

"Resolved, That these resolutions be spread upon the record of the Federation, and that an engrossed copy, signed by its officers, be sent to the family of Mr. Hanna."

REMARKS BY BISHOP POTTER.

The Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, of the diocese of New York, in seconding the resolutions, suggested a slight verbal change, which Mr. Straus accepted, so that the resolutions, as adopted, read as they appear above. Bishop Potter expanded his suggestion in these words:

"I wish to bring out the interesting development in his own mind, of a sense of the enormous importance and significance of the effort in which we are all concerned. I hope I shall not touch any of our political friends here; but there are two classes of gentlemen—one we call politicians, the other statesmen. Politicians are particularly interested in results. A statesman is a man who has the quality of vision; and that is the quality which we recognized in Mr. Gladstone, a distinct perception of great movements, great tendencies, and what they have meant, what they stood for. I cannot pretend that I was very enthusiastic when Mr. Hanna was elected chairman of this Federation. I had chiefly associated him with political processes, the friendships and intimacies which represented the former of the two classes I have just referred to. But what did impress me in his service as presiding officer of this body was not only his large equity, his sense of fairness, which was a very fine note of his nature, but there seemed to grow in his mind day by day a larger sense of the enormous value and gravity of the questions in which we are here concerned. They are questions which touch the whole foundations of human society, and the equities of which involve the relations of every man with every other

man. And Mr. Hanna seemed to me to realize increasingly the great responsibility of his office and the enormous possibility of service and sacrifice that his calling as chairman of this Federation placed upon him. But he rose, step by step, to the possession of those finer qualities which so greatly endeared him to all of us. I learned to have a profound respect for his views and his rare sense of that which the movement really meant."

MR. MITCHELL SPEAKS FOR LABOR.

Mr. John Mitchell spoke as follows:

"I am sure I can but inadequately express the general sentiment of the laboring people of this country in saying that the loss of Senator Hanna brought to the working people a real sense of regret. My own personal relations with Senator Hanna were such that I knew him well. I knew his feelings well. I knew that he was sincere in this movement. I think no greater tribute could be paid to a man than the action of the coal miners in this country—400,000 of them—when on the day of his burial they stopped work and stayed away from the mines—laid aside their picks and shovels to do honor to the memory of him whom they believed to be their friend. I feel that his death is a distinct loss to this movement, a well nigh irreparable loss. He thought more of this movement than any other one thing in which he was engaged. I know that to be true. He has not only made the public statement to that effect, but he has told me on more than one occasion that he would rather be helpful in establishing rightful and proper relationships between capital and labor than be President of the United States. I don't know, Mr. Chairman, if there is anything further I can say. I feel that Senator Hanna has done his full share, not only in this movement, but in all his own relations with employees, to establish an ideal relationship between them."

CHARLES A. MOORE'S CHARACTERIZATION.

Charles A. Moore delivered the following tribute:

"I think the remarks made by Bishop Potter very clearly and nicely express the feeling that might be termed the general feeling throughout the country when our distinguished president and friend, Senator Hanna, was selected to preside over this important organization. Perhaps it is human nature to find fault; I don't call it criticism; but you found them saying that this selection was for political purposes. I know of no man who could have been selected for this very responsible and important position, who had to contend, personally and in the public mind, with greater obstacles to establish himself, as was necessary, in the confidence of all, than our recent president and departed friend. He was an aggressive man, a man of affairs, a man of great courage, who believed when he wanted to accomplish a purpose in the business of politics that he should go right to it, directly. He was essentially a direct man. I think that was one trait of character that he possessed to a degree that was remarkable and made him most successful. His diplomacy was what you might term a

'Hanna diplomacy.' It was not roundabout or subterranean—it was direct. He won the confidence of men. His manner was that of a man; and all the essential qualities we look for in the full grown, upright, forceful man he had to a wonderful degree. He had the wonderful gift of dealing with men in different walks of life from his own, with different ideas, and yet he could express his individual ideas frankly and directly and not offend those men. He had that quality to a marvellous degree. I think that, taking him as we see him now, under the present light of our organization, the results accomplished, it is doubtful if any man could have filled that place with all the qualities of mind and heart necessary to fill it to a successful termination as he did.

"Men believed in Marcus A. Hanna, and that was one great quality. He could make his fellow man believe he was honest; and unless he was honest he could not make him believe it. I do not know a man who ever made greater personal sacrifices. As he grew in this work I may plainly say that Senator Hanna grew to his job; and he did it because he consecrated himself to his work. I think that one of the most beautiful traits a man can develop is when, undertaking a work like this, he grows to fill it better than his best wishers expected him to do. Certainly, Senator Hanna filled this place even better than his most intimate friends thought him capable of doing. He has contributed much to the strength of this organization. He has helped to strip it of those ideas that are antagonistic to our work. He had to school himself, and he had to grow to his job; and he did it in a highly magnificent manner, that all are ready to recognize. Even those who differed with Mr. Hanna most positively learned to respect him for the evidences of his honesty and the sincerity of his work. I feel that we were all greatly favored in having known him—those who knew him in connection with this work and those who knew him in his lifework. He believed in good citizenship, integrity and honesty of purpose, and I never knew him in all his political work to suggest the doing of anything in an underhand, undignified manner. He went direct to the point. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, yet he had it almost entirely with the national leaders of labor. He had it with capital, and in a high degree with the public. As Bishop Potter has well expressed it, there were some who had their little doubts that there was some ulterior purpose in his taking the chairmanship of this organization, but he was able to dispel that, and get the confidence of the three groups; and without that his work would have been wasted. And he had that confidence to a marvellous degree. I am proud to have been a friend of and to have known Senator Hanna."

TRIBUTE OF CORNELIUS N. BLISS.

Cornelius N. Bliss, with evidence of emotion, uttered this personal appreciation:

"My relations with Senator Hanna have existed for many years. It was not here that I first met him. Perhaps it was owing to his influence, and because of his approval and desire, that I first became connected with this association, in which I am proud to have had this experience. My first acquaintance with Senator Hanna was many years ago, perhaps fifteen or more, and our relations have been exceedingly intimate. They were relations literally quite as intimate as any family relations. I not only admired him, but I had respect and affection for him, not only in his business relations, but in his relations here, and especially in his hospitable home and family relations. It is a matter of much regret to have been parted from him at this time, in the midst of his usefulness, and while he was rendering great service to the country. His services were appreciated by the great mass of the people throughout the country, as they were evident to us, his friends. Those who stood by his remains at the time of his funeral in Washington, and those who followed on to Cleveland, know the outpouring of sympathy and love that was expressed for him by those who surrounded him. I am grateful to him for having brought me into this work. Perhaps I have not done the work I might have done, but his example, influence and desire have led me to devote myself to it, so far as it is in my power to assist.

I refer largely in my remarks to the personal, intimate, close relations to our departed friend."

D. J. KEEFE'S REMINISCENCE.

Mr. D. J. Keefe spoke as follows:

"Senator Hanna was what might be termed a 'big brother' to the longshoremen. Whenever there was a difference or misunderstanding between the employers and our association and we could not adjust it ourselves, we always called on him, and he never failed to bring about an amicable understanding. I can say without fear of contradiction that his attitude toward organized labor was friendly, for whenever it was possible for him to assist in any way he cheerfully did so.

"His death will be a great loss to humanity in general, and the loss to America cannot be calculated. He was a man whose efforts were untiring to make a better world, and in this he was a success, for he certainly accomplished much, as the future will demonstrate. Others will take up the work where he left off. His strength of character was ably demonstrated in his charity of speech and sentiment when speaking of the authors of the many vile cartoons in the past two Presidential campaigns.

"Lincoln emancipated the colored men, and had Senator Hanna lived he would have done relatively more for all the toilers—he would have accomplished the solution of the problem of capital and labor, and would have taught the employer and employe alike to do unto others as they would be done by. He certainly made the world better by his having lived in it, and his name will go down to posterity as an apostle of the common people.

"Organized labor has suffered a great loss, and from thousands of the wage workers' homes a fervent prayer will go up to God to have mercy upon their true friend and benefactor. He, like Lincoln, needs no marble pile to perpetuate his name—it will always be revered by the masses for his great deeds and untiring efforts."

The resolutions offered by Mr. Straus were adopted unanimously by a rising vote.

The minutes of the last meeting of the executive committee were approved. Mr. Easley read his report as chairman of the executive council, which, on motion of Mr. Macy, was approved and ordered published.

Mr. Easley's report follows:

THE FEDERATION AND ITS WORK.

"When the National Civic Federation was organized the scoffers at its undertaking were not altogether alone. Even some well-wishers of the movement had misgivings as to its practical value. They felt that as soon as the novelty should wear off it would be impossible to hold the interest of its members and of the public; and that the general proposition to try to bring about a better relation between capital and labor was a beautiful sentiment, but not practical. When, in answer to that, it was pointed out that the imposing array of names on the executive committee included those of large practical employers, public-spirited men and hard-headed labor leaders, it was said: 'Yes, but wait until you have tried your beautiful machine; wait until the labor leaders find out that they cannot win in every controversy that you have to deal with, and they will turn against you; wait until the employers find that they have to grant higher wages in settlement of disturbances that you have to deal with, and they will quit you.' Well, we have waited and gone through all that. We have had three and a half years of it. We have gone through the sentimental period, when everything was coming our way, so to speak; we have gone through the trying period of defeat, when everything was going the other way—the anthracite coal strike, for instance. We have, too, lost our great leader, the one who marshalled us night and day, under all circumstances, in time of defeat as well as victory, and yet we are to-day stronger as a movement than ever before. The early suspicions of organized labor have been allayed. The larger and more representative interests of capital have found that we are not a set of meddlers, but are seeking through conservative and educational methods to bring about more rightful relations between employers and employes; and that our movement is a practical effort to work out the great so-called 'labor problem' through evolutionary, rather than revolutionary, methods.

"These elements of difficulty or discouragement have

been dissipated. They never were organized. But there have sprung up during the past year several employers' associations whose war cry is: 'Smash the unions,' 'Down with arbitration,' 'Beware of the National Civic Federation.'

"For example, we receive the following tribute from an officer of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America:

A moment's consideration of the inestimable benefits resulting from organization in Chicago should convince the most skeptical. The Employers' Association of that labor plague spot of the world is fast redeeming the city and delivering its people from the bondage of organized labor; not by continuing the policy of organized labor's colleague, the National Civic Federation, which is the greatest menace to industrial peace now in existence, but by demanding a recognition of the constitutional rights of the citizen and then appealing to public sentiment through and by organization.

"Again, we have the deliberately chosen words of the president of the same association in plain opposition to both conciliation and arbitration:

To my mind, this is not the proper time to talk conciliation. . . . Conciliation implies a yielding attitude and a recognition of the validity of destructive demands made by the opposing side. Since the principles and demands of organized labor are absolutely untenable to those believing in the individualistic social order, an attitude of conciliation would mean an attitude of compromise with regard to fundamental convictions. . . . Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or 'joint agreements.' To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods of determining what they shall be, and an equitable arrangement as to either cannot be effected artificially.

"The first of these quotations is an overt effort to misrepresent the attitude of the Civic Federation by distorting its avowed friendship for organized labor as sympathy with the violence or disorder which, whenever and wherever they appear, are the most dangerous foes of the true interests of wage earners. The second quotation is a defiant and dogmatic rejection of methods of improving the relations between employer and employe that have been vindicated by their successful operation in practice.

"Socialism is another organized opponent to the work of peace and co-operation of the Civic Federation. It is to be noted that generally violence, in word or deed, when manifested in any labor union, is a symptom of the insidious invasion of the bacilli of socialism. To gain control and direction of organized labor the agents of socialism are putting forth every exertion. Socialists are opposed to the orderly and law-abiding elements that now direct, as a rule, the policy and control the action of labor organizations. Socialism recognizes in the National Civic Federation an ally of the self-respecting, self-restrained workingman. Therefore socialism foams at the mouth at the mention of the Federation. Thus, on May day in Chicago, Eugene V. Debs, its acknowledged national leader, flaunts this verbal red flag:

Socialists in unions were rare exceptions a few years ago; to-day they have been multiplied by thousands. The time is not far when the socialists will be in the majority in the trades unions, and they will rescue the union movement from the withering hand of the leaders who dominate it, and from the blighting control of the Civic Federation, which has entered into an unholy alliance—the slaughterers of the laborer and those leaders in joint conspiracy against the union man.

"The methods of socialism are frequently masked. Sometimes the mask is torn off. This happened in the correspondence, made public in a report of the British Columbia Labor Commission, which includes written instructions from the president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees to his organizer, whose mission was to promote a strike by the employes of the Canadian Pacific Railway. One of these letters contains the following passage:

In all your writings, carefully word your articles so as to develop a public sentiment for the U. B. R. E., the A. L. U. [the American Labor Union, a socialist labor organization, formed principally to fight the American Federation of Labor], and against the reactionary and capitalist party now temporarily in control of the A. F. of L., but not against the masses of members comprising the A. F. of L. Continually separate the administration of the A. F. of L. from the A. F. of L. itself, and give all possible praise to the masses of the A. F. of L. but

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The National Civic Federation

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VICTORIES FOR TRADE AGREEMENTS.

A large part of this number of THE REVIEW is devoted to a presentation of recent impressive events in the actual operation of trade agreements. The space allotted to this subject is warranted by the magnitude and significance of these events. The three agreements that stand out most prominently in recent industrial history are those between the bituminous operators and the organized miners in four States; between the Amalgamated Association of Tin and Iron Workers and the employers, and between the Longshoremen's Union and the Dock Managers' Association of the Great Lakes. The conspicuous facts about these three agreements are that they have been continued after open and candid discussion in mutual conference, and that at least two of them have withstood the test of acceptance of reductions of wages by the workers' organizations. Especially gratifying and important to the business interests of the entire country has been the prevention of a bituminous coal strike, through the reaching of a thorough understanding of trade conditions, attained at the conference at Indianapolis between representatives of the miners and of the operators, some of whose most remarkable utterances we commend to the thoughtful appreciation of our readers.

This interstate bituminous conference with its outcome is the most momentous industrial event of the year. There was a period when a strike seemed inevitable. A general bituminous coal strike would mean literal paralysis of the manufacturing industries and carrying machinery of the continent. The country had suffered much from the anthracite strike. A bituminous strike would have been an immensely greater disaster. It was the lamented Marcus A. Hanna, then president of the National Civic Federation, who declared, realizing the enormous gravity of the situation, "Every possible effort must be put forth to prevent a strike." Every effort was made. All of them were concentrated in the Indianapolis conference, where Francis A. Robbins and John Mitchell were the leading champions of the two sides, although they were aided by strong and resourceful lieutenants. The discussion carried conviction to the leaders of the miners' cause that a reduction of wages was justly required by the market prices of coal. Simultaneously, it convinced the representatives of the operators of the fairness of certain propositions, including the cost of living, upon the side of the workers, which led them to recede from their original demand. Then was presented the remarkable spectacle of labor delegates to this conference, who had been bound by instructions to vote at Indianapolis against the compromise, appealing successfully to their constituents for its ratification.

These events gave active interest to the proceedings of a conference upon trade agreements, held in New York City on May 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. The discussion at that conference was highly animated and instructive, and a verbatim report will appear in the next number of THE REVIEW.

Experience has proved the efficacy of the trade agreement as a way to avoid industrial strife. Discussion bids fair to promote its better understanding and its wider use.

The benefit of full and frank conference receives signal illustration in the renewal of the trade agreement for another year between the Molders' Union and the stove manufacturers. Their association demanded a reduction of 15 per cent in wages, upon the ground that market prices for their products had fallen, and would go lower. There was also a question at issue as to the ratio of apprentices. Both of these questions were discussed with the utmost freedom and candor in a conference at Chicago that lasted five days. The decision was to maintain the present rate of wages. This result was reached largely because the representatives of the molders were able to

prove their contention that the cost of living had increased. As one of the manufacturers, Mr. Kahn, put it, "We are very much in the position of a married couple, and it is our business to get along in peace, for weal or woe." It is an interesting fact that several of the speakers at this conference attributed the higher prices of commodities for the household to the Russo-Japanese war. An amicable agreement as to apprentices, pronounced fair to both foundrymen and molders, was also reached. The *Iron Molders' Journal* attributes this outcome to the observance on both sides of "fair dealing as a cardinal principle," without "wrangling over petty technicalities," and predicts a continuance of the harmony that has prevailed in this trade during fourteen years.

AN EXHORTATION TO EMPLOYERS.

The day and the hour are here when the employer can display, to his own advantage and to the country's good, a spirit of reasonable liberality in his attitude toward the payment of the employed. The record of lower market prices, decreasing consumption of products, lighter transportation, reduced wages and economies in the number of workmen employed in improvements, enlargements or in new construction, testifies that the industries of the country, broadly speaking, have slackened in activity, and that commercial conditions are upon a lower level than they occupied during a time of some inflation, though not without the real substance of genuine prosperity. It is legitimate to hope that this condition will prove to be only a passing relaxation of the tense strain that commanded, in the stress of profitable production, the total sum of the combined energies of capital and labor. But the actual situation cannot be bettered by glossing the truth. It is both braver and more sensible to face the facts of the present as they are.

This industrial condition opens to employers an opportunity that should be seized for conservatism in their treatment of wages. It is a time when they may wisely refrain from taking undue advantage of a situation that may temporarily place it within their power to act selfishly and graspingly. When two jobs await every man able and willing to work, the condition invites demands for higher wages. When two men await every job, the reaction favors the enforcement of lower wages. The former case offers the opportunity for labor, whether organized or not, to refrain from excessive demands, with a sane eye to its future. The second case presents to employers, whether organized or individual, the opportunity to exercise discreet liberality and to call into play consideration and foresight that may avoid present resentment and forestall future reprisal. A prominent railway president recently uttered this economic truth: "The cost of maintaining an artificial market is greater than the profit." So, too, the profit of artificially depressing wages is less than the ultimate cost.

The time is peculiarly favorable for the exercise of self-restraint by employers in compelling wage reductions. Conservative leaders of the unions have shown upon their part a growing spirit of reasonableness and a wholesome inclination to fair dealing. The movement for conciliation, for harmonious relations, for industrial peace, has gained breadth and strength, because of this prevalent spirit of its leaders, throughout the ranks of organized labor. There is no doubt that the manifestation of this spirit has had its moderating effect upon the general attitude of public opinion toward the unions. These are influences that work for the common weal. They are impalpable, but nevertheless real assets in the total public welfare. They are elements that, properly encouraged and nourished, will become factors powerful among all the others that count for a return of the flood tide of industrial activity and commercial prosperity.

The employer who realizes this situation and

tempers his treatment of the employed with a measure of discretion in enforcing economies, and perhaps with an explanation of their necessity when they are imperative, will not only strengthen his individual position, but will contribute to the benefit, in the long run, of his entire industry and to the harmony that is essential to national health. It is a time to keep in mind the truth that the natural law of supply and demand should be modified in its operation between human beings by a due regard for the burdens that are made heavier by every decrease in the earnings of toil. This higher motive is re-enforced by the fact that reasonable altruism has one of its roots in selfishness. That is, broadly speaking, generosity, like honesty, is the best policy.

THE OPEN SHOP DEBATE.

There is an apparent tendency in the minds of some writers to regard the question of the "open" versus the "closed" shop as one of irreconcilable conflict. The issue has been depicted recently as one that will precipitate a series of battles that must culminate in a social revolution, whose outcome must be either anarchy or the extreme of paternalism, through governmental regulation of all trade agreements. Some alarmists depict the situation as beyond amelioration and as approaching rapidly a hostile alignment of forces whose clash must disturb and distress the national life, or even threaten its very existence.

The extremists upon either side, it is our judgment, are making too much clamor about imaginary perils that underlie the agitation of this question. No possible harm can be done by the freest and fullest debate of the open and closed shop. On the contrary, much good may be done by awakening public interest to an intelligent perception of the opposing arguments. But much harm may be done if alarmists, whether merely the victims of their own imaginary fears, or unduly impressed by a false estimate of the strength and arbitrary purpose of recently formed employers' associations, or moved by the socialistic and mischievous desire to stir up strife, are allowed to present unchallenged and uncorrected their distorted view of the case.

Those who profess to be able to see only fierce and relentless war in the growth of unions on the one side and of associated employers on the other, ignore the power of organized forces to establish stable conditions of peace based upon mutual responsibility, joined with mutual good faith in fulfilling obligations. The agitators dwell exclusively upon the "rights" of one side and of the other. They make a din of proclaiming "the legal and moral right" of the employer to discharge and to hire men without regard to the unions. They shout aloud that the non-unionist has "the legal and moral right" to sell his labor for whatever he can get, regardless of the union scale. They reach the crescendo of defiance in declaring that employers will never, never yield the "right to run their own business," and conversely they raise the battle-cry that the unions must resist to the death the open shop as an insidious menace to their existence.

It were well if there were less sound and fury about the "rights" of employer and employed, and more consideration of their equal capacity to realize their duty to each other and to the entire social fabric. Opposition of their interests, however highly organized upon both sides, does not necessarily mean combat without quarter. There is no occasion to fear the lining up of the two forces for a frank comparison of their positions. In such case the agitators will be left to do the fighting with words, while the calm common sense of both sides will discern the way to peace with both honor and profit. Actual experience has proved this to be true. "De-

fense" is a militant word. It implies hostility. It means forcible resistance to forcible aggression. Yet the Defense Association of Stove Manufacturers, formed for war, has in practice been converted into an association for the working out of pacific relations with the molders' unions and of stable trade conditions. That is only one example of how a warlike title has been compelled by the force of mutual interest to acquire a significance of actual friendliness. In this case, also, the open shop has proved not to mean, where it exists, the destruction of the union. Nor has the unionization of foundries made it impossible for the employers to continue to exercise their "right to run their own business."

There is a great deal of human nature in this particular question of open or closed shop. The personal equation is a highly important factor in the problem. The pessimists and those eager for fray would make it an intensely inflamed factor as well. When an employer demands an open shop as one of his "rights" and announces at the same time that with the open shop he will smash the union, it can hardly be expected that the union will tamely submit. When the closed shop means the control of a business by the union, leaving the employer only to pay the bills Saturday night, no one can blame the employer for determining to smash the union. Put either side in a position where it must fight for its life, and it will fight. But that extreme position is unnecessary. Exclusive contracts are practicable. Suppose a union agent to say: "Mr. Employer, we want a contract with you to do your work. You want your work well done. We don't object to working with non-union men, but an exclusive contract with us would make us able to discipline and control our men so that we can carry out our agreement and we can guarantee you better work." Is not that a proposal on a business basis? This is done every day without an outcry about abridged liberty in the building trades. Smith lets a contract for a house. The contractor hires all the men. Smith neither knows nor cares about their creed or their affiliations or lack of affiliations.

The truth is that no sensible person desires to destroy any of the "rights" of which we hear so much talk. Nor should any person desire to exercise individual rights without regard to the rights of others. The rights of individuals and the rights of communities have been rubbing against each other throughout all the evolution of civilized society. Neither class of rights has been destroyed in that friction. Similarly, there may be an adjustment, through patience, tact and forbearance, of the right of the employer to make an exclusive contract with the union, and of the right of the non-union man to determine for himself whether he shall belong to a union or not, and to work without molestation wherever employed. Rights may be inalienable and yet reconcilable. The forces for their adjustment are mightier by far than are the forces that would create conflict and compel the inconceivable enthrallment of either labor or capital.

JOHN MITCHELL ON STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Newspaper reports of an address delivered by Mr. John Mitchell at the conference upon trade agreements, held in New York City on May 6, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, have misrepresented, unintentionally, of course, an attitude of the President of the United Mine Workers. The published reports made him appear as preferring strikes and lockouts to arbitration. In order to set right both Mr. Mitchell and newspaper comment, it is well to quote here an extract from a stenographic report of Mr. Mitchell's remarks:

"I say that neither side should surrender its

right to strike or lock out. Failing in every other method to settle their differences, they [the workers] should always maintain the right to strike, or the employers the right to lock out their men. If they were to surrender absolutely those rights, then the chances are that the conditions of employment would be satisfactory neither to the men nor to the employers.

"My own judgment is that in preference to a strike we should resort to arbitration. There are questions I would not arbitrate at all. I would not arbitrate, under any conditions, my right to belong to a union. . . . You can't arbitrate fundamental principles. . . . As I said before, I favor settlement of it by agreement, and only arbitration in the event of failure to agree, and then in preference to strike."

This correct quotation places Mr. Mitchell in a position altogether different from favoring the strike and the lockout. He would rank them as last resorts. He would preserve the ultimate right to fight, because he regards that right as essential to the power to make treaties of peace. An alliance between two disarmed forces would be shorn of significance.

LABOR UNIONS AND GOVERNMENT.

A recent editorial in the New York Times contains several mis-statements of fact and wrong inferences, both in extracts from a speech delivered by Mr. Kirby, of the National Industrial Alliance, upon industrial conditions in Australia and New Zealand, and in comments upon his remarks. Mr. Kirby dwells at length upon the disastrous results of trade union legislation and compulsory arbitration in those colonies. Even from the standpoint of an organization that advocates the policy of "smashing" the unions, Mr. Kirby's inferences are erroneous; for the trade union control in Australia and New Zealand has been brought about, not through the union methods obtaining in the United States, but through partisan organization of the unions, which the American Federation of Labor earnestly opposes.

The unions in Australia and New Zealand were disastrously defeated in a general strike in 1891. To bring about that defeat the powers of the government were employed. As a consequence, the colonial unions abandoned the non-partisan tactics of trade unionism, which are maintained in this country, and directed their attention to organizing a political labor party. That party eventually gained control of the government in both these colonies. Whatever evil results may have followed have, therefore, come about, not through voluntary negotiation with employers, but through control of the legislatures and administrations by the labor vote. The policy of the "smashing" associations of employers, for whom Mr. Kirby speaks, if successful, would invite a similar change of policy on the part of the unions in the United States. Is that what the "smashing" employers' organizations desire? The unions in the United States have not organized a labor party to capture the State and Federal governments, but have operated along the lines of negotiation, conciliation and trade agreements, meeting the employers upon equal terms. Only when thoroughly convinced that employers will refuse to continue in these lines would the unions turn to partisan action here, in the manner forced upon the unions in Australia and New Zealand.

That the unions in Great Britain, because of the engineering strike and lockout in 1897, have met with overwhelming defeat, looking to the disintegration of the whole labor movement, is a most surprising mis-statement of the actual situation. The unions in the British shipbuilding industry, to which reference is particularly made, are to-day much stronger than ever before, and the principal union in that industry, the Boilermakers', took no part in the strike of

1897. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which was defeated in 1897, has entirely recovered its ground, and through a general arbitration and joint conference board is taking up subjects of dispute and reaching agreements with the federation of employers, through methods of conciliation.

The statement that "it has been declared illegal to strike against the employment of non-union men, or to demand the discharge of a man because he does not belong to a labor organization," is exactly the opposite to the fact in the English situation. The highest court in England, in the case of *Allen vs. Flood*, has held that a labor union not only has the right to strike, but the right to threaten to strike, against the employment of a non-union man. This decision in effect upholds the legality of the closed shop.

A REVIVED FALLACY QUASHED.

When a union demand for the closed shop in some industry is advanced, there is likely to reappear the familiar assertion that only 15 per cent. of the wage earners of the country are organized in trade unions. This statement is the premise of an argument that it would be monstrous tyranny for so small a proportion of workers to exclude from employment 85 per cent. of those who earn their livelihood by toil. Assuming, for the sake of discussion, that these figures are approximately correct, the argument is shattered in its application. It is only where a union has established a real ascendancy in a given trade that it can raise, with any hope of success, the issue of the closed shop. The alleged 85 per cent. of wage earners outside the unions are mainly in occupations in which there are no unions at all, or in which the unions are too weak to think of challenging a contest over the employment of workers outside their organizations.

The *Chicago Tribune*, in a recent editorial, states the case thus pithily:

"Suppose that the Plumbers' Union, controlling almost the entire plumbing trade, demands the exclusive employment of union plumbers. What species of argument is it to reply that the agricultural laborers are still wandering beyond the limits of the trade union fold? Suppose that the glass blowers, finding that here and there a non-union glass blower continues to escape the payment of union dues, refuse to allow the 'traitor' to work beside them. Will they be deterred by an enumeration of the washerwomen over whom trade unionism has not yet spread its shield?"

It seems to be necessary again and again to expose the fallacy of the much-quoted 85 per cent. of unorganized labor as a proof of union tyranny in the crafts where the movement for the closed shop is strongly supported. This is a singular example of the persistent fascination of a battered illusion.

The importance of maintaining a high standard of personnel in union representation and membership is emphasized by President Frank Buchanan, of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. We quote President Buchanan's official counsel, addressed to the local unions of New York: "Select men on their merits to represent you and see that the unions dictate to them instead of letting them dictate to the unions. Our associations should keep agreements inviolate. A fair agreement means a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. The men who are trying to use the unions to hold their jobs when they are unwilling to do a fair day's work in a workmanlike manner are enemies to the principles that trade unionism is founded upon, and an organization that will permit its strength to be used

for such purposes will come to grief in the end."

There is a sermon in this message worth the attention of every union in the land.

There has been a noteworthy instance of the voluntary discipline in Chicago of a member of a union for "slugging" a non-union worker. The discipline, in the form of a fine of \$20, was inflicted upon David Bergquist, a member of the Carriage and Wagonmakers' Union, for beating Harry T. Stevens, a fellow employe, for not joining the union, although that union has an open shop agreement with the Carriage and Wagon Makers' Association. Besides inflicting the fine, four members of the union testified before a magistrate against Bergquist, who was placed under \$500 bonds to keep the peace. This is hailed as an indication of wholesome assertiveness by the conservative element in the local unions.

A STREET RAILWAY ARBITRATION.

The Finding of Oscar S. Straus as to the Differences Between the United Railroads of San Francisco and Their Employes.

The recent settlement of difficulties between the United Railroads of San Francisco and their employes lends renewed interest to the decision of the arbiter in the differences between that company and Division No. 205, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Em-



OSCAR S. STRAUS.

ployes. All these differences, except the subject of employment and discharge, were referred on April 6, 1903, to W. D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association, and Patrick Calhoun, representing the railroad company. They were authorized to appoint a third person to consider with them points upon which they were unable to agree, a majority vote to be decisive. Messrs. Calhoun and Mahon on June 15, 1903, telegraphed as follows to Mr. Oscar S. Straus, in New York:

"We have agreed upon you as third arbiter, to act with us in the settlement of certain differences between the United Railroad Companies of this city and the street car men's union. The evidence will be taken by a commissioner, and submitted to you in writing. This controversy is an important one, and we strongly urge you to accept."

To this Mr. Straus replied, on the same day: "In the line of the duty I have set before me to promote industrial peace, I accept, but regret this additional work coming upon me."

Subsequently the testimony was taken before a commissioner, covering nine closely typewritten volumes, besides many volumes of exhibits.

The first meeting of the commission was held on September 15, 1903, in the rooms of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, 203 Broadway. Mr. Calhoun suggested that the commission should pass upon

the question upon which the company had refused to give testimony, as to their ability to pay the wage demanded. It was unanimously decided by the commission that no testimony as to the ability or inability of the company to pay the wages that will be fixed by this commission would be received, as no question had arisen as to the company's lack of ability to pay its wage, or any wage this commission should decide. Further hearing of the commission was adjourned until October 12, 1903. Mr. A. A. Moore appeared as counsel for the railroads, and Hon. Edward J. Livernash appeared as counsel for the union.

The arguments on the part of counsel were heard on that day, and on the 20th, 21st and 22d of October following. Written briefs were subsequently handed in by the respective counsel.

The following decision, rendered by Mr. Straus, is here published for the first time:

It is the judgment of the undersigned there remain, of all the matter presented by the voluminous pleadings and correspondence framing the issues, but two questions for determination by this board, namely:

First—The question as to what is a fair wage rate.

Second—The question of hours of labor.

A FAIR WAGE RATE.

Of all questions that arise in industrial disputes none is more difficult to define and determine than what is a fair wage rate? Wishing to make my conclusions as brief and concise as possible, I will not enter into the economic speculations that this question gives rise to, as it can serve no purpose here. If arbitrations of this kind concerned the interpretation of a contract, or of laws or regulations, they would be free from many of the uncertainties, indefiniteness and difficulties that surround a decision. We are met at the outset with the absence of precedents to guide us. There are no terms of a contract to interpret, because the very fact that such an arbitration is agreed upon is because the parties have been unable to make a contract, and therefore appeal to the high sense of equity on the part of the persons selected as arbitrators to accord a fair wage for the services that are demanded. The earlier economists generally held to the ruling that wages, like any other commodity, are regulated by the demand and the supply. In our day, with the more humane consideration of this question, there has come about a decided departure from this rigid and often inhuman method of regulating wages. No doubt the organization of wage-earners on the one side and employers on the other, coupled with the more enlightened and humane views that characterize our age and civilization, have been responsible for the change. On the other hand, we must be mindful that nothing is so destructive of an industry as to yield to demands on the part of labor that may be uneconomic.

STANDARD OF WAGES.

By the testimony, it appears that the United Railroads of San Francisco are now paying a high rate of wage, and that there are only four street railway companies out of 345 of which statistics are given that pay a higher rate, and that these are located in Montana; and that these four pay an average rate ranging from 27.5 cents per hour to 29 cents, and that there are of this number only four companies that pay as high a rate as the company is now paying, namely, 25 cents. That these companies are located in Oakland, Cal., in San Francisco, and in Spokane, Wash., and also one in Chicago.

The standard of wages on the Pacific Coast, and especially in San Francisco, since 1849 has always been high, resulting from many causes. The migration from the East began in that year, impelled by the discoveries of gold, and by reason of the fact that the journey was a long and expensive one wages were much higher than in the middle or eastern part of the United States; and so, also, was the cost of living. As time has run on, and with the building of transcontinental lines, the disproportion has become less and less; but it still remains as a fact that, generally speaking, the rate of wages is somewhat higher in the city of San Francisco than in other cities of equal size throughout the United States. Doubtless it was for that reason, among others, that the United Railroads of San Francisco, after the strike in

April, 1902, settled by granting the men 25 cents per hour, with 30 cents for overtime, which, according to their own showing, was 10 to 15 per cent higher than paid by similar railroads in other cities, with the exception of those mentioned above.

COST OF LIVING.

The evidence shows, in comparing the cost of living in 1902 with that of 1903, that there has been an advance. It is claimed on behalf of the street railway employees, by a large mass of testimony they accumulated, that that advance has been from 20 to 30 per cent. On the other hand, it is claimed by the United Railroads, based upon Prof. Plehn's reports, that while there has been an advance, that advance does not exceed more than 3 per cent. The basis of the large mass of testimony offered by the street railway employees, derived from their own members, is lacking in definiteness, and in part in reliability. On the other hand, the basis of the exhaustive calculations made by Prof. Plehn are not entirely satisfactory or convincing. The testimony on both sides establishes, however, the fact that there has been for the periods mentioned a rise in the cost of living; that, on the average, the rent of rooms or apartments such as the employees live in has advanced about 10 per cent.

Referring to the increased cost of living, the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission (See Bulletin of the Department of Labor No. 146, May, 1903, page 472), say:

"This increase for the past few years, as ascertained for a forthcoming report, and taking into consideration the leading articles of consumption for food, amounts to 9.8 per cent. From this it is seen that, taking the average quantity of articles consumed per family, and assuming the price for 1901 to be 100, in 1898 they were 96.5; in 1899, 94.5; in 1900, 96.7; in 1902, 106.2."

Whether the increase of the cost of living in San Francisco for the first five months in 1903, as compared with the first five months in 1902, was abnormal or not, as compared with the rest of the United States, does not appear. It was claimed that part of the increase is due to the fact that labor is more generally organized in the different branches of industry in San Francisco than elsewhere, and that that has been one of the causes for a rise in the cost of living.

In view, therefore, of all the circumstances, I adjudge and award:

First—That the United Railroads of San Francisco pay to such of the members of Division No. 205, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, who are now and have been in their employ for a period under two years, prior to April 1, 1903, an increase of 5 per cent above 25 cents an hour, and to such of said employees who are now and have been prior to April 1, 1903, in their employ two years and over, an increase of 10 per cent above 25 cents an hour, and that for overtime the like percentages of increase above the present rate be paid.

Second—I adjudge and award that the United Railroads of San Francisco pay to such of its employees who are members of Division 205, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, who work by the day, and who are now and have been in their employ for a period of under two years prior to April 1, 1903, an increase of 5 per cent above the daily rate of wage they are now receiving, and to such of said employees who are now and have been prior to April 1, 1903, in their employ two years and over, an increase of 10 per cent above the rate of wage they are now receiving.

SCHEDULE OF HOURS.

It appears by the evidence that the average hours of actual labor by the body of regular men under the present schedule are 10 hours and 3 minutes, or thereabouts; that at the time when the strike was settled in April, 1902, the schedule which was agreed to by the company was 10 hours per day, to be completed within 14 hours, and that this schedule, upon the request of the union, was amended by extending the hours of labor to 11, to be completed within 15 hours. In comparing the hours of service on these railroads it does not appear that they are longer or more arduous than generally prevail in this line of service; nor does it appear that they are too long, considering the health and wel-

fare of the men in this line of service, and in view of the fact that the climate of the Pacific Coast is exceptionally mild and free from that severity that obtains in the middle and eastern part of the United States.

Third—I adjudge and award that the same hours and schedules that now obtain be continued. It is always within the province of the railroad on the one side and the employees on the other to amend their schedules by mutual agreement. I therefore decline to disturb the present schedules.

Fourth—In accordance with the agreement under which this arbitration was entered upon the wage rate adjudged and awarded shall be deemed to go into effect as of the First of May, 1903, and continue until the First of May, 1904.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, I desire to add that in coming to the above decision I have endeavored to be just and equitable to both sides, and have been largely influenced by the desire and purpose to establish a permanent peace between the company and its employees, to encourage a spirit of mutual confidence, and to secure to the public what it has a right to demand, the best possible street railway service without friction, so as to avoid for many years to come conflict and disagreement between the corporation on the one side and the union on the other, although by this agreement the award, as aforesaid, is to be only binding for a period of one year.

I trust, and it is my expectation, that it will continue for a much longer period. The extensive preparation of this case, with its vast amount of testimony and the large cost and labor it has entailed upon both sides, has been so great that it is hoped that this will be an added reason for continuing the award for years to come beyond the period specified.

For the purpose of avoiding any dispute or disagreement regarding the meaning and interpretation of these awards, or regarding the persons to whom they shall apply, I suggest, in such event, the question be referred to arbitration, the arbitrators to be selected, one by the United Railroads, the other by the employees' union, and in case they disagree, a third arbitrator to be selected by these two, whose decision shall be final and conclusive.

OSCAR S. STRAUS.
W. D. MAHON.

Mr. Calhoun filed a dissenting opinion. Mr. Mahon also placed on record, in writing, his reasons for concurring in the decision of the third arbiter, Mr. Straus.

TRADE AGREEMENT CONFERENCE.

An Instructive Discussion Followed by the Appointment of a Standing Committee.

A meeting of the committee on trade agreements of the National Civic Federation was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on Saturday, May 7, 1904. Mr. Francis L. Robbins, president of the Pittsburg Coal Company, presided at the session until business called him away, when Mr. John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, took the chair. A large number of representatives of both employer and employed were present. The time of the session was entirely consumed in an animated interchange of views concerning trade agreements and their operation. A noteworthy feature of the discussion was that not a single expression was heard against the trade agreement as a practical method of encouraging co-operation between employer and employed. A report of the discussion will appear in the next issue of *THE REVIEW*. The announcement was made that a standing joint committee on trade agreements would be appointed. This committee is composed of the following:

Francis L. Robbins, President Pittsburg Coal Company, Pittsburg, Pa.; Harry Coulby, Chairman Dock Managers' Association, Cleveland, Ohio; Isaac W. Frank, President National Founders' Association, Pittsburg, Pa.; Chauncey H. Castle, President Stove Manufacturers' National Defense Association, Quincy, Ill.; Otto M. Eldlitz, Chairman Board of Governors, New York Building Trades Association, New York City; Marcus M. Marks, President National Clothiers' Association, New York City; Charles

H. Taylor, Jr., President American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Boston, Mass.; John Cooper, President Iron League, New York City; Louis B. Schram, Chairman Labor Committee, United States Brewers' Association, Brooklyn, N. Y.; John D. Hibbard, President Chicago Metal Trades Association, Chicago, Ill.; John Ralston, Chairman Glass Bottle and Vial Manufacturers' Association, Pittsburg, Pa.; W. C. Brown, Vice-President Lake Shore Railroad Company, Chicago, Ill.; Lucius Tuttle, President Boston and Maine Railroad Company, Boston, Mass.; Charles A. Moore, Member New York Metal Trades Association, New York City; Emerson McMillin, President American Light and Traction Company, New York City; William H. Pfahler, former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia, Pa.; Walter L. Pierce, former President National Metal Trades Association, New York City; W. W. Miller, former Vice-President New Orleans City Railway Company, New York City; Grange Sard, of Rathbourn, Sard & Co., Albany, N. Y.; John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.; Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association, Detroit, Mich.; James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis, Ind.; Theodore J. Shaffer, President Amalgamated Association Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburg, Pa.; James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.; James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, Washington, D. C.; Frank Buchanan, President International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Chicago, Ill.; Henry White, General Secretary United Garment Workers of America, New York City; John Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.; Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association, United States and Canada, Philadelphia, Pa.; John A. Moffatt, President National Hatters' Union, Orange, N. J.; M. Donnelly, President Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Chicago, Ill.; William H. Farley, Mosale and Encaustic Tile Layers, New York City; John McNell, President Boltermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of North America, Kansas City, Kan.; James Wilson, President Pattern Makers' League of North America, New York City; Edward J. Lynch, President International Association Metal Polishers, Buffers and Brass Workers of North America, New York City; W. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.; James P. Archibald, Brotherhood Painters and Decorators, New York City; Edgar E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio; J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.; Robert E. Neldig, Housesmiths, New York City; Edward A. Moffett, M. M. Garland, former President Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburg, Pa.

CIVIC FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND.

The Civic Federation of Cleveland and vicinity completed its organization in March with the adoption of its by-laws. Its first formal action was the adoption of resolutions upon the death of Marcus A. Hanna, who was a personal friend as well as fellow-townsmen of all



SAMUEL MATHER.

the members. He was a central figure at the initial meeting of the Cleveland Federation, to which he had declared his purpose of giving a great deal of attention.

The officers of the Cleveland Federation are: Chairman, Samuel Mather; secretary, James Reynolds; vice-

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NEW FEDERATION OFFICERS.

Continued from Page 7.

without being personal or vindictive condemn the temporary capitalistic administration of the A. F. of L. in the strongest terms you can possibly employ.

In this way you will constantly stimulate and augment a great public sentiment for the U. B. R. E.—for Industrial Unions, for the A. L. U. and for socialism (but don't use the word) and against capitalism and the Gompers faction, which is working in harmony with Marcus A. Hanna and the infamous Civic Federation to keep down

"Thus the Federation faces simultaneously the hatred of socialism and the opposition of the recently formed employers' associations. But these organizations, it is significant to observe, include none of the great employers of labor representing the basic industries, such as coal, iron and steel, building trades and railroads. They have enlisted chiefly small concerns, in country towns generally, whose combined capital and number of employees would not approach those interested in the single organization of the bituminous coal operators which has just so successfully worked out with the Mine Workers' Union the two years' joint trade agreement. While neither large nor influential to-day, they do constitute a warning to the more radical and arbitrary unions that there must be a modification of a policy that invites and encourages organized opposition of employers. Without such provocation a fighting organization, with nothing but a destructive programme, will never make much headway in this country.

RESULTS OF TRADE AGREEMENTS.

"Of far greater moment and of more wholesome interest are the trio of victories recently achieved for the policy of forming trade agreements, as advocated by the National Civic Federation. These were the settlement which resulted from the bituminous coal conference three weeks ago at Indianapolis; the more recent termination of the controversy between the organized longshoremen and the shipping interests of the Great Lakes, and the agreement upon a wage scale between the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and the United States Steel Corporation and independent manufacturers at Pittsburg. These results were achieved by sane and rational methods, involving free and candid discussion of facts and conditions, as to prices of products, profits of capital and cost of living, between representatives of the parties interested, brought face to face. This method was the very one attacked by the president of an employers' association above quoted. In each of these three instances the leaders of the contending forces were members of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation. In the bituminous coal conference the country little realized how near it was to facing probably the greatest strike the world has ever seen. The anthracite coal strike last year would have paled into utter insignificance in comparison. Yet it was prevented by the vote of 150,000 miners to accept a reduction in wages, which is what the scoffers at the National Civic Federation said would never be done, predicting that when that strain came the theory of the trade agreement would not endure the test of practice.

"The three adjustments here recounted, together with the experience of our conciliation committees, have strongly emphasized the importance of the plan, determined at the meeting of the executive committee last December, to organize a special committee to promote the joint trade agreement idea throughout all industries that deal with organized labor. This committee, which is composed of the heads of the principal organizations now operating under such agreements, will hold its first meeting in this room to-morrow morning, the purpose being to compare experiences and discuss the merits and demerits of the various plans now in vogue. That there is great usefulness for such a committee was clearly shown in the settlement of the lithographers' troubles, which largely grew out of a confusion of ideas on both sides as to what subjects should properly be included in an agreement. At several stages of that controversy the associated employers and the men's organizations were found advocating propositions that, with older organizations, would have been exactly reversed. At this meeting to-morrow, in addition to the older organizations, there will be representatives of both sides of controversies in three different occupations where to-day no

agreement exists; but we hope to be influential in promoting such agreements in these instances. Additional interest will attach to their presence because in one of these industries there exists an actual strike, while hostilities in the two others are threatened.

SECTIONS.

"Another proposition approved at the December meeting was the organization of various sections to deal with the especial problems that belong to a given industry. A great deal of study and effort has been devoted to this part of our work, with results that are quite gratifying. It has been necessary to make a special investigation of each field to ascertain just how far such sections would be practical and beneficial. As was pointed out at the December meeting, while there are some problems that are common to nearly all industries, there are so many especial problems that to treat them at all intelligently requires a special committee or section; for instance, the problems in the building trade are totally dissimilar from those in the metal trade, the textile industry, the street railway service, the railroad, mining and iron industries, and so on. This work cannot be rushed. It requires careful and patient effort. A detailed report of just what can be accomplished in each section would be rather more technical than interesting to a general committee such as this."

Mr. Easley's report at this point included an account of the organization of the Welfare Department. This portion of his report is incorporated in an article upon that department which appears upon another page of this issue of THE REVIEW. The report continued:

PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT.

"The Publication Department has been reorganized. Beginning with the 15th of May, THE REVIEW will be issued every month. Heretofore it has been published at irregular intervals. At present THE REVIEW is sent to 5,000 selected labor leaders, 5,000 large employers and 5,000 men who are professionally in touch with public opinion, such as preachers, editors and lawyers. But it is not the intention to limit the circulation of THE REVIEW to 15,000. That is only the basis of a vastly larger mailing list to be developed in the early future. It is expected that this periodical will be made self-supporting. With unrivalled facilities for obtaining facts and data as to the causes, the course and the treatment of industrial disturbances; with contributions to be secured from economic scholars, industrial experts and hard-headed men of practical affairs; with the sources at its command of all important industrial news, including judicial decisions and many events directly bearing upon the work of the Civic Federation, and with information freshly gathered as to industrial conditions in other countries, THE REVIEW may be made an educational force of great value.

"The evil that men or organizations do needs no vivifying stimulus. It is the good they do that can with advantage be brought into the light of publicity. That will be one purpose of our periodical. For example, when funerals were picketed in Chicago, the greswome fact was heralded throughout the land. But when a little later in the same city a local union fined one of its members for assaulting a non-union workman and furnished the witnesses to secure his conviction in a criminal court, the incident received only passing local attention and elsewhere was ignored. Again, when a union at Schenectady that had fallen under socialistic influence expelled a member last year because he belonged to the militia, the widely published statement evoked severe and sweeping criticism of an attitude that was ascribed to unionism in general. But when, soon afterward, the annual convention of garment workers by a large majority declared its support of the militia, or when Mr. Gompers in a trenchant article defended the militia, daily journalism took no notice of the facts. The accusation that all labor organizations are opposed to the militia persists even until to-day in the editorial rooms of many journals. Upon the other hand, there are labor papers that convey to their readers the notion that there exist no fair employers, but that all are cruel taskmasters, exacting from downtrodden slaves the last ounce of agonized energy. Whenever a labor organization declares its firm and earnest disapproval of a wrong or opposition to an abuse it will be instructive and elevating for all other unions and for all employers to be

informed of such action. Equally wholesome will it be for all employers and all unions to be informed of any action by individual or associations of employers tending to better conditions in any given industry.

"There is no publication to-day, except the National Civic Federation REVIEW, that attempts to set forth the brighter, the humane and the uplifting aspects of affairs industrial. Nor will it fail to state the truth and to speak condemnation about actions or events that deserve such treatment.

"Moreover, no one can fail to recognize that there is a great and growing public interest in questions involved in the conduct of the great industries of the country, in problems of production and transportation. Trade terms so technical as once to be Greek to the general readers have become familiar and suggest topics about which there is an eager thirst for additional and accurate information. The public has become attentive to the questions suggested by such words and phrases as 'fair wages,' 'shorter hours,' 'industrial organization,' 'the open shop,' 'piece work,' 'blacklists,' 'boycotts,' 'restriction of output,' 'joint trade agreements,' 'minimum wage,' 'the sympathetic strike,' 'integrity of contracts,' 'conciliation and arbitration,' 'recognition of the union.' These are but a few of the topics that will be discussed as occasion arises. Thus it is hoped it will merit the attention and support of a large and growing constituency among the general public as well as among those whose investments or whose occupations create more direct concern in these subjects.

"The Publication Department, in addition to THE REVIEW, is planning to issue a weekly letter, to be furnished free of charge, to a large number of journals that desire to keep their readers informed about the very subjects with which the National Civic Federation is dealing."

Mr. Easley also presented the report of the sub-committee on conciliation on behalf of its chairman, Charles A. Moore. The report was approved.

Upon motion the chairman appointed the following committee to make nominations for officers of the organization for the ensuing year:

Employers—Franklin MacVeagh, Francis L. Robbins and Charles H. Taylor, Jr.

Labor—John Mitchell, Daniel J. Keefe and P. H. Morrissey.

Public—Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, Isaac N. Seligman and V. Everit Macy.

The meeting adjourned for luncheon at the Hoffman House, where its proceedings were continued. Informal and earnest addresses were delivered by Messrs. Fish, Belmont, MacVeagh, Phipps, Mitchell, Tobin and Morrissey. Mr. Moore acted as chairman, in his capacity as president of the New York Civic Federation, which tendered the luncheon. During these proceedings the nominating committee reported the following list of officers, who were unanimously elected for the ensuing year:

First Vice-President—Samuel Gompers.

Second Vice-President—Oscar S. Straus.

Treasurer—Cornelius N. Bliss.

Chairman Executive Committee—Henry Phipps.

Chairman Finance Committee—August Belmont.

Chairman Welfare Committee—H. H. Vreeland.

Chairman Conciliation Committee—Charles A. Moore.

Chairman Executive Council—Ralph M. Easley.

Secretary—S. B. Donnelly.

The committee on nominations was continued, with power to act upon the selection of a President.

The following is the text of a provision relating to wages upon government aided railway construction, contained in an act passed at the last session of the Dominion Parliament: "In every case in which the Parliament of Canada votes financial aid by way of subsidy or guarantee toward the cost of railway construction, all mechanics, laborers or other persons who perform labor in such construction shall be paid such wages as are generally accepted as current for competent workmen in the district in which the work is being performed, and if there is no current rate in the district, then a fair and reasonable rate, and in the event of a dispute arising as to what is the current or fair and reasonable rate, it shall be determined by the minister, whose decision shall be final."

HOW THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT WAS ORGANIZED.

STRIKING PICTURES PRESENTED AT ITS FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE ACTUAL OPERATION OF WELFARE WORK IN SEVERAL TYPICAL INDUSTRIES.

The Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation is in successful operation. The following account of its inauguration and its work is an extract from the report of the Chairman of the Executive Council, presented at the meeting of the Executive Committee on May 6:

"In accordance with the decision of the National Executive Committee that its efforts to better the relations between employers and employees would be materially aided by the promotion of what is called 'Welfare Work,' President Hanna appointed, January 6, a committee of prominent employers to organize the Welfare Department.

"The first meeting of the committee was held January 29 at the Waldorf, New York City, and was largely attended by these representative employers from the various sections of the country. Honorable Oscar S. Straus, on behalf of President Hanna, and Bishop Potter, on behalf of the Executive Committee, welcomed the members and congratulated the Civic Federation on having such a representative and influential committee to handle this important part of the work. Mr. H. H. Vreeland was requested to act as chairman. The last act of President Hanna in connection with the work of the National Civic Federation was the sending of the following telegram to us at this meeting:

Washington, D. C., January 29, 1904.

R. M. Easley, 281 Fourth Ave., New York City.

I should like to attend the Employees' Welfare Committee meeting this morning, but that, of course, is impossible. I appreciate the opportunity for good in that organization, and hope for beneficial results. Please express my best wishes to the members.

M. A. HANNA.

"It developed that it was the first time that employers who are especially interested in thus bettering the conditions of their employees had been brought together, and, instead of organizing or attempting to transact any business, the entire day, from 10:30 a. m. to 5 p. m., was spent in a general discussion of methods of installing and maintaining welfare work, and in a frank exchange of experiences. An adjournment was taken until February 24, a special committee being authorized to present a plan of work for consideration at that time.

"At the adjourned meeting a plan of work was adopted, which provides for:

1. Educating the public as to the real meaning and value of welfare work.
2. Interesting employers not giving such consideration to the welfare of their employees; and
3. The maintaining of a central bureau to provide inquiring employers with information as to especial successes and failures in welfare work and their causes.

"The plan also provides for a membership of both employers who are, and who are not, promoting welfare work, the idea being that the latter may become interested in undertaking such efforts, in this way. We have, therefore, extended an invitation to a number of employers to accept membership in this department, and have more than one hundred acceptances at the present time.

"Three different kinds of conferences have been provided for:

1. Conferences of employers for the discussion of the following and kindred subjects:
 - General policy to be pursued in installing and maintaining welfare work.
 - Housing of Labor (City and Country Mills).
 - Recreation.
 - Educational Efforts.
 - Sanitary Work Rooms.
 - Hospital Service.
 - Wash Rooms and Baths.
 - The Luncheon Room.
2. Public Conferences.
3. Conferences of Welfare Managers.

"The members of the Executive Committee determined that it would be important to hold a conference of welfare managers at an early time. Employers were requested to send to such a conference, which was held at the Waldorf, March 16, their representatives (who in

a few instances have been called "Social Secretaries") engaged in any effort to better the conditions of their employees. As many employers personally accepted this invitation, it was not practicable to confine the meeting to the welfare managers. At this conference descriptive talks on the work in different industries, i. e., manufacturing, the retail store, and mining, were made at the morning session. The afternoon was devoted to short talks and a general discussion which was interesting and developed much valuable information. The proceedings will be issued shortly."

A clear idea of some of the specific things that have been done to better the condition of wage-earners may be gained from the following summarized extracts from addresses delivered at this conference. These extracts are descriptive of welfare work in a mill town, in a



H. H. VREELAND,

retail store, in a mining community, in the operation of a street railway, and in a small factory. The names of the speakers and of their establishments are not essential to an understanding of the condensed quotations:

IN A MILL TOWN.

It was our desire to improve the conditions of the employees, to teach them to help themselves, to direct them through a library to a higher education and to show them how to appreciate the higher ideals of life.

Naturally, the first place that we looked after was the mill where the employees spend most of their active hours. Ample light was provided so as to prevent dark corners and the depression of gloom. The best sanitary appliances were put in, all toilet rooms were finished with asphalt floors, the walls were lined with white enameled brick, all plumbing being exposed. One of the best things we ever did for our men was to provide baths. The only trouble is, we have not enough of them.

A modern system of ventilation was installed, insuring warm air in winter, cool air in summer, and fresh air at all times, and dissipating the dust and fumes incident to the industry. Special attention was given to the purity of the water supply. Seats were provided for women operatives which they could use when a little tired, or when the nature of the work permitted. Proper dressing rooms and lockers for the clothing were provided. The environment of the mill was made attractive; muddy roads were macadamized; lawns, shrubbery and vines were planted until all the surroundings became attractive to the eye. These improvements were immediately reflected in the homes of

the employees, who were moved by the impulse of imitation to adorn their grounds.

The company adopted the plan of building houses to be leased to the men at a rental within their means. These houses are set back from the road so that in front there is room for lawns, flower beds and shrubbery. In the rear of the houses there are gardens and hen yards. Aside from such common service as the removal of ashes and garbage the company believes in simply helping the tenants to carry out their individual wishes so that each house and its surroundings express the character of its dwellers.

Upon a hill overlooking the mill and the houses is a reading room. That the library is appreciated and is a benefit is shown by the records of its circulation. It is in charge of a trained librarian and assistant. The success of the library is largely due to the fact that the men are provided with catalogues to take to their homes, where they may make selections at their leisure, and that they are also supplied with literature in their native tongues.

In an equally attractive situation is a building used for a dining hall and for social gatherings. The use of the dining room grew from merely furnishing hot coffee and tea, to providing substantial dinners costing from ten to twelve cents, with some simple luxuries obtainable for a few cents more. The patrons must wait upon themselves. There is a separate dining room for the women. This hall is used by the Women's Social Club, and for concerts, dances, lectures and other entertainments.

Near the mill is an industrial school building, in which there is a kindergarten, a room for manual training, a cooking school, and a place for teaching mechanical drawing.

A band was organized, the company furnishing rooms to practice in, and loaning money to buy instruments. This band plays at baseball games and at our Labor Day show, and gives concerts in the winter. There is an athletic field where our ball club has a game every Saturday afternoon with a visiting nine.

The location of our mill has made it possible for us to substitute a seashore bathing beach for the swimming pool provided by other manufacturers as an annex to their gymnasiums.

We make of Labor Day a fair of competitive exhibits and of athletic sports. The fair requires a large tent to shelter the exhibits of vegetables, fruit, fancy work, flowers, school work, cooking and poultry. The company offers prizes for these and also for the vegetable and flower gardens that are the best kept in summer.

We have a hospital for the care of those injured in the mill, or by outside accident. Trained nurses are in charge. Much of their time is given to visits to employees and in reporting to the company desirable sanitary improvements in the houses. These nurses are provided with a house for their own use. Their work has proved most important in improving health and arresting the spread of contagious diseases in epidemics, as well as bringing to the attention of the company any particular cases of need.

There are several voluntary benefit associations among the employees.

We have taken up welfare work by degrees, so that it has been a gradual development. Its success has been due largely to the fact that one person has given his entire time to the supervision of the work—a study of the needs of the especial type of employees, the solving of the problems and carrying out of the plans determined upon. A vital point frequently overlooked is that the officials in large concerns are too much engaged to give the time necessary to successfully manage welfare work without the assistance of such an agent. It is well in developing the problem to bring the peo-

ple, through committees, as much as possible into the work; of course, how much depends entirely upon local conditions. As this can be done, it will gain their confidence and allay question of motives.

The problem that we have to deal with is that of the mill town. Naturally, when welfare work is introduced by the manufacturer in a city mill somewhat different lines must be pursued.

IN A DEPARTMENT STORE.

It was my first duty as welfare manager to acquire a thoroughly comprehensive idea of the store organization. In doing this I became acquainted with many employes and gained their confidence. After this I became the intermediary in complaints and grievances, and in questions of both promotion and discipline. The two purposes for which I was engaged were to insure just treatment and to improve the efficiency of employes.

Complaints have varied from unhygienic conditions to such fundamental things as wages and hours. My function is judicial. For its exercise it is essential that I have the privilege of entering into any question that may arise in the house. I work with the superintendent, who is the one in power; but he has learned to hear facts presented to him from every proper source. Thus it has come to pass that his authority is not despotic, but intelligently informed in its exercise.

We have an association whose purposes are the improvement of unsatisfactory conditions in the store; the insurance against illness and death, and the arbitration of disagreements that have been appealed from initial decision. Members of the firm are members of the association, having the same voting power as any employe. The association may vote upon the store rules that affect the efficiency of the employes. A committee has power to award prizes for suggestions. There is an arbitration committee to which employes have the privilege of appeal from dismissal and for the adjustment of disputes. Members of this committee are elected by secret ballot from the employes on different floors. The firm has left this committee entirely alone and has accepted its judgments. A small majority of the decisions have been in favor of employes. The committee has proved able to adjust disputes as to discipline with less friction than has been developed by any other method that the firm has tried.

The clubhouse adjoining the store contains a luncheon room, social room, a library, and an emergency sick-room. Welfare work in a retail store also includes provision for visiting the sick, a savings bank, and classes for instruction in sales work and in preliminary branches for cash boys.

A STREET RAILWAY SYSTEM.

Labor organizations and secret beneficial associations reach only the individual. They do not get beyond into the home and family. Herein lies the peculiar opportunity for welfare work among street railway employes in a large city. Those under my direction number some fifteen thousand. Our first point is to make every man understand that no one can discharge him but himself. His continued employment is assured so long as he is progressive and faithful. Then we have a voluntary organization to provide insurance against sickness and death. This makes it certain that in case of death a man's family will be tided over its period of trouble. It is characteristic of the wife of the average laboring man that she will always land on her feet if given time.

Success in welfare work depends almost entirely upon the active interest taken in it by the men in control of the business. For instance, the president of a Western railroad told me that his attempts at welfare work had failed. I learned that he had never attended a meeting of the organization of his men since the first. I find it necessary to attend every meeting. I am always on the platform to speak to the men. All the officers of the company are interested in the work. In our clubroom you will find on one bench motormen, conductors and a vice-president; upon another bench engineers, machinists and a superintendent of transportation, or the head of the electrical department. In short, every one of our managers is in touch with the men.

We make the men understand that there is no charity connected with our organization. The company is pledged to supply rooms, light, heat and furniture; to pay the secretary and to assume generally all expense of operation, so that all money paid by employes will be returned to them in sick benefits, and death benefits, or will remain in the reserve fund. Every additional feature of the association's work has been provided by the men themselves. It elects its own officers, who control all of its affairs, the president of the company being ex-officio president of the association.

A large portion of the thousands of men live in boarding houses. They would have no place to go in the evening for warmth and companionship except the saloons or the pool rooms were it not for our club house. Our club rooms are filled every night in the week. They contain a library, pool tables and other games. The library is successful because of its use by the families of the men. The management caused it to be understood that catalogues should go into the house of every employe who had a family. We wished the wives and daughters and sons of our employes to use these books. As a result, the library is a family affair. It was turned over at least twenty-five times in its first winter. It is understood that if any man has a son or a daughter working for an education and special text books or books of reference are needed, it is only necessary for the employe to apply to the librarian and the books are bought and put in the library.

The company finds value in this welfare work, because it enlists in the company's business the personal interest of the individual employe and of his family as well.

Through the association any case of trouble or want in the families of the employes is promptly brought to my knowledge. It is the duty of every foreman to report every case of illness among the men under his charge or in their families. The company's physician reports periodically to me as to the condition of the families. If in any house there is insufficient food or fuel, the doctor has authority to relieve the difficulty. Through this association I know more of the men by name than the average railroad man who has only a thousand. I have never allowed an outsider to address our meetings, except upon a technical subject, unless I knew in advance every word he was going to say. The reason for this is that some one who didn't understand just what we were trying to accomplish might inadvertently work mischief. We have a school for the instruction of our new employes.

IN A MINING COMMUNITY.

Our welfare work is elementary. It is in the mining district of Lake Superior. Our miners are of all nationalities. The Cornishman will not mix with the Swede, nor the Frenchman with the Finlander; hence we have not attempted a clubhouse or social work. What we have done has been in the way of housing. Our employes are encouraged to buy their own houses. We do not lend them money, but we sell them land, allowing long time payments. We rent as few houses as we possibly can.

We offer prizes for well kept premises. The results are extremely satisfactory. The improvement of the town has been marked. Men will not only have vegetable gardens and plant vines and flowers, but the love of improvement thus stimulated leads them to paint their houses and fix their places up generally.

Our benefit fund is taken arbitrarily by the company from the wages of the men. The company, of course, contributes to this fund. It is used to maintain a hospital and corps of physicians. This arbitrary method is peculiar to us, and is warranted only by the reason that the employes are foreigners and accustomed to having things of this nature done for them by those in authority.

The work of our miners is dirty, and it is therefore impossible for them to wear their mining clothes on the street. Until recently very little attention had been given to comfort and cleanliness in the buildings provided for the miners to change their clothes. Our new "changing-house," as it is called, is a fireproof structure containing, among other things, shower baths, an ade-

quate supply of wash troughs containing individual enameled iron wash basins, with hot and cold water; drying racks for the mining clothes, lockers, an office for the shift bosses, an emergency hospital room, with all appliances, and a room in which the men may eat their luncheons.

A SMALL MANUFACTURER.

We have heard about welfare work in large establishments and communities. I would say a word about its operation in a smaller concern. We started on a small scale, and our welfare work grew with the business. In the beginning the main feature and, indeed, the successful foundation of our work lay in the meeting of the foremen with the men who actively manage the business. In this way we not only learned to work together harmoniously, which has been of vital importance to us, but the needs of the employes were brought to our attention; and these meetings led to the establishment of a luncheon room, better washrooms, a men's club, which is of great educational value; a library, a rest room for the women employes, an emergency sick-room, and other features.

The following are the officers of the Welfare Department:

Chairman, H. H. Vreeland; first vice-chairman, Cyrus H. McCormick; second vice-chairman, John H. Patterson; third vice-chairman, Edward A. Filene; treasurer, Cornelius N. Bliss.

Executive Committee.—George W. Brown (Treasurer United Shoe Machinery Company), Boston, Mass.; G. E. Emmons (Manager Schenectady Works General Electric Co.), Schenectady, N. Y.; Edward A. Filene (Treasurer Wm. Filene's Sons Co.), Boston, Mass.; W. C. Fish (Manager Lynn Works General Electric Co.), West Lynn, Mass.; G. Watson French (President Bettendorf Metal Wheel Co.), Davenport, Iowa; Orrin S. Goan (Manager National Biscuit Co.), New York City; Wm. C. Greene (Treasurer Peace Dale Manufacturing Company), Peace Dale, R. I.; J. B. Greenhut (President Siegel-Cooper Co.), New York City; F. R. Hazard (President The Solvay Process Co.), Syracuse, N. Y.; H. J. Heinz (President H. J. Heinz Co.), Pittsburgh, Pa.; Edwin M. Herr (Vice-President Westinghouse Air Brake Co.), Wilmerding, Pa.; Charles W. Hubbard (Treasurer Ludlow Manufacturing Associates), Boston, Mass.; Charles H. Hulburd (President Elgin National Watch Co.), Chicago, Ill.; John S. Huyler (President, Huyler's), New York City; M. E. Ingalls (President C. C. & St. L. Ry. Co.), Cincinnati, Ohio; John F. P. Lawton (Assistant Treasurer and Secretary Gorham Mfg. Co. of Rhode Island), Providence, R. I.; Warner M. Leeds (Vice-President American Sheet and Tin Plate Co.), Pittsburgh, Pa.; Arthur T. Lyman (Treasurer The Boston Manufacturing Co.), Boston, Mass.; W. G. Mather (President Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co.), Cleveland, Ohio; Cyrus H. McCormick (President International Harvester Co.), Chicago, Ill.; L. A. Osborne (Vice-President Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co.), East Pittsburgh, Pa.; John H. Patterson (President National Cash Register Co.), Dayton, Ohio; H. D. Perky (President Natural Food Co.), Niagara Falls, N. Y.; A. J. Pitkin (Vice-President American Locomotive Co.), Schenectady, N. Y.; Ellison A. Smyth (President Pelzer Manufacturing Company), Pelzer, S. C.; Nathan Straus (R. H. Macy & Co.), New York City; H. H. Vreeland (President New York City Railway Co.), New York City; Ralph M. Easley (Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation), New York City.

On April 7 Chicago Stereotypers' Union No. 4 entered into agreements with the *Chicago Daily News*, *Record-Herald*, *Journal* and *Post*. A contract was signed in January with the *Tribune*. No. 4 now has agreements with all the Chicago daily newspapers published in English. Thus end the differences which have existed since 1898. Ex-President Colbert, of No. 16, acted as the representative of the International Typographical Union, and his work is highly commended. President Freel and Vice-President Straube represented the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union in the negotiations. The famous Chicago situation is now a thing of the past. Its conclusion demonstrates the wisdom of the policy of the International Typographical Union, and assures the stereotypers of an era of peace and prosperity in that locality.—*Typographical Journal*.

The Chicago Packing Trades Council, of which the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen is a part, has adopted these resolutions:

Whereas, Organized labor has been publicly criticised because some unions in times of difficulty with employers have been reported as resorting to violence; and

Whereas, The American labor movement can best protect and advance the interest of the workers by advocating and insisting upon a strict observance of the law by all its members; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Packing Trades Council of Chicago and vicinity deprecates any methods of violence by any member or members of organized labor.

A NOTABLE CASE OF CONCILIATION THROUGH CONFERENCE.

INCIDENTS DRAMATIC, ENTERTAINING AND INSTRUCTIVE IN NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYING LITHOGRAPHERS AND ALLIED UNIONS, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

The history of the negotiations between the organizations of the employes and the employers in the Lithographers' Association affords an illustrative example of the methods of conciliation as employed by the Civic Federation.



JAMES W. PARKER.

The organized unions and the employers' association contain 95 per cent of all the labor and capital employed and invested in this industry in the United States. The labor organizations involved in the dispute in this trade extended throughout the country. The employers are formed into a National Lithographers' Association, with divisions of the East, West and Pacific. The negotiations between these two forces covered, altogether, a period lasting from October, 1903, to April, 1904. They secured one satisfactory adjustment in October, and another settlement in April. They involved the exercise of the utmost tact and patience; a gradual process of education, in which each side learned from the other; a constant avoidance of all appearance of interference from an outside source, coupled with a persistent effort to bring the contending parties face to face, and the necessity of creating a mutual confidence in the good faith of both parties. The several steps in these prolonged negotiations numbered nearly a score. Not only did they cover months, but they consumed the time and effort of disinterested persons, as well as of the representatives on both sides, to the extent that the sessions more than once were prolonged to the point of physical and mental exhaustion. The end of the long story may be told at the outset. It was the signing by both sides of a trade agreement, which included a provision for arbitration and a method for securing compliance with the final decision of that tribunal.

The peculiarity of this trade dispute lies in the fact that it originated with the desire of the organized employers to create a joint arbitration board for the settlement of all disputes and grievances, without strikes or lockouts. Upon their side, the organized employes declined to submit themselves to unrestricted arbitration, holding that to do so would be to surrender their right to strike, which was their chief weapon of self-defense, and that there were certain questions which in no event could they consent consistently to submit to arbitration. Instead of agreeing to the employers' proposition, the employes advanced several demands, including a half hour for meals at one and a half pay when on work overtime; a minimum wage, and a half holiday.

The two parties were thus apparently at a deadlock, when the conciliation committee of the New York Civic Federation was requested by an officer of the employers' association to use its good offices. Accordingly, the conciliation committee sent an invitation to the Lithographers' Association and to the Alliance of Unions to meet on Friday, October 23, 1903, to endeavor to reach a settlement "on matters at issue in the trade." This initial invitation was accepted by the Lithographers' Association, but was declined by the unions.

A sub-committee, however, persuaded the committee of the unions to agree to a conference. This first meeting of the two sides lasted four hours, and adopted resolutions advising that the employers concede the half hour for a meal in overtime at the rate of one and a half pay; that there be no strike; that



C. H. CANDLER.

a joint committee be appointed of five members from each organization, with power to draw a complete agreement, to be reported to a joint conference committee.

The two committees met on October 27, but here arose a question that was to reappear many times during the subsequent negotiations. This was the authority of the committee representing the unions to act for their organizations. This point was discussed again and again. It reminded one of the care that is taken in the negotiations of international treaties, which must begin with the interchange of the credentials of envoys representing the governments concerned. In reality, these were four parlors between the representatives of two contending bodies who had been induced to strive for peace rather than for war, and to work jointly for the formulation of a treaty. It was natural that each should demand that the other side demonstrate its authority to act for the organization, or organizations, that it claimed to represent.

Upon this very issue the first meeting of the joint committee resulted in failure. Again conciliation was



EMERSON McMILLIN.

brought into play, and after a conference with Mr. Marcus M. Marks, acting chairman of the conciliation committee, the employers' committee consented to another meeting with the committee of the unions on October 28. At this second meeting the question of authority was again raised, and it was agreed that the committee of the union should secure full power on the next evening from a special meeting of their organization.

This was done, and on October 30 the two committees, now with authority to act, met at the rooms of the Civic Federation.

This joint meeting, after six hours of discussion, agreed that there should be formed a joint commission empowered to settle all disputes, to be composed of an equal number of members, to be elected by the two bodies as each grievance should arise, its decisions to be subject to ratification by both associations; in case of disagreement by both sides, the question at issue to be decided by arbitration; the decisions of the arbiters to be final and binding. It was proposed that both associations should pledge themselves to "co-operate and use their entire joint influence and power to secure compliance with the decisions of this tribunal." The proposed agreement also included a pledge that there should be no strike or lockout during the period when the settlement of any question was pending.

In accordance with this agreement the two committees met in conference on the following day, took up the

several demands and grievances presented by both sides and reached a settlement satisfactory to them all.

It will be observed that at this stage of the case there had been developed a device to insure the enforcement of any decision reached by arbitrators. This is implied in the pledge that both associations would "co-operate and use their entire joint influence and power" to sustain the decision. It is important to emphasize this point, because it reappears in the final agreement, perfected months afterward, and now in force in this industry. Thus ends the first chapter of this dispute.

Its second series of events was caused by the renewal of the desire of the Lithographers' Association for an arbitration agreement. This desire, before expressed as a request, was announced by the association on February 9, 1904, in the form of an ultimatum, that unless an arbitration agreement, to be binding for one year, should be signed by March 15 by the unions represented in the trade in the United States, the employers on that date would proceed to deal with their employes individually, and would no longer recognize the unions. The officers of the unions had refused to enter into such an



HENRY WHITE.

agreement on the ground that it could not be brought before the national bodies before March 15, while the constitution of one of the largest of their national organizations forbade its local unions to enter into any arbitration agreement whatever. It was claimed that this prohibition could not be removed before the national convention of that organization in July. The union representatives offered to sign an agreement to secure stable conditions in the trade for one year, without reference to arbitration. The employers refused at this time to concede a moment's delay beyond March 15.

On February 13 tension was increased by the Lithographers' Association sending circulars to individual employes throughout the country notifying them of the ultimatum. The union officers claimed that this act was a breach of faith. The employing lithographers replied that their circular was only a statement of fact, which they feared the union leaders would not transmit to their membership. Thus an atmosphere of mutual distrust was created, which required much effort to dissipate.

At this juncture the conciliation committee of the Civic Federation was called into a number of conferences with each side. The employers demanded an agreement which should exclude no question whatever from arbitration. They alleged that the individual members of the unions throughout the country were eager to have this demand granted. On the labor side the several organizations involved were the Poster Artists' Association of America, the Lithographers' International Protection and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, the Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Designers' League of America, the International Protection Association of Lithographic Apprentices and Press Feeders of the United States and Canada, the Lithographic Stone and Plate Repairers' Association of the United States and Canada, and Local Union No. 19, Paper Cutters of New York and vicinity.

The officers of these organizations declared unalterable opposition to compulsory arbitration in the form of a self-perpetuating agreement, which they claimed was involved in the demand of the employers.

On March 4 the conciliation committee made some progress in a meeting at the rooms of the Civic Federation in urging upon union representatives the advantage of a fair arbitration agreement. On the following day the presidents of the national unions continued to insist to the conciliation committee that the questions of

wages, hours and the closed shop must be excluded from arbitration; but a step had been gained in that the labor representatives no longer insisted that no arbitration agreement of any kind whatever could be reached before March 15, the date named in the employers' ultimatum. On March 12 further progress was made. The conciliation committee had a luncheon in the Fifth Avenue Hotel with the representatives of the employers, and succeeded in persuading them to admit that as the questions of wages and hours, as well as the closed shop, would not in any case be brought to arbitration for a year, these need not be included in their demand for an agreement. The employers finally authorized the conciliation committee to inform the labor side that they would give earnest consideration to an agreement of the kind they indicated, but that they would not promise to exclude the ratio of apprentices from arbitration until after the July convention. On the evening of the same day the labor members of the conciliation committee secured a promise from the presidents of the national organizations that they would propose an agreement of the kind outlined.

On Saturday at 4 p. m. the representatives of the two sides met, the conciliation committee being present. This conference lasted until 2 a. m., resulting in what was then assumed to be a settlement, pending ratification by the unions. Misunderstandings arose, which practically negated what had been done. The lock-out followed on March 15.

This was a condition of open hostility. It was a warfare perhaps secretly deplored by both parties, although both professed their ability to maintain their position indefinitely. Again there were preliminary conferences by members of the conciliation committee with representatives of both sides. Among those who represented the Civic Federation in these conferences, as they had throughout the previous stages of the difficulty, were Lewis B. Schram, Emerson McMillin, Marcus M. Marks, V. E. Macy, J. Alexander Hayden, Samuel B. Donnelly, James P. Archibald, Henry White and William H. Farley. It was finally arranged that conferences should be resumed on April 4. Mr. Emerson McMillin, of the conciliation committee, was chosen as chairman of these conferences, and Robert W. Hawthorne was made secretary. The representatives of the employers at these conferences were C. D. Gray, Charles Wilhelms, J. A. Davis, C. A. Candar, Charles A. Conradis and A. Beverly Smith. The representatives of the employees were J. W. Parker, William A. Coakley, Henry C. Ross, Michael J. Welch, James Pritchard, Matthew H. Smith and Mr. Pettigore. These meetings began at 10 a. m. on Monday, April 4, and from that hour until late on Monday afternoon the time was spent by Mr. McMillin and others in efforts to bring the representatives of the two sides formally into each other's presence. Each side naturally stood upon its dignity, and was reluctant even to seem to be making any overture. Much of this time was devoted to disclaiming a desire to debate various subjects that one side or the other did not wish to acknowledge a willingness to discuss at all. But at last a joint meeting was brought about. Its sessions continued until the following Monday. They usually began at 10 o'clock in the morning, and lasted until 6, 7, 8 or even 10 o'clock at night. Very often, after the formal sessions had adjourned, men on both sides would remain talking over details and moot points until very late at night.

By Friday evening of this week of intense effort all the questions of really essential importance but two had been threshed out and decided. But when Saturday came it was impossible to renew at once the joint sessions. The employees and the employers met in separate rooms. In fact, there were three rooms in use, for the employers were divided into two parties, that consulted separately. All of Saturday afternoon was devoted to persuading each side to agree to hold another joint session on Monday. There were men among both the employers and the employees who declared that the conference was a

waste of time, that peace was impossible, and that the only outcome must be a fight to a finish. In reply to these assertions the argument was patiently and persistently advanced by Chairman McMillin that to break up the conference after a week of effort would be to abandon whatever result had been obtained by a vast amount of work; but would also leave in the air the very questions that must ultimately be brought to a ground of settlement, whether one month or three months hence.

This argument finally prevailed, so that an agreement was reached to meet on Monday. But on Monday again there was required a strong effort to bring the two sides into a joint session. Up to 1 o'clock of that day the outcome was in doubt; but then at last both sides came together. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to a happy and mainly harmonious experience meeting, and the contract was signed at 5.30 p. m.

Throughout these meetings not only was it necessary to be tactful, but sometimes to disregard a strict enforcement of parliamentary rules. Two contracts had been drawn by the two sides as a basis of discussion. There was also a third proposed contract, prepared by a committee of the Civic Federation, many of whose provisions were acceptable to both sides. These three documents were discussed simultaneously. The one prepared on behalf of the Civic Federation and the one prepared on behalf of the employers had been written largely in similar form, and with like subdivision. Whenever a single paragraph was under discussion the meeting was permitted to discuss that paragraph simultaneously, as it appeared in each contract. This method, while perhaps not strictly in order, had the advantage of saving time and of causing each side to feel that its own paragraph had an equal status in the discussion. When the discussion of a single paragraph was concluded, that paragraph in either contract was adopted which had received the least amendment.

Scores of times a speaker of one party would declare, with heat, that if the other party took a certain position it would be useless to remain in the room any longer. The answer of the other side would invariably be that its position had been correctly stated, and that, an agreement being impossible, the meeting might as well come to an end. At such a juncture it became repeatedly the function of Chairman McMillin to say to the wranglers, in effect, "Gentlemen, you are here to agree, not to disagree." He would remind them that if they wanted to fight, the employers might be able to stand it for a certain period, and the employees might be able also to endure the cost of hostilities. But the Chair would also announce that the conference body would not adjourn until a contract had been worked out, ready for the signature of both parties. Then the joint session would resume business. In fact, the representatives of each side seemed glad to find themselves under the guidance of the National Civic Federation. They exhibited great respect for that organization, as well as unlimited confidence in its disinterestedness and its genuine desire to bring about a treaty of peace. It was this feeling that many times restrained some of the conferees from taking their hats and going away.

The intensity of the strain of these long sessions may be appreciated from the fact that on Saturday afternoon, at the end of that week, men were lying about on lounges and on the floor, in a state of physical and mental exhaustion.

Mr. McMillin, the chairman of the conference, says: upon both sides during the sessions of the conference. The representatives of the employees, upon questions of really vital consequence, showed a marked disposition to be fair.

At the same time, they were very stubborn over little matters. This was more fortunate than may appear, for the decisions of the joint meeting as to disputed questions had to be voted upon by the two organizations. It was an advantage to the labor representatives to be able to show to their organization that the employers had made several concessions, where the employees had made one. Upon their side

the employers showed also a willingness to be fair. Several of them displayed a special excellence in debate. They would concede the good points made by the other side, instead of combatting them needlessly. I recall one of the employees who could construct a sentence or build a paragraph in the most clear and forcible way, so as to cover the point in question, and yet to evade a phrase or a word that might have caused trouble. I believe that it would have been difficult for the employers to produce on their side a match for his ingenuity. Several of the employees were strong in debate, including one young man, who at times developed genuine eloquence. These representatives of labor showed themselves to be thoroughly posted upon every point, and were skilled in emphasizing the facts most telling in their favor.

"I recall two incidents that were decidedly amusing. In one paragraph of the contract drawn on behalf of the employees it was provided that the rate of wages should not be 'changed' during the life of the agreement. The employers' contract in the similar clause used the word 'reduced.' Of course, the employees would prefer that word to their own, and vice versa. Each side wanted the word of the other. The word 'reduced' was finally adopted.

"The other amusing incident related to apprentices. It has been the effort of employers to increase the ratio of apprentices. The employees were inclined to concede this, but not to stipulate it in the contract. Their contract embodied a clause permitting the retention by the employers of all with whom they had made written contracts during the lockout. Another provision was that the employers should take back all the union men who had been locked out, and also all who had gone out in sympathy. The employers declared that they would never take back the apprentices who had walked out. Instantly there was a hot fight on this subject. It was necessary for the chairman to point out to both sides that each was opposing a concession which it really desired. That is, the employers were fighting against a possible increase in apprentices, and the employees were fighting for what would result in such increase. In effect, each side was contending for what the other side desired."

CIVIC FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND.

Continued from Page 11.

chairman, William H. Hunt; treasurer, Harvey Coulby. The following is a list of its members:

On the part of Employers: Charles E. Adams, Vice-President and General Manager Cleveland Hardware Company; W. D. B. Alexander, President National Screw and Tack Company; C. O. Bassett, Secretary and Treasurer Forman-Bassett-Hatch Company, Printers and Publishers; Morris A. Black, H. Black & Co., Cloak Manufacturers; William H. Caniff, President New York Central and St. Louis Railroad Company; Henry Coulby, Pickands-Mather Company, also President Great Lakes Towing Company; K. F. Gill, John Gill & Sons, General Contractors; Dan R. Hanna; William H. Hunt, General Manager Cleveland Hydraulic Press Brick Company and President Cleveland Builders' Exchange; Samuel Mather, Pickands-Mather Company; Ernst Mueller, President Cleveland and Sandusky Brewing Company; P. C. O'Brien, President Inc. P. C. O'Brien Company; W. K. Palmer, President Cleveland Window Glass Company; W. H. Teare, Potter, Teare & Co., Lumber; Lyman H. Treadway, Peck, Stowe & Wilcox Company.

On the part of the Wage Earners: A. W. Thompson, Typographical Union; Harry D. Thomas, United Trades and Labor Council; Frank Poplowsky, Plumbers' Union; W. J. Cannon, Cigarmakers' Union; A. D. Sheriff, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers; Frank Sullivan, Electrical Workers; H. D. McGregor, Stone Cutters' Union; Philip Hyde, Amalgamated Wood and Millworkers' Union; Albert Llebly, International Society Lathers' Union; John J. Patton, Longshoremen's Union; William Millson, Bricklayers' Union; Peter Curley, Metal Polishers and Brassworkers' Unions; Wesley Workman, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; James Reynolds, Machinists' Union; Peter Hassenphue, Painters' Union.

On the part of the Public: Right Rev. W. A. Leonard, D. D., Bishop Diocese of Ohio, Protestant Episcopal Church; Henry C. White, Judge Probate Court; Right Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D. D., Bishop Diocese of Cleveland, Roman Catholic Church; Rev. Moses J. Gries, The Temple Congregation; Charles F. Brush; John C. Hutchins, Lawyer; J. J. Sullivan, President Central National Bank and President Chamber of Commerce; E. J. Blandin, Lawyer; Professor Edward L. Harris, Principal Central High School; Rev. John W. Malcolm, First Congregational Church; Elroy M. Avery; Dr. William H. Humiston; Rev. Charles F. Thwing, D. D., LL. D., President Western Reserve University.



C. CONRADIS.



J. A. DAVIS.

where the employees had made one. Upon their side

National Civic Federation

MONTHLY REVIEW

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TEN CENTS

IS THE CLOSED SHOP ILLEGAL AND CRIMINAL?

THE ILLINOIS DECISION BRINGS FORTH A VALUABLE SYMPOSIUM OF EXPERT OPINIONS
CRITICIZING ITS REASONING AND ITS CONCLUSION.



FRANCIS ADAMS,
P. J., Illinois Appellate Court.

The decision of Judge Adams, of the Appellate Court of the First District of Illinois, rendered on June 6, is in effect that a contract for the exclusive employment of members of a union is in itself illegal and, in Illinois, criminal. If this decision is upheld by the Supreme Court of Illinois, as the expectation of counsel is that it will be, the Adams decision will hold a prominent place in the evolution of the legal status of the closed shop. The decision has attracted general attention among those interested in a question that ranks as a leading issue of the day.

The decision has been widely published in law journals and in the lay press. The portion of its text quoted below is limited as nearly as possible to the one general proposition, enunciated by the Appellate Court, that a contract for a closed shop is per se illegal. The decision discusses at length questions, involved or collateral, such as the exercise of duress, the freedom of contract, labor as property, discrimination between classes of citizens, conspiracy and monopoly.

The Monthly Review has obtained from a number of eminent lawyers and publicists opinions upon the validity and effect of the decisions, which are presented to its readers herewith. The effort was made to confine these opinions to the terms of the decision bearing directly upon the legality of a contract for the closed shop; but the other questions to which reference has been made are incidentally discussed by some of the writers.

The text of that portion of Judge Adams' decision which bears directly upon the question of the closed shop follows:

Judge Adams' Decision.

The purpose of the strike by complainant's employes and their prosecution of it, as described, was to compel the complainant to execute the agreements referred to and made a part of the bill. The drafts of agreements, three in number, purport to be with the different unions whose members were in complainant's employ. The draft of agreement with the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Moulders, and Brass Workers' International Union of North America, International Union of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen contains the following:

Article 1. The party of the first part hereby agrees to employ none but members of the aforesaid organizations or those who carry the regular working card of the said organizations, provided the various crafts will furnish such competent help as may be required by the party of the first part within twenty-four hours after notification.



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS,
Lawyer and Publicist, Boston.

Art. VII. There shall be a steward for each craft in each factory appointed by the organization, whose duty it shall be to see that the men working in said factory belong to the organizations.

Art. VIII. It is hereby agreed by the party of the first part that the business agent of the party of the second part shall have the privilege of interviewing any member of the party of the second part in the offices of the party of the first part during business hours.



FREDERICK H. COOKE,
Lawyer and Author, New York.

Art. X. A sympathetic strike to protect union principles shall not be considered a violation of this agreement.

Art. XI. All the apprentices shall belong to the union and carry the working card of the organization.

Art. XII. The number of apprentices not to exceed one for ten men or less of the different crafts.

That the purpose of the strike was to compel the execution of the drafts of agreement is clear. It is averred in the sworn bill and deposed to in the affidavits of De Wolf, complainant's president; Kellogg, its secretary and treasurer, and Edwards, its superintendent, that business agents of the different unions called on complainant and insisted on its executing the agreements and that, when complainant's president refused, on the ground that the proposed agreements were unreasonable, it was threatened by one of said business agents that unless complainant would sign the agreements a strike would be called and that said business agents called a strike, in response to which about 500 of complainant's employes quit its employ. Appellant's counsel admit in their brief the purpose of the strike is to "bring about the execution of the contracts," and at least three of the appellants so admit in their answers. It is unlawful to compel one to execute any contract. A contract executed under duress is voidable, and duress is present where a party "is constrained, under circumstances which deprive him of the exercise of free will, to agree or to perform the act sought to be avoided."

Duress exists when a person is induced to perform an act to avoid a threatened and impending calamity. Especially was the purpose to compel complainant to execute the agreements in question an unlawful purpose. Article I. of the agreement strikes at the right of contract and provides that complainant shall employ none but members of the several unions, thus discriminating in favor of one class of men and excluding all others. In *Matthews vs. The People* (202 Ill., 389), the court, discussing the constitutionality of the free employment agency act, says (page 401): "An employer whose workmen have left him and gone on a strike, especially when they have done so without any justifiable cause, is entitled to contract with other laborers or workmen to fill the places of those who have left him. Any workman seeking work has a right to make a contract with such employer to work for him in the place of any one of the men who have left him to go out upon a strike. Therefore the prohibition contained in section 8 strikes at right of contract, both on the part of the laborer and of the employer. It is now well settled that the privilege of contracting is both a liberty and a property right. Liberty includes the right to make and enforce contracts, because the right to make and enforce contracts is included in the right to acquire property. Labor is property. To deprive the laborer and the employer of this right to contract with one another is to violate section 2 of Article II. of the Constitution of Illinois, which provides that 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.' It is equally a violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States. The provision embodied in section 8 'is a discrimination between different classes of citizens founded on no justifiable ground and an attempt to exercise legislative power in behalf of certain classes and against other classes, whether laborers seeking work or employers. It falls under the condemnation of the Constitution.'"

The agreements in question would, if executed, tend to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the different unions, to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions, and are, in this respect, unlawful. Contracts tending to create a monopoly are void.

The Legislature of the State cannot create a monopoly.

The purpose of the strikers is in violation of the criminal code, which provides as follows:

Section 158. If any two or more persons shall combine for the purpose of depriving the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use and management, or of preventing, by threats, suggestions of danger, or by any unlawful means, any person from being employed by or obtaining employment from any such owner or possessor of property, on such terms as the parties concerned may agree upon, such persons so offending shall be fined not exceeding \$500 or confined in the county jail not exceeding six months.

Sec. 159. If any person shall, by threat, intimidation or unlawful interference, seek to prevent any other person from working or from obtaining work at any lawful business, on any terms that he may see fit, such person so offending may be fined not exceeding \$200.

Not only was the purpose of the strike unlawful, but the means used to achieve the unlawful purpose were unlawful. The means used were the acts heretofore mentioned, and thereby injury to the complainant's business. The appellants and their associates intended to stop the business of the complainant so far as they possibly could, and the evidence shows that they did stop it in great part to complainant's injury. The following is contained in the brief of appellant's counsel, which we quote as illustrative of their view of the cause: "How do picketing, patrolling, persuading, or even slugging affect property rights, except in the most fantastic sense? Injury to business has no independent existence whatever, because business has no tangible existence to be injured in the true and unperverted sense."

In the case of the Union Pacific Railway Company vs. Rue, cited by counsel for appellants, the court says: "And that one's business is his or its property is likewise elementary and is conceded by all."

A man's business is his property. "The freedom of business action lies at the foundation of all commercial and industrial enterprises."

We know of no well considered case, or, indeed, of any case, holding that a combination of persons to injure the business of another is not unlawful. That the appellants, and others associated with them, acted in concert, in unlawfully endeavoring to injure, and, in fact, injuring complainant's business for an unlawful purpose, is fully sustained by the evidence. They conspired, breathed together, to effect the unlawful purpose, and by overt acts did all they possibly could to that end. It is not necessary to approve an express agreement between the appellants and those associated with them. It may be proved by circumstantial evidence.

Each conspirator is responsible for the acts and declarations of every other conspirator in furtherance of the common purpose. The conspiracy originated simultaneously with the calling of the strike and continued until the filing of the last petition, July 14, 1902. It was a single conspiracy. And the court, on the hearing of each of the second and third petitions, did not err in hearing the prior evidence. The evidence was competent as tracing and showing the character of the conspiracy. It is an indispensable condition of the enjoyment by each citizen of the liberty and rights guaranteed by the Constitution and laws that he shall respect and not unlawfully infringe upon the liberty or rights of any other citizen. This cannot be done with impunity.

LEVY MAYER,

Of Moran, Mayer & Meyer, Lawyers, Chicago:

The opinion of the Appellate Court is a thorough and rugged review, both upon principle and authority, of one of the most important questions that have ever confronted the employer. It is the first opinion rendered in this State upon the question of the legality of a contract by which the employer agrees not to employ non-union labor.

All other economic and legal questions aside, it now becomes in this State a complete answer to the demand of the closed shop that the law stamps such an arrangement as a criminal conspiracy. It is elementary that the crime of conspiracy consists of a combination of two or more persons to effect an illegal purpose. It has been asserted over and over again by those advocating the closed shop that an agreement to employ only union labor is perfectly legal and binding.

The courts have frequently heretofore held illegal an agreement among members of an association to withdraw their patronage from any one who sold to one who was not a member of the association or an agreement which permitted members of an association to make purchases only from such as sell exclusively to members of the association. I have never been able to appreciate the distinctions which some courts have endeavored to make between cases of the kind I have indicated, and cases where the right to employ non-union labor was involved. There is no doubt that persons may combine for legitimate purposes and that an individual may refuse to deal with any particular person or class of persons and base such refusal upon mere whim or caprice, but it has been my opinion, and I am more than gratified to find it sustained by the appellate court, that a number of persons can not combine with the object of compelling the adoption of a contract which prohibits the employer from employing non-union labor.

If such a contract is entered into it is illegal, and under the decision of the appellate court constitutes a criminal conspiracy, to which not only the union but the employer becomes a party and for which not only the employee but the employer is subject to fine or imprisonment in the penitentiary, or both, under our criminal statutes. There are a vast number of manufacturing concerns in this

State that have written contracts with labor unions which prohibit the employment of non-union labor. Under this decision of the Appellate Court many hundreds, if not thousands, of employers, as well as many thousands of employees, have thus deliberately become parties to a general conspiracy of which the contracts furnish the written and unanswerable proof. Where such arrangements exist the crime can not be wiped out by the cancellation of the contracts, but a continued recognition of the binding force of such contracts, in the light of the recent decision of the appellate court, may create trouble of a kind little dreamed of by those who have permitted themselves to be forced or lulled into them.

The fact that laborers have the right to refuse to work for a man who does not employ union labor, or in order to better their condition or advance their wages, does not authorize the making of a contract under which the employer is compelled to employ only union labor and to discharge non-union labor. The rights of the employer and employee are, and should be, synonymous, but employees can not, by combination or union, without committing the crime of conspiracy, force employers to agree to employ only union labor. When employers do become parties to such an agreement they are equally guilty of conspiracy.

The opinion of the appellate court should be studied at once by every employer of labor in this State, and when the employer awakes to the situation that he is a party to a criminal conspiracy the floodgates will open and non-union labor will, I think, receive the protection that all of the injunctions and processes of the courts have heretofore been unable to give them.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS,

Of Brandeis, Dunbar & Nutter, Lawyers, Boston:

The decision in the Kellogg Switchboard & Supply Co. case is merely an application of the well established and sound rule that picketing attended by intimidation and coercion is unlawful and will be enjoined. The opinion, however, contains an elaborate dictum which purports to lay down a rule that is both novel and unsound, namely, that a strike, though conducted in a lawful manner, is illegal if its purpose is to secure an agreement for the employment of union men exclusively. The reasoning of the court is not clear. The conclusions stated appear to rest upon the assumption that an effort to secure an agreement to employ exclusively one class of workmen is unlawful on four grounds:

First. As interfering with the employer's "right of contract."

Second. As unjustly discriminating in favor of one class and thereby interfering with the workman's "right to work."

Third. As tending to create a monopoly.

Fourth. As contravening the Illinois statute prohibiting combinations "for the purpose of depriving the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use and management."

None of these positions seems to me tenable.

As to the first ground: It does not interfere with the employer's right of contract to induce him to enter into a certain contract. Every contract which any person enters into interferes in some way with his future freedom of contract of other action. That is the very purpose of entering into a contract. The "right of contract" is the right to restrict one's freedom of action. This sacred right of contract is limited only by the requirements of public policy as expressed either in rules of the common law or of statutory prohibition.

The privilege for which employers have most strenuously contended in the past is the right to employ, that is to contract with, whom they please, —union or non-union men. The employer exercises this privilege when he elects from day to day to employ union men. No sufficient reason suggests itself why he should not be permitted to agree in advance for a limited time, or until further notice, he will employ only union men.

If the effort of unions to secure from an employer

such an agreement should be held unlawful, it will not be because the employer's right of free contract is thereby interfered with, but because some paramount consideration of the public good requires that the right to free contract be in this respect abridged.

As to the second ground: It is not an unjust discrimination against certain workmen, or an interference with their right to work, for a private employer to employ only persons of a certain class. Nor does an agreement to make his selection on such lines, however capricious or unreasonable, interfere with any one's rights. A discrimination between two classes of workmen cannot be unjust unless there is a right not to be discriminated against, in other words, a right to equality of treatment. So far as relates to private employment, there is no such right. The right to work for a private employer is merely the right to be allowed to work if one can find a willing employer.

In the case of public employment the case is entirely different. The government must be run for the equal benefit of all. Every citizen has an equal right to the opportunity of being selected to serve the public in any capacity, and to receive such compensation as the public pays. Any discrimination in public employment in favor of one class of persons, for instance, union men, either by statute or ordinance or practice, is clearly illegal.

If the effort to secure an agreement to employ union men only is held to be unlawful, it will not be because any right to work now known to the law is thereby interfered with.

As to the third ground: An agreement to employ union men only undoubtedly tends in some degree to a monopoly, but the tendency ordinarily would be very slight and remote. It certainly is not the law that every contract which tends however slightly towards the creation of a monopoly is unlawful. If it were, no large manufacturer could contract to increase his plant, or contract for an exclusive right to a patent which would cheapen production, for such a course tends inevitably towards securing a larger share of the market, thereby driving out competition and to that extent tending towards a monopoly.

In the case of strikes employers usually assert with much vehemence that in the absence of intimidation, violence, or coercion, the places left vacant by union strikers could be readily filled by non-union men. It is conceivable that the union control in one or all branches of trade might become so great, or be exercised in such a manner as to present the evils attendant upon monopoly and call for intervention by laws. But if that time should come there would be no occasion for agreements to employ exclusively union men. At all events it seems clear that, at the present time, the mere attempt to secure for a particular concern with a \$500,000 capital and employing five or six hundred hands an agreement that only union men be employed cannot be said to tend so strongly and immediately to monopoly as to be held unlawful on that ground.

As to the fourth ground: The effort to secure by a strike legally conducted an agreement to employ only union men does not deprive "the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use and management." By making such an agreement, the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use and management. The effort to secure by a legally conducted strike the making of such an agreement cannot be said to deprive the property owner of its use and management unless

(a) the union should control substantially all the labor; in which event there would be no occasion for the agreement; or

(b) the right "to the use and management of property" should be held to include a right to compel people to work for the owner.

It certainly was not the purpose of the Illinois statute to inaugurate such a revolution of the social and industrial system.

The statutes of several of the States show that in the past it has been believed that the public welfare

would be promoted by the development of trades unions. In Massachusetts, for instance, Revised Laws, Chap. 106, Section 12 provides:

"No person shall himself or by his agent, coerce or compel a person into a written or verbal agreement not to join or become a member of a labor organization as a condition of his securing employment or continuing in the employment of such person."

If in the future the public welfare should appear to require it, the legislature may further restrict the right of contract by prohibiting agreements for a closed shop, or further restrict the right of combination by prohibiting strikes for the purpose of securing such agreements; but it is believed that neither the common law nor the statutes contain at present such prohibitions, and it is extremely undesirable that judges should attempt to create them because of their individual views of "public policy." Let them rather bear in mind the words of that very wise and fearless judge, Sir George Jessel:

"It must not be forgotten that you are not to extend arbitrarily those rules which say that a given contract is void as being against public policy, because if there is one thing which more than another public policy requires, it is that men of full age and competent understanding shall have the utmost liberty of contracting, and that their contracts, when entered into freely and voluntarily, shall be held sacred and shall be enforced by courts of justice. Therefore, you have this paramount public policy to consider—that you are not lightly to interfere with this freedom of contract."

Experience—the natural law in the industrial world—will alone teach us the course best to be pursued, and I fancy that course, when laid out, will eventually follow the lines of liberty:—

In the first place, liberty on the part of the employer to agree with the union for a closed shop whenever the inducements offered are sufficient to lead him to voluntarily renounce for a time his absolute freedom to choose such workmen as he pleases. Then, a recognition by the unions that their interests will be best subserved by omitting all attempts to restrict the choice of the employer, and devoting their efforts to increasing the attractions of unionism for the workmen, and to removing the incidents of unionism most objectionable to the employer. The wisest labor leaders have already taken this position, and have among other things declared the policy that the union label must be regarded as a valuable privilege to be acquired through assent to the closed shop, but that where such assent and hence the union label are withheld, the union workman may still work side by side with his non-union brother.

FREDERICK H. COOKE,

Author of "The Law of Trade and Labor Combinations," New York City:

In *Christensen v. People* (Appellate Court Ill. 1st Dist., May 12, 1904), was rendered on a point of vital and far-reaching importance, a decision that to me seems obviously at variance with reason and with law. As, however, the court is not one of last resort, I take it that there remains the hope of correction.

In brief the point seems to be that a strike is unlawful for the purpose of inducing the employer to agree to employ none but members of labor unions. If this be sound law, efforts on behalf of the "closed shop" will encounter a serious if not insurmountable obstacle.

Now let us look for a moment at the reason of the matter, whatever may be technically the law. I suppose that no one in his senses has ever questioned the legal right of a housewife to employ in her kitchen Irish in preference to German servants, or vice versa. I suppose that it has never been seriously contended that such a course constitutes an illegal "discrimination in favor of one class" (i. e., of Irish or German servants, as the case may be) or is illegal as "tending to create a monopoly in favor of the members of" the class of Irish or German servants, as the case may be. (The language quoted

was used in *Christensen v. People*). Take as another illustration the case of a railroad contractor employing Italians in preference to negroes, or vice versa.

I do not see that the action held illegal in *Christensen v. People* stands on any different basis. Until recently at least, I do not suppose that the right to employ union in preference to non-union men, or vice versa, was seriously questioned. How then can it be illegal to merely agree to do what one has a perfect right to do; or to merely request or induce one to agree to do what he has a perfect right to do? If this be illegal, we have surely departed widely from the ancient standards.

In what essential respect was the agreement declared illegal different from the every day agreement to serve another exclusively, or to deal with another exclusively? Time and time again have such agreements been sustained by the courts. I forbear to cite at length from the many decisions to this effect, but, for instances of agreements for exclusive service sustained, see *Carnig v. Carr*, 167 Mass. 544 (1897); *Harrison v. Glucose Sugar Refining Co.*, 116 Fed. Rep. 304 (Circuit Court of Appeals, 7th Circuit, 1902); of agreements for exclusive dealing sustained, *Brown v. Rounsavell*, 78 Ill. 589 (1875); *Ellerman v. Chicago Junction Railways, &c. Co.* 49 N. J. Eq. 217, 252 (1891); *Bald Eagle Valley R. R. Co. v. Nittany Valley R. R. Co.*, 171 Pa. 284, 299 (1895); *Ferris v. American Brewing Co.* 155 Ind. 539 (1900).

The fallacy underlying the decision in *Christensen v. People* is perhaps not hard to discover. Baldly stated (and such statement is sufficient to show the utter lack of reason therein) it seems to be that there rests upon any given employer a sort of obligation to employ all that are reasonably capable of performing the given work; that consequently it is an illegal "discrimination" to employ some in preference to others; at any rate, to employ members of a certain class in preference to those of another class, e. g. Germans in preference to Irish, Italians in preference to negroes, "non-union" in preference to "union" men.

Let us glance for a moment at the statement of the court in *Christensen v. People* that the agreement in question was illegal because "tending to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the different unions, to the exclusion of workmen not members of such unions." The point is in reality covered by what has just been said, but note what seems to be the underlying fallacy, that all "monopolies" are illegal. Now not even the most rabid anti-monopolist (unless perchance he be communist as well as anti-monopolist) really and sanely contends that all monopolies are illegal, though occasionally, even in judicial opinions, language may be used to that effect. Each instance of separate ownership of property, such as a house or watch, involves a monopoly, that is, of the right to use the house or the watch. And so of the instances of agreements for exclusive service or dealing, already referred to. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely. To me the contention that to employ only union men "tends to create an (illegal) monopoly in favor of the members of the unions," seems about as rational as would the contention that the employment by the housewife in our illustration of German servants exclusively, "tends to create an illegal monopoly in favor of" German servants.

It is perhaps proper to add that the doctrine thus applied in *Christensen v. People* may find some encouragement in prior decisions of the Illinois court of last resort. See *Adams v. Brennan*, 177 Ill. 194 (1898); *Fiske v. People*, 188 Ill. 206 (1900), and compare *Woodward v. Boston*, 32 Am. Law Rev. 621 (Super. Ct. Mass. 1898). Perhaps too such doctrine finds encouragement in the much discussed decisions in *People ex rel. Rodgers v. Coler*, 166 N. Y. 1 (1901); *People ex rel. Treat v. Coler*, 166 N. Y. 144 (1901), where somewhat analogous situations were presented. These two decisions were by a divided court, however, and the dissenting opinions of Chief Justice Parker seem to me to furnish by far the better reason.

The decision in *Christensen v. People* may be opposed, in spirit at least, to that line of decisions holding a strike not illegal because of intent to procure the discharge of those not members of the union on whose behalf the strike is instituted. See in particular *National Protective Assoc. v. Cumming*, 170 N. Y. 315 (1902), in line with which seem to be *Commonwealth v. Hunt*, 4 Metc. (Mass.) 111 (1842); *Clemmitt v. Watson*, 14 Ind. App. 38 (1895). It must be confessed, however, that on this much debated point there are decisions seemingly not in harmony with those just cited: see *Plant v. Woods*, 176 Mass. 492 (1900); *Quinn v. Leathem*, App. Cas. 495 (English House of Lords, 1901).

It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that in the preceding discussion I have taken no account of purely economic considerations. For the sake of the argument I am willing to admit that the movement on behalf of the closed shop is an unwise one; that it is unwise to attempt to procure the making and enforcement of an agreement such as the one now under consideration. But surely no one needs to be reminded that it is not the function of the law, at least not necessarily, to compel men to refrain from merely foolish action.

It should be noted that, whatever be the ultimate decision in *Christensen v. People*, it will not necessarily determine the legality of a strike to induce an employer to agree to employ none but members of labor unions. That is to say, while there is, in my view, nothing in the case presented to the court in *Christensen v. People*, to show that the particular strike under consideration was unlawful, it may well appear to be otherwise in the case of another strike for the same purpose. So far as appears in the report of the decision, there was nothing to show that efforts of the particular unions interested in the strike were prosecuted on so large a scale that if successful they were likely to give them a virtual monopoly of employment in their particular lines. If, for instance, it had appeared that such unions comprised within their membership, say half of the brass moulders, brass workers, etc., in Chicago and vicinity, and that their efforts were directed towards all or substantially all those employing non-union brass moulders, brass workers, etc., in such locality, there might have been plausibility in the contention that the case was within the so-called "trust" cases such as the Sugar Trust, Standard Oil cases and others, in that, as in those cases a monopoly of the supply of sugar or oil was sought to be created, so here a monopoly of labor of a particular kind. The trouble is, however, that here the court assumed without a basis of fact the existence of a tendency to create a monopoly in favor of the members of the unions.

In addition to his opinion upon the decision, Mr. Cooke prepared answers to a series of hypothetical questions as follows:

Q.—Suppose the manufacturer of a certain brand of baking powder makes a grocer a discount, provided the grocer agrees to sell that brand exclusively,—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

A.—If the decision in *Christensen v. People* be sound, it seems to follow that such contract constitutes an illegal "discrimination in favor of one class" (i. e. those manufacturing such brand of powder) or is illegal as "tending to create a monopoly in favor of" such manufacturers. It seems, however, that the law is, or had been supposed to be, well settled to the contrary. It is interesting to note that the Supreme Court of Illinois (which has general power to review the decisions of the Appellate Court) has passed upon the legality of what is substantially the precise situation described in the above query. That court saw nothing illegal in a contract by which a wholesale dealer in Aetna sewing machines agreed to sell them to retail dealers agreeing to deal exclusively in Aetna machines and to purchase their supplies from such wholesale dealer; the latter, on the other hand, agreeing to furnish them the machines at a discount. The court said: "We see nothing in such a contract so in re-

straint of trade as to make in that respect against public policy, and require that it should be adjudged void. We know of no warrant of authority therefor." *Brown v. Rounsavell*, 78 Ill. 589 (1875). And there is a long succession of decisions to the same effect. In a standard legal text-book (*Greenhood on Public Policy*, p. 677) the author, after declaring the legality of contracts securing the exclusive custom of the party contracting, furnishes with others some of the party contracting, furnishes with others the following illustrations of such contracts, sustained by the courts: "A publican in making settlement with his creditors agrees to buy all his beer of them." "A railroad company agrees that the cars of the covenantee should be the only cars employed in the transportation of locomotive engines and tenders over its road." "A. agrees to buy of B. all the groceries he may need, provided he will furnish them at as low prices as others." "A. covenants not to employ any other person than B. to make cordage for his friends." "A. covenants not to buy any meat for his trade for six months of any but the covenantee." The same author says (p. 680): "A contract binding the party making it to labor exclusively for it or to sell exclusively to one person, either for a limited period or for all time is not void."



JACKSON H. RALSTON,
Lawyer, Washington, D. C.

The following illustrations of contracts sustained by the courts are here furnished: "A binds himself not to write plays for any other than the H. theatre." "A. covenants to work for no one except B. for seven years." "A. covenants to work for B. for life." And many other instances of such contracts sustained as legal might be cited.

Q.—Suppose a labor union, through its authorized agent, were to make a discount upon the prevalent wage, provided the employer agreed to employ only members of that union,—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

Q.—Suppose a labor union, through its authorized agent, grants an employer the use of the union label, that label being an assurance of patronage by the ranks of organized labor, as a consideration for the employer's agreeing to employ only members of that union,—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

Q.—Suppose a labor union, through its authorized agent, were to guarantee to an employer a constant supply of superior workmen, capable of turning out a product in quality or quantity exceeding the computed output of non-union workmen, as a consideration for the employer's agreeing to employ only members of the union under its terms as to wages, hours and conditions of work (shop rules),—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

A.—What has already been said seems applicable to these queries. The instance above given of a valid contract to purchase all of one's groceries from another, provided he will furnish them at as low prices as others, is particularly suggestive here. If

a contract to deal on as favorable terms as others would be sustained, it would seem that a fortiori a contract to deal on more favorable terms would be.

Q.—Suppose an employer were to make it a condition of hiring a workman, or a number of workmen, that the workman or workmen should agree, in accepting the employer's terms as to wages, hours and conditions of work (shop rules), to abstain from belonging to any labor union,—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

A.—The law seems settled to this extent at least, that a person may refuse to employ another because of membership in a labor union, and may even discharge him because of membership in such union. Indeed, such right of an employer is part of his constitutionally guaranteed liberty of contract. In about a third of the States there have been enacted in the supposed interest of the labor unions, statutes seeking to deprive the employer of such right, but in nearly every instance such legislation has been declared unconstitutional. Thus in Missouri, in *State v. Julow*, 129 Mo. 163 (1895); in Illinois, in *Gillespie v. People*, 188 Ill. 176 (1900); in Wisconsin, in *State v. Kreutzberg*, 114 Wis. 530 (1902). If now an employer has the right to refuse to employ, or to discharge, because of membership in a labor union, it would seem to me to follow that he may make non-membership in a labor union a condition of employment, but it may remain for the courts to make this entirely clear.

Q.—Suppose a workman or a number of workmen, were to offer to work for lower wages or longer hours, or under shop conditions more economical to the employer, provided the employer would agree to employ no workmen belonging to a labor union,—would such a contract be illegal or criminal?

A.—If the decision in *Christensen v. People* be sound, there seems to be plausibility in the view that such contract constitutes an illegal discrimination against members of labor unions. Generally speaking, however, in accordance with what has been said above, it seems clear enough to me that there is nothing illegal in such a contract. It might make a difference however, should carrying out such a contract involve the discharge of union men already in the employ of such employer. Under certain conditions the action of the non-union might be held illegal as against such union men.

The questions quoted above were each answered negatively by Roger Fisher of New York and Louis D. Brandeis of Boston.

JACKSON H. RALSTON,
Of Ralston & Siddons, Attorneys and Counsellors at
Law, Washington, D. C.:

The learned court ignores the fact that labor is property (so to speak) in the hands of the laborer, quite as much as a right to do business is property in the hands of the head of a mercantile establishment. The laborer may dispose of this property as he sees fit. He may allow it to go to waste by not working, and he may determine the price he will demand for it. And, similarly, if one man may determine these questions for himself, why may he not elect to join with one or more others and agree that he will labor or will not labor as they may, by a majority vote, determine? Is his labor any the less his own because he associates another man with himself in fixing the price or the circumstances under which he will dispose of it?

The appellate court apparently takes the position that however proper it may be for one man to determine that he will not work for another, yet the element of criminality is invoked when two or more men in the form of a union announce in advance that they will not work except in company with those whom they may select. But is not the right to take this position inseparable from their property right in their own labor, and having such property right, how can the law properly interfere with their actions? Suppose they unitedly determine not to labor in association with negroes, or under a red-haired foreman, or with men of another nationality?

Why may they not do so? In so doing, they simply dispose of their own property right as seems meet to them.

But it is said in effect by the opinion that if they so exercise their property right, they interfere with the property right of the employer in the conduct of his business. Not so. The two rights have their appropriate spheres of action, and do not interfere one with the other. The employer does not own the laborer, and not owning him, can not ask the courts to control the laborer's action by means of injunction. It is true that the laborer by his strike may injure the employer's business, but so in the laborer's judgment will the employer injure his property right in his own labor, if the employer, exercising that full liberty that belongs to him of right, employs those who are not members of the laborer's organization. In either event, injury may result, but would the application of a laborer to a court to enjoin the employer from employing whoever he may see fit, on the ground that such general employment affected injuriously the laborer's right to employment, be received with any favor? The proposition needs only to be stated, but it is the exact counterpart of the fallacious idea underlying Judge Adams' opinion.

Another fallacy may be referred to. It was said that the draft of an agreement with certain unions was sought to be enforced by threats; but so far as the principle we are now discussing is concerned, the so-called threats appear to have been merely that unless a certain agreement be accepted (the agreement not being, as we attempt to show, contrary to the law) the laborers in question would not work for the employer. As I have sought to indicate briefly, laborers, singly or jointly, have the right to refuse to labor for any reason or no reason. If this right exists, a threat to refuse their labor can not be unlawful. One or more of us may say to our grocer that if he does not attend our church we will not trade with him, because we prefer to trade with our own church members. As we have a right to place our trade wherever we see fit, such a threat can not be unlawful, and can not be the foundation of judicial action. Our right to determine our own employer rests upon the same right. The opinion appears to me to be deficient in not distinguishing properly between illegal threats and announcements that are essentially legal,—to which, in fact, the word threat is scarcely applicable.

The reference contained in the decision to the clause of the Criminal Code, denouncing those who combine to deprive the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use and management, or prevent by threats, suggestions of danger, or by any unlawful means, any person from being employed by or obtaining employment from any owner or possessor of property, does not seem a happy one, so far as the general theory sought to be sustained by the court is concerned. The court has largely inverted the meaning of this section. A combination under which working men refuse to be employed by the owner of property, unless certain conditions be granted, can not deprive the owner or possessor of property of its lawful use or of his property, unless he had a lawful right to the use of the labor of the men so united, and could enforce such use against their will. If he can not procure others to take their place, the employer may be injured in the sense that his property becomes less productive, but that is a consequence he has seen fit to accept for himself. In addition, as has been heretofore pointed out, a refusal by one or more persons to labor in association with another, can not of itself be illegal, unless the person aimed at has a moral right to compel the others to work with him, or unless the methods resorted to are illegal.

If the existence of the union made it more difficult for the employer to employ non-union men, and even if the element of criminality were involved, the employer could not resort to equity, unless he has a property right in the labor of the non-union men—something he could not demonstrate. Without this, reference to the criminal code becomes meaningless,

since a court of equity can not enjoin a crime unless property or the right to property be involved.

Notwithstanding the strong opinion of the writer that the whole decision of the court is filled with logical errors, approaching almost to the point of absurdity, it does not follow that the judgment is erroneous. If illegal methods are employed to bring about even the doing of a lawful act, those guilty of their use may be subject to punishment, and it may have been in this case that there was such illegality connected with the particular acts charged against the defendants, involving contempt of court for violation of injunction against plain interference with what are really property rights as would justify their punishment.

The thing I criticize is the general theory enunciated by the court, and not the conclusion in this case.

**WILLIAM VELPEAU ROOKER,
Lawyer, Indianapolis:**

Judge Adams, it would seem, holds that a contract for a closed shop per se creates a monopoly and it is therefore void because monopolies are opposed to public policy. Judge Adams had not before him for his construction a particular contract for a closed shop (though he did have some proposals submitted



**WILLIAM V. ROOKER,
Lawyer, Indianapolis.**

by some unions, which proposals were not accepted and ought to have been resisted), and his opinion in respect to such contracts is therefore either obiter dictum or he bases his faith upon so broad an application of a familiar principle as to condemn all monopolies. It has long been suspected by some people that Chicago was lax in its standard of morals and integrity, and now Judge Adams makes it clear why his city may be as it is accused of being. The marriage relation creates a monopoly by the husband in the wife and vice versa, and that being contra bona mores, according to the Judge Adams rule, therefore we have Chicago rightfully revelling in free love. The powers of public officers are a monopoly, and therefore, if Judge Adams be right, we have great public trusts in Chicago correctly turned over to the grafters. Private ownership of property is a monopoly, and therefore, vide supra, the thieves and looters of Chicago are good people and all right. It is to be supposed that if some paper manufacturer were to agree that for a certain price, for a certain quality, upon certain installments of delivery, for certain installments of payments, he would for a certain time furnish the Chicago Tribune all its white paper, that contract, according to Judge Adams, would create a monopoly and be void. Or if that paper contract was lawful, then by what rule would the Tribune be denied the right to provide by like means any other of the staples it requires in its business, and whether its ink, its light, its fuel or its labor. To measure the constitutional validity of a

contract by the degree of duress used in obtaining it, certainly brings into being a rule of construction new, alike to those who are familiar with the safe guard of the common law and those who are familiar with the usual limitations of the Constitution.

The purpose of a contract for a closed shop is only incidentally hostile to non-union labor. The object and intent is to give the union authority over the men employed to do certain work. The purpose is discipline. The object is to exact obedience to certain fixed scales of efficiency and decorum. The common law rule as to fellow servants makes employees responsible for the conduct of one another, to the extent of sacrificing limb and life. With so great a charge as this placed upon them, can it be said that there is or ought to be any moral or legal objection to employees exercising a voice in the selection of their fellow workmen—those for whose good conduct so great an indemnity in favor of the employer is by law exacted from the employee? To subordinate men and their individual interests so largely to the general welfare of the State, as Judge Adams appears inclined to do, would, it seems, bring us at once to the practical realization of socialism in its purest forms. Nor are the interests of the employees alone conserved by union contracts. There are times in factories and shops when the work is hard and when even the most faithful servant would rather be absent than present. It is on such occasions that the union must be able to compel obedience to its contract to furnish all the required labor and it to be of a specified quality for a specified price. If the employees were not under compulsion to obey, they could on such occasions leave the task and tell the master to do his own work. That is human nature. For such an offense the aggrieved master could not efficiently follow them elsewhere; there craft can. We must have the power to exact obedience; the same power Judge Adams exercised in his contempt proceedings. How would Judge Adams as a colonel of a regiment of even the bravest men like to engage to make a desperate assault without his men being enlisted or otherwise obligated to give him obedience in performing the task? How many men would be in their ranks when the point of assault was reached if his men in the first instance were not obligated to obedience? Even brave men avoid danger, and good soldiers go to all proper lengths to save their lives. So, good workmen have their preferences as to the labor they are called upon to perform, and as between themselves they require and prefer discipline.

Judge Adams seems to be suffering from judicial strabismus to the extent that he cannot see that the employer's constitutional right to contract would be destroyed rather than conserved by such a rule as the one stated by Judge Adams in the Christensen case. He ought to read dispassionately the constitution of some successful labor unions, then some contracts for closed shops, and then observe the current of authority as to contracts that are void not because they create monopolies, but because they create unlawful monopolies. If he had before him a statute prohibiting the exclusive employment of union men he would promptly declare that statute void because in derogation, not only of the constitutional right to contract, but also of the constitutional guarantees of the liberties of the citizen who has a right to be a member of any organization whose purposes are not within themselves unlawful.

**JOHN E. PARSONS,
Lawyer, New York City:**

In a leading English case it was held, the decision of the lower courts being affirmed by the English House of Lords, that it was the right of parties to make a combination with a view of keeping their trade in their own hands, and that parties who were excluded had no redress unless they could show that the object of the combination was to ruin their trade, or was the result of personal malice or ill-will. This, in my opinion, is the law of this country as

(Concluded on page 8.)

THE OPEN SHOP QUESTION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

ITS ADOPTION THERE GENERAL, ALTHOUGH NOT UNIVERSAL, WHILE UNION LABOR WINS THE PREFERENCE OF EMPLOYERS THROUGH ITS SUPERIORITY.

Much light is thrown upon the treatment of the question of the open shop by organized labor in the United Kingdom, through recent letters from several of its representative leaders, addressed to the National Civic Federation. These letters are responses to an inquiry addressed on behalf of that organization to the secretaries of leading British unions. This inquiry requested information as to the position taken by those unions as to the open shop, as to how it is treated in formal agreements with employers, as to the attitude of employers in general, and as to the comparative significance or importance of the question in Great Britain and the United States. All of the British union secretaries to whom this inquiry was addressed had visited the United States as members of Mr. Alfred Mcsely's industrial commission, and had thus enjoyed the opportunity of comparing labor conditions in the two countries.

The replies here presented are from secretaries of unions that include the organized employes in nine great industries. These industries employ engineers, iron founders, iron and steel workers, tube trades, paper makers, weavers, cotton spinners, tailors and lithographic printers. The replies show that in all of them the open shop obtains either throughout the industry generally, or to a large extent, being greatly limited only in one industry. The lithographic printers have a union rule, of which all employers are notified, that no printer eligible to the union shall be employed, unless a member of the union. But there are exceptions to this rule in a few towns and cities, due to local or peculiar conditions, conceded by the unions. The iron founders secure a closed shop only where their organization is strong enough to enforce it. Elsewhere, they permit open shops, and they refrain from picketing in strikes. In the tube trades, there are cases where union men refuse to work with non-unionists. But this action has been taken without aid from the general union. In practice, the workers in some (the relative number is not specified) iron and steel works are all union men. But there is in that industry no distinct cleavage between union and non-union shops. Employers of tailors are said to prefer union shops, with a trade agreement including arbitration.

These five industries are those of the nine upon which reports are presented in which the open shop appears not to be universal. Of these five, the lithographic printers constitute the only craft in which the open shop is a restricted, local concession, although the effect of the tailors' agreement is to cause employers to prefer union workers. The engineers have a general trade agreement with the employers which stipulates for the open shop. In this craft, only voluntary membership is regarded as valuable to a union. The cotton spinners have also a general agreement which ignores the subject of non-union employes. All mills are open, but 90 per cent of the English spinners belong to the organization, and it is stated that employers as a rule prefer union spinners, although refraining from expressing that preference. Many employers of iron founders will not permit members of the union to be foremen. The tube trades have no general agreement; but in rare cases, employers have refused to permit non-union men to share in a general advance of wages. The agreement of the iron and steel workers ignores non-union men, who must work under its provisions; but the policy of the open shop has prevailed in their industry for thirty years. The weavers' agreement does not mention non-union workers, who of course do not enjoy the benefit of the organization's funds in case of a strike. The paper makers work with non-union

men when the latter receive the same rate of wages as do members of the society.

It will be noted that several of these unions attribute their strength to a high standard of membership that ensures superior workmanship, and to the accumulations of benefit funds. Some of the British union secretaries' comments upon trade union conditions in the United States are of interest.

Lithographic Printers.

George D. Kelley, General Secretary of The Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers of Great Britain and Ireland, writes from 63 Upper Brook Street, Manchester:

"In respect to the question of declining to work with non-union men, which you state is becoming a serious one in your country, I beg to say that here, so far as my own union is concerned, we do not experience much difficulty. I enclose the rule by which our members are governed. With every revision of rules a copy is forwarded to every employer, so that he has full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the rules in operation in the society. No serious objection has been taken by the employers to the rule in question, although some have taken exception, and occasionally as a consequence a little friction has arisen, which has generally been allayed and removed by an interview between the employer and myself, and the rule adhered to.

"In some few towns and cities in the United Kingdom the rule is not observed quite so closely as in others, but it is observed generally, and the few places referred to, where it is not operated quite so rigidly, are owing to some local cause or special influence which is respected and given way to. I may add that this society has very few disputes with employers. Should anything arise causing irritation or should we desire certain changes, an interview or interviews takes place between the employer and myself, and the matter is arranged between us, usually to the satisfaction of both, the whole question at issue having been by both discussed in a courteous and conciliatory manner. In fact, my experience, which is a wide one (being for twenty-five years a general secretary) has shown most clearly that better results can be obtained from a talk across the table, on a reasonable request, than by any other methods."

The rule enclosed by Mr. Kelley provides: "No member of this society shall work in any shop where there is also employed a non-union lithographic or collotype printer eligible for membership in this society." Other paragraphs of the rule provide for notification of the local branch of the union in case a non-union man should go to work in a shop, and provide for a committee of the union to "use the best means available to settle the difficulty." "No extreme measures shall be adopted except upon the decision of a special summoned meeting."

Amalgamated Engineers.

George H. Barnes, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, established 1851, writes from its general office 110 Peckham Road, London, S. E.:

"You ask in what way the union of which I am secretary deals with the question of the non-union element. In our formal agreement with the employers it is stipulated that we work with the non-unionists. Such agreement has been in operation some seven years, but even before, when there was no agreement, the same practice obtained, that is to say, we relied upon moral suasion in regard to the non-unionists, so far as the attitude of the society as a whole was concerned. Of course, there have always been some members who have adopted a more militant attitude, but such has never received the formal endorsement of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

"I spoke in that sense during the proceedings of the Civic Federation meeting in December, 1902. I believe that forced men are no good to any organization which they may be compelled to join. You will note that I look at the matter from a practical point of view. Reams might be written in an abstract sense for and against coercion. Putting my position on it briefly, I should say that, even assuming the justice of force, it is no practical use; and the position of American labour unions, I think, is proof of the soundness of this view."

Amalgamated Tube Trades.

T. Jones is the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Tube Trade Society, which is affiliated with the Midland Counties Trades' Federation and is registered pursuant to Act of Parliament. The general office of the Society is in the London and North-western Hotel, Wednesbury. General Secretary Jones writes from 167 Dudley Road, Wolverhampton:

"I regret to say I can give you but little information on the subject. We have never been able to induce the employers to co-operate with us in the matter. What has been done is due to the action of the men in individual works. We have at some of the works had the men put down their tools and refuse to work with a man who was not paying his union money, with the result that they have had to borrow the money and pay up before they could start. In some cases, the manager has found the money for them. This action has taken place at several works, but I have had nothing to do with it. In one or two instances, the employers refuse to give any advance to those who were not in the society when there has been a general advance.

"The employers preferred non-union men when they could get them, because they could do as they pleased with them. There are but few trades in this locality who have not some of their workmen not in the society. No concerted action is taken, as a rule they use only moral suasion. They all recognize the evil effect of such methods. But the law is altogether in favour of the employers. This is emphasized by the Taft Vale decision."

Amalgamated Paper Makers.

William Dyson of the Amalgamated Society of Paper Makers writes from 7 Station Road, Woodley, Nr. Stockport:

"Our society does not object to our members working with 'non-unionists' providing the latter work under the same conditions and receive the same rate of wages as themselves. Consequently, it has not been necessary to make any agreement with the employers respecting the same. In justice to the employers, I may say the majority prefer unionists and when requiring them they apply to the society."

Society of Iron Founders.

J. Maddison, General Secretary of the Iron Founders' Society, established 1809, writes from its general office, 200 New Kent Road, London, S. E.:

"During my sojourn in America, the slight inquiries I found time to make into the conditions and methods of trade unions in your country elicited the fact that the contributions paid into the unions are much too low. Consequently, the unions have no backbone in them in the shape of benefits. As a result, members are indifferent as to allowing their membership to lapse, having nothing to lose, and re-enter any number of times. If they were liable to forfeiture of benefit with exclusion, they would be more careful about retaining their membership. Moreover, their financial position is very weak. When war is declared, their war chest is very far from being what it ought to be. According to wages received, they ought to pay at least 50 per

cent higher contributions than we do in this country; whereas, they are something like 50 per cent below ours.

"The employers know full well that trade unionism means high rates of wages, which rightly or wrongly they regard as a deterrent to trade. At least their contention is in this strain, when arguing against advances or in favor of reductions in wages. Consequently, they encourage non-unionism as much as possible. A very large percentage of employers will not have a trade unionist in the position of foreman, if they know it. It is no uncommon occurrence for our branch secretaries to be victimised because they hold such positions. Of course, there are honorable exceptions to this rule.

"When a grievance arises that results in a strike or a lock-out, we generally refrain from picketing, leaving the employers to employ whom they choose. But I regret to say that the employers do not reciprocate this treatment by allowing us to go and work where we choose. No, they invariably blacklist our members, which means preventing them from working wherever they have the power to do so.

"Returning to the so-called 'scabs,' or free labour as they term themselves in this country, we leave them severely alone, believing that they do our cause more good inside a struck shop than outside; as from a workmanship point of view, 90 per cent are not worth their shop room. Indeed, the firm would not give them shop room, did peace prevail. Their very looks and get up betray their character, and the tenth man who may be a moderate workman is invariably a confirmed drunkard. So long as the strike may last, these free labor men are allowed to do anything they like.

"The authorities of the towns are largely made up of employers; consequently the law is administered very severely against the strike hands, who scarcely dare look at a 'scab,' lest they may be charged with assault. This is why we refrain from picketing. These 'scabs' are often very aggravating by openly boasting that they have broken so many strikes up, whereas their ability can command a job only where a strike exists. Thus they are always on the look-out for strikes, which are their only chance of obtaining work.

"For a time, these strikes have often appeared to go against us. . . . But by and by the shareholders' meeting takes place. The usual dividend has largely diminished, or disappeared altogether. It may be that the balance is on the wrong side of the ledger, which may be tolerated for a time. But the end must come. You cannot convince shareholders better than by reducing the dividend. The management are asked to give a reason for this falling off, when the truth has to be admitted—the molders' strike. It frequently happens after a strike has continued so long that we have regarded the shop as lost to us, the employers have caved in by clearing out the 'scabs' and sending for our men to return. . . .

"In reference to what you term open shop, I take that to mean open to all comers, regardless of whether they are trade unionists or not. This is what we term working mixed. We certainly do work mixed where we are not so well organized as we could wish; but where we are well organized, we refuse to work mixed.

"I am strongly of opinion that it is in the interests of the employers not to work mixed. Human nature is the same the world over. It is only reasonable to expect that considerable feeling exists between the non-union and union men, as the former are reaping the benefit of conditions brought about by and at the expense of the latter, and at no cost to themselves. Whilst this rankling feeling exists, it prevents men's minds being wholly concentrated in their work as it ought to be; hence they are not doing justice to their employer.

"Probably this feeling against non-unionists may be condemned by the employers and those representing the public in the Civic Federation. But I ask those gentlemen to imagine a case of a few men be-

coming residents of Chicago and refusing to pay rates, whilst they were enjoying the benefit of the sanitary arrangements and other privileges of the city, made at the cost of the ratepayers generally. I ask would such refusal be tolerated five minutes? Yet the one is just about as reasonable as the other.

"I sincerely hope that the praiseworthy efforts of the Civic Federation may be crowned with success."

Associated Iron and Steel Workers.

James Cox, General Secretary of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain writes from its head office, 6 Mount Pleasant, Darlington:

"I am in receipt of your enquiry concerning the action of our trades organization relative to the men who are not members, and the question of an 'open shop.' So far as our trades union is concerned, the policy we have adopted during these last thirty years has been that of an 'open shop.' It is perfectly true that at some works practically the whole of the men are members of our organization, while at other works it may be that not half or even a less number than that are not members.

"So far as non-union men are concerned, they are entirely ignored by us, and so far as general wages questions are concerned, while they have no voice in deciding upon those wages, they have to abide by the decisions of our organization and its agreements with the employers. Any non-union man who demurs to this would have the option given him by the employer immediately of either working under the terms agreed to by the employer and us, or leaving the works.

"We have some mills where employers go so far as to refuse to allow non-union men to work, while at other places non-union men are entirely ignored in all questions affecting either their wages or their work. So far as the iron and steel industry in this country is concerned, we have no shops defined as 'union' and 'non-union.' I do not believe there is a work in this country but what there are some union men and I have never yet met with an employer who has demurred to discuss wages questions with me, even if it affected only half a dozen men.

"Whether this policy of the 'open shop' commends itself to my fellow trades unionists in America I cannot say; but so far as our own industry is concerned in this country, I should be sorry to see any policy adopted which would bring about the distinct cleavage you have in your American mills of 'union' and 'non-union.'"

Amalgamated Weavers.

William H. Wilkinson is the representative of the Northern Counties Amalgamated Association of Weavers in the Joint Committee of Employers and Operators for North and Northeast Lancashire. He writes from the general office of the Weavers' Association, Ewham Chambers, 17 St. James' Street, Accrington:

"So far as the weaving industry is concerned, we never make any agreements with the employers regarding the non-member element. All agreements made between our Amalgamation and the Employers' Amalgamation are made for members, the non-members not being mentioned, neither employer nor operative. I may add that in case of a strike none of the Operators' Amalgamation funds are paid to non-members."

Mr. Wilkinson enclosed the printed rules and regulations under which the joint committee of the employers and operators proceeds. The object of the joint committee is "To consider in their preliminary stages all trade disputes occurring in the weaving department, . . . and thereby endeavoring to preserve good feeling between employers and operators." The joint committee consists of twelve members, six representatives of the employers and six representatives of the weavers' associations. There are regular weekly meetings in Manchester and a special meeting must be held upon seven days' notice on either side. The business of the joint committee is "preliminary and consultative only." "It is not authorized to come to any final conclusion upon any of the matters brought under its

notice." The general results of the various discussions must be reported to their constituents by the two sections of the committee. Its meetings are strictly confidential. The name of any member must not be quoted at any public meeting. Any dispute should first be brought before a local meeting of employers and operators. Failing settlement there, the dispute "should be brought before the joint committee prior to any notices for a strike being given by either employers or operators." These rules have been in force since July 3, 1896.

Society of Tailors.

Terence A. Flynn, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, responded from the general office of that society, 415 Oxford Street, Manchester. Mr. Flynn wrote: "The question [of the closed shop] is not one which touches us to any extent. Some of the other industries are more hardily struck. I need not say that I wish your movement [the movement for better relations between employer and employed] success. If we had had some such body in past years, much trouble, misery and bitter feeling would have been averted. Still, I am pleased to say that a better feeling is asserting itself and the position is full of promise."

Mr. Flynn accompanied his letter with a paper which he had prepared for publication, upon some of his observations during his visit to the United States, from which the following are excerpts:

"Since Babel, I question if there has been gathered under a settled form of government such diversity of tongues and nationalities as obtains with you. Interwoven are inevitable racial differences, historical antipathies, preconceived and inherited methods of production and organization, all of which tend to entangle and obscure a problem which, even in this old island, remains very much in a condition of nebulous expectancy. As a consequence, difficulties, which are natural with us, are with you very much involved, and the work of a trade union increased in severity of organization to a very considerable extent.

"Under such abnormal conditions it would appear that effective criticism becomes, in a manner, blunted, so much so, that it seems to me the practical question is, 'are there features in the British trade union movement which would repay consideration, if not adoption?'

"At the outset, I venture the opinion that your Federation of Labor exhibits an administrative capacity and brotherhood which entitles it to the good will of all interested in the welding of conflicting life into the solidarity of a nation. Human progress is seldom well ordered, but if discord is the accident, as I believe it is, in the affairs of the Federation, and steady, broad-based progress the ideal, then co-operation becomes an easy and a natural duty."

Mr. Flynn contrasts with this American body the individual unions of England, which, he says, are "ready for immediate defense rather than federation, with its superior controlling, harmonizing and peace-making tendencies." He makes the interesting observation as to the influence of benefit funds against strikes:

"The adoption of friendly society benefits widened the scope of discussion, gave the man who could fight, but would rather give brain first chance, a front seat in council; increased the contribution and the amount in the total funds; and, in short, changed English trade unions from mere fighting machines into solidly established business firms.

"Following this came a close supervision of branches and the abolition (in most unions) of their right to declare a strike."

Mr. Flynn's paper continues:

"In my own union arbitration is compulsory. Every industrial centre has its properly constituted arbitration board, together with a court of appeal, formed of members of our employers' national council and the council of our union. The decisions of this board are final. We would not go back to the days of unlimited strike; our days may be tamer, but our lives are safer, and there is a mutual respect

which counts for more in a tight corner than six months' warfare. That, at any rate, is our insular opinion.

"Our gain, however, does not stop at that. Arbitration tends to abolish strikes (of course, like yourselves, we retain the liberty to strike if needs must), it also tends in an even greater degree to abolish the blackleg, the scab, and the non-unionist. As a matter of fact, our employers prefer their shops to be union shops, as the union stops trouble with a heavy hand, our business being to see that all agreements are carried out faithfully and well, as much by our members as by the employers. Of course, these changes are not the work of a day nor of fifty years. Our union is the oldest trade union in England of which authentic records can be obtained. We can trace back through the centuries our victories and defeats. Sometimes compelling Parliament to abolish laws which especially pressed upon us (no mean task when Parliament was practically elected or returned by our feudal lords), at other times having special acts which aimed at wiping us out. Thus the hurly burly went on, now the top dog, but more often the bottom dog.

"Our last great and most disastrous struggle was in the early thirties of the last century, when we struck for an eight hours day, and although over sixty years have passed, the ill effects of that defeat can still be traced.

"Our present system is not the dream of a night, but the fruit of a hundred years of labored effort; of schemes and dreams and systems put forward and would hest suit our purpose and circumstances; and dropped. From the dead hands of past generations of workers we have taken that which we thought to it we have added a system of arbitration, which we believe gives an intellect and a purpose to our movement that past efforts never had.

"If I may venture one further opinion, I would say the system and methods of organization adopted in America are very similar to ours of 25 and 50 years ago. Perfected, I admit, nay, I am glad to admit the improvement, but in essential detail very similar; and it appears to me that when you come to consolidate the magnificent movement you are creating, like us, you will have to put more goods in your windows."

Operative Cotton Spinners.

Thomas Ashton, General Secretary of the Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association, and President of the Amalgamated Spinners' Association, writes from the central office, Rock Street, Oldham:

"In reply to your inquiry as to the methods our association pursues with regard to non-unionist operative cotton spinners, I beg to say that the whole of the cotton mills are open for employment, both to union workmen and non-union workmen, and that no pressure is brought to bear upon the latter by the former beyond that of moral suasion, with a view of getting them to join the union.

"Of course, the union members are not supposed to assist non-union workmen in their employments, but union spinners assist one another in many ways, and in this way the non-union spinners are made to feel their position, as they are often placed in an awkward place in the carrying out of their duties. It is almost impossible for organized workers to have any sympathy with non-union workmen, as the latter receive the full advantage of the good work which the trade unions perform in the interests of their members; and yet they are too mean in principle to subscribe anything toward the expenses incurred in making their labour lives far more agreeable than they otherwise would be, were it not for the valuable work of the trade unions. Non-union cotton spinners are paid the same piece work rates and enjoy the same labour conditions, as do the trade union cotton spinners; but it is the latter and the organized employers who agree upon what these shall be. Non-union workmen have no voice in anything relating to work and wages, but they are content to accept of what trade union workmen can do

for them, knowing full well that they will fare just the same as the trades unionist in everything pertaining to their labour. As a rule, employers don't bother their heads as to whether the spinners are union men, or non-unionists, but the bulk of them prefer the former class of workmen, as trade disputes are more easily adjusted by trade union efforts than it is possible when the workmen are not organized. I am pleased to say that upwards of 90 per cent of the operative cotton spinners are members of their trade union organization, and that the best of relations exist between them and their organized employers. From my long experience in the labour cause I am more than ever convinced that it is absolutely requisite for the welfare of the wage earning classes that they should be organized for trade union purposes, and I am surprised that any workman should be so dull in comprehension as to remain outside the ranks of organized labour. In any agreements we make with the organized employers the question of non-union workmen is never considered, but for all that, we have no love for such persons, as they act as a drag to the wheel of labour progress."

IS THE CLOSED SHOP ILLEGAL?

(Concluded from page 5.)

well. In the case referred to, it was a combination by owners of property. The principle equally applies to the case of owners of labor. Strikes are the remedy of workmen against attempted oppression by their employers. So long as workmen do not resort to intimidation or violence, I understand that in the absence of statutory provisions to the contrary their right to strike in larger or lesser numbers is absolute. They may do so without notice and under circumstances which are most favorable to the accomplishment of their wishes even if most injurious to employers, always provided that they do not resort to criminal means or to anything which is in the nature of intimidation or violence. And equally do I understand that in the absence of statutory legislation to the contrary it is the right of employers to employ or not employ whom they choose, and to make with their workmen any agreements which are for mutual interest, always provided that no criminal or illegal means are resorted to for the accomplishment of their end.

The converse is equally true. Strikes which involve intimidation or violence violate the law. And arrangements between employers and employed, the purpose of which is to prevent other workmen from obtaining employment, violate the law.

In my opinion the right, whether of the workman or of his employer, is a property right. It is protected or his employer, is a property right. It is protected by Federal and State constitutions, and no statute which endeavors to put a limitation upon it can stand.

The fundamental principle of our political system is the freedom of the individual and his right to be protected so long as he abstains from the perpetration of anything which is criminal or which violates the rights of others.

In expressing the above opinion I deal with the general situation. Corporations are creatures of statutes. Such statutes may within constitutional limitations subject their charters to reasonable restrictions. And I do not make any reference to arrangements which may be held to be in conflict with the law against monopoly or restraint of trade. They are foreign to the direct subject.

JOHN FRANKENHEIMER,

Of Kurzman & Frankenheimer, Lawyers, New York City:

The Illinois court holds that a contract proposed by trade unionists requiring their employer to hire only union labor is in violation of the employer's freedom of contract to hire any kind of labor that may suit him. But in its anxiety to preserve the sanctity of the doctrine of the freedom of contract,

the Illinois court is blind to the fact that the freedom of contract implies as its correlative the freedom not to contract. If, as the Illinois court holds, the employer has the right to hire or to refuse to hire any kind of labor as his fancy may dictate, then the laborer has an equal right to work or refuse to work for any employer as to the laborer may seem best. If the employer can limit employment in his business to a specified kind of laborers, for instance, to white laborers or non-union laborers, and refuse to hire colored laborers or unionists, then the correlative right must exist in laborers—members of a trade union—to work only for an employer who will recognize their union and refuse to work for him unless he will limit employment in his business to members of their union. If the employer has the right to discriminate against unionists, the latter have an equal right to discriminate against an employer who will not support the union. If the employer in hiring a laborer can make it a condition of the employment that the laborer shall not be a member of a union, trade unionists in contracting with the employer have an equal right to make it a condition of their agreement to render service that the employer should hire only members of the union. If the employer can attach such a condition to his offer of employment, the trade unionists must possess an equal right to attach conditions to their offer of services. In homely phrase, what is sauce for the goose must be sauce for the gander. Unionists can say to their employer, "we will work only with unionists, we make a common sacrifice for a common benefit and we will help each other to get employment." There can be nothing illegal in the effort of unionists to make the shop in which they work a union shop, that is, to agree with the employer as a condition of rendering services to him that he will employ only members of the union. The employer is at liberty to refuse to limit employment to unionists, but if he does this the unionists must be at liberty to cease to work for him—that is, to strike! That is all the strikers did in the Illinois case in so far as they sought to induce their employer to make a contract with them. They had the right to strike for any reason deemed satisfactory to them. They had the right to endeavor by agreement with their employer to make the shop a union shop. They sought therefore by lawful means to attain a lawful end, and never before the decision in the Christensen case has this been declared to be an unlawful conspiracy.

It is to be regretted that the Illinois court went out of its way in the decision under discussion to render an unnecessary pronouncement against the principle of the union shop. Decisions of this kind serve only to undermine the confidence of workmen in the absolute impartiality of our judicial tribunals, and tend to substantiate the charge that in the pending struggle between capital and labor judges are frequently influenced in their decisions by the natural bias which springs from environment.

Labor unions will receive additional protection against foes without from the Prince act, which has become a law in New York through the Governor's signature. This measure was passed by the legislature as a result of the indignation aroused by the disclosures made during the trial of Sam Parks on the charge of extortion. The new law makes the bribery of a walking delegate, business agent or any authorized representative of a labor union, a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment. This does not create a new crime. It only specifies an offense that could before be reached only under the statute relating to extortion, which is thus extended to reach the briber. It is an act plainly intended for the benefit of organized labor as well as of employers. Its existence may exercise a deterrent influence upon those in a position of temptation.

The strike should be the last resort, after successive efforts at conciliation and arbitration have failed, and all chances for settlement abandoned.—"Cigar Makers' Official Journal."

LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY, PRODUCTIVITY AND THE CLOSED SHOP.

A REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF MR. PARRY, CONVERTING AN ATTACK UPON THE CLOSED SHOP INTO AN ARGUMENT IN ITS FAVOR.

In his annual address as President of the National Association of Manufacturers, Mr. D. M. Parry remarks as an apparent cause of congratulation "that organized labor is learning a very valuable lesson in economics." Mr. Parry, himself, deserves congratulation for the rapidity with which he is learning from his own study of economic questions. He has discovered that low wages are not a benefit to society at large. In making this discovery, he has learned in a comparatively brief time a truth that has been attained by economists only after thought and discussion covering several decades. The old theory was that low wages caused low prices for products, and that their tendency was constantly beneficial to the entire community. That theory was long ago abandoned by economic students in favor of what is known as the doctrine of "the economy of high wages,"—the doctrine that in the modern age of machinery the highest wages are paid in those factories which turn out the cheapest products. Mr. Parry shows that he has graduated from the old notion when he announces his conviction that "high wages are a blessing, not a curse."

Opposition too Indiscriminate.

Mr. Parry has still to learn that his wholesale and indiscriminate opposition to the closed shop can not be sustained. He declares it to be his belief "that the day must come when no industry will be allowed to run on the closed shop plan;" and again, "that the closed shop is against public policy." With these propositions he couples the statement that the strides of this country in material welfare and in general intelligence are traceable to "the freedom of the individual," and declares that "all classes profit by the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases with his time, labor and property, so long as he does not infringe the equal freedom of another."

In my opinion, the application of the theory of the open shop to all industries is impracticable. This is a question upon which no sweeping decision can be reached, supported by sound reason, from the exclusive point of view of one side. Nor is it a question that can be answered by an indiscriminate conclusion of universal application. The question of open and closed shop must be considered in its application to different crafts.

The theory of trade unionism is that it tends to elevate the workingman of lowest earning capacity above a rate of payment which is less than the minimum wage necessary to sustain decent living. Its purpose and its actual tendency are to help in establishing an average minimum payment for labor that will be adjusted for the general good of all workmen, and indirectly therefore of the whole community, since the workmen form politically the mass of the voters, and economically the mass of the consumers. It must be conceded that this theory involves a certain sacrifice of that "liberty of the individual" which Mr. Parry regards as of supreme importance. This theory of unionism traverses, also, the general proposition with which President Eliot of Harvard University has approached this subject, if he has been quoted correctly in the daily press he regards the surrender of personal freedom to an association as "almost as great an obstacle to happiness as its loss to a despot or to a ruling class."

Sacrifices of Liberty.

Now liberty is indeed a precious thing. Liberty is in one aspect the fruit and flower of modern civilization. Yet there are some things even more valuable than the freedom of the individual. Liberty must be regarded as a means, rather than as an end in itself. Liberty implies equality, and in politics we have liberty because there exists political equality. But in the economic life, the equality in the

parties to a contract is not always present. The liberty of the strong may become the license of the oppressor; the liberty of the weak may practically come to mean the subjection of the oppressed. It is, therefore, sometimes highly important to make a partial sacrifice of individual liberty in order to secure the maintenance of a greater equality, and thus the conditions for the restoration of an ultimate and enlarged liberty. This is what unionism seeks to do; this is its essential principle, and it is a principle that should command general public sympathy and approval.

Opened and Closed Shop.

Therefore, when Mr. Parry would make the rule of the open shop universal in all industries, on the ground that the closed shop is an infringement of individual liberty, he goes too far. In my opinion, the open shop would be beneficial in some industries



EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN,
Professor in Columbia University.

and dangerous in others. The same statement may be made of the closed shop. For example, when the open shop would admit into an industry the cheap labor of indigent and ignorant immigrants, so as to create through the fierce competition of unorganized and necessitous labor a wage rate below the minimum essential for decent living, the open shop would obviously be a detriment. So long as this supply of crude labor from foreign countries continues, so long will such a domestic industry as garment-making, for example, need the protection afforded by the exclusive employment of members of a union, able to negotiate with employers a trade agreement that prescribes sanitary conditions of work and a wage which will permit living in accordance with the American standard. The closed shop here stands for the attainment of that equality between employer and employed, which is the surest guarantee of an ultimate liberty.

On the other hand, there are crafts in which the open shop might be beneficial, for the reason that the closed shop would tend to produce a monopoly. This danger of a monopoly of labor would become apparent in such a skilled calling as that of the glass blower. Any monopoly on the side of either capital or labor employed in ordinary industry is almost superfluous to state, in restraint of both production and trade, and is, therefore, a menace to prosperity. In the monopoly of labor in any craft lies the danger of unionism and the danger of the closed shop. A monopoly of skilled labor would

tend to produce the same result as was reached by the guilds in the middle ages. The guilds were organized originally for the benefit both of the skilled workmen and of the consumers of their product. Ultimately they grew into craft monopolies, with resultant evils that are recounted in their history. Without doubt, the more advanced leaders of organized labor recognize this peril and do not hesitate to utter warnings against the danger of permitting the unions to create a monopoly of labor in any craft. It is doubtful, however, whether the rank and file of organized labor, are adequately instructed as to the reality of this peril.

Unionism and Democracy.

In some respects, the theory of the union is parallel to the political theory of democracy. The theory is based upon the proposition of human equality. In a certain and fundamentally important sense, the statement that one man is as good as another is true. The carrying out of that political idea has proved of the greatest benefit in our political system and has had its influence in making the average American citizen in many respects an admirable type. But in that very proposition lie the difficulties of democracy. For in another sense one man is not as good as another. Men are differentiated into classes by opportunity, by education and by efficiency. The real ideal of a democracy must be to level up, not to level down; and in this leveling up the true natural leaders must be given ample scope. But the end, must be a democracy, not an aristocracy.

To transfer the illustration from politics to sociology, there underlies trade unionism a similar proposition on democracy. That is to say, unionism would not drag down the rewards of labor to the lowest earning capacity of the poorest workman. Rather would unionism tend to elevate the poorest workman so as to command a wage established on a minimum average higher than is essential to meet the bare necessities of existence.

The danger, however, in the practical operation of trade unionism lies in its working out toward the establishment of a fixed average payment for a day's work so as to put a check, or limit, upon the higher wages possible for superior individual merit. In that danger—the danger of the repression of individual excellence, and the limitation of its reward—is to be found the opportunity of opponents of organized labor for an attack upon it as a system. Therein, then, lies the necessity for intelligent leadership of organized labor to guard unionism against that attack.

Wages and Productivity.

Mr. Parry advances the general proposition that the rate of wages in any country is dependent upon the per capita production. It is doubtless true that the reward of labor, like the reward of capital, must be a certain portion of the sum of wealth produced in any industry, and varies in accordance with its effective contribution to the common output. Thus, productivity does bear a definite relation to the reward of labor. Moreover, capital and labor are intimately associated in this joint effort. If the productivity of capital can be increased through the use of fine machinery, not only will the return on capital be augmented, but the labor employed in using that machinery is certain to receive a higher reward than would labor employed in using inferior machinery, or no machinery at all. There are familiar illustrations of this truth to be seen on every side. The weaver, for example, using the best appliances in a New England mill will earn higher wages than can the hand loom weaver in the Southern hills.

But admitting Mr. Parry's proposition to be true, that the wage rate is dependent upon the per capita

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LEGAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE CLOSED SHOP.

It is natural that the recent decision of the Appellate Court in Illinois that a contract between an employer and a union to employ union labor exclusively is illegal *per se* and in that State criminal should attract the attention throughout the country of both employers and wage-earners. That decision strikes at the very existence of the closed shop and of the union label. If its soundness were beyond question it would be a vital blow to an untold number of existing contracts and would place the ban of the law upon all efforts to extend the closed shop system. The open shop would of necessity prevail in all industries.

We believe that the decision is sound neither in law, nor in common sense, nor in policy. It declares that the specified agreement to employ only union workmen strikes at the right of contract. It appears to us that the decision itself strikes at that right. The decision appears also to strike by inference at trade customs that have been upheld in many courts and that are of common practice. If an employer may not agree to employ only a certain kind of labor, then a purchaser may not agree to buy only one brand of goods or to deal with one tradesman exclusively. Statutes to forbid employers to hire workmen upon the condition that they abstain from membership in a labor union have been declared unconstitutional wherever the test has been made. The same principle of freedom of contract underlying the closed shop agreement underlies the agreement to employ non-union labor exclusively. It is this principle that we wish to emphasize, without regard to the legality or illegality of the methods used to enforce a contract for the closed shop. Those methods are aside from the basic proposition. We invite attention to the opinions upon the Adams decision that have been contributed to THE REVIEW by several eminent members of the bar.

The discussion of the legal soundness of the Illinois decision leads to the more general economic question of the desirability of the closed shop. That is a question that may be solved through the practical processes of industrial life. Theory, based upon observation, may select trades or conditions wherein the closed shop would be in accordance with public policy, and may discover other trades or conditions wherein the open shop would be preferable. But it is highly desirable that the way to test theory by experience should not be closed by judicial dictum.

The group of letters also published in this issue of THE REVIEW, from officers of British unions in nine industries, illuminate the practice prevalent in the United Kingdom as to the open shop. It is to be observed that the open shop is there the general although not universal practice, and yet these letters show that the British trade unions occupy a strong position. Indeed, some of the letters, which are all written by men who have enjoyed an opportunity to observe labor conditions in the United States, dwell upon the financial strength of the British unions, due to the greater constancy of their membership and the higher ratio of dues to wages. These letters bring out also the importance to the union of being able to furnish superior workmen. That in several trades is cited as a reason for the preference manifested by employers for union labor, even though they may be opposed to the expressed recognition of an organization of wage-earners. The British unions, it is apparent, are thus encouraging a tendency in practice, if not in contract, toward the closed shop. That is a process of gradual evolution, to be carried forward by incessant striving toward excellence. The observation of that current process in Great

Britain goes to sustain the contention of Henry White, that the danger of open shops to the continued life and progressive strength of unionism is likely to be exaggerated.

LAKE TRAFFIC RESUMED.

Because of the number and variety of the trades affected by the recent tie-up of transportation on the Great Lakes, it was difficult to make any accurate estimate of the loss to shippers and others. But the variety and complexity of these interests doubtless had their influence in causing the captains to return to work, thus enabling some three thousand vessels to be put into commission and permitting about 150,000 longshoremen and seamen to cease enforced idleness. The resumption of traffic is of especial importance to the coal, ore, grain and lumber interests.

The captains resumed work in accordance with the action of the Masters and Pilots' Association, which decided to "make the best of a bad situation," in the words of Captain Paul Howell, it being understood that the mates were to make an arrangement for themselves with the Lake Carriers' Association. The complication with federal laws made this strike peculiar. The successful operation of the agreement between the Lake Carriers and the Longshoremen should point the way to a permanent agreement between vessel owners and the captains, pilots and mates. The hearing of testimony as to the facts in the case by the Cleveland Civic Federation is set forth in an article upon another page.

A DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AGREEMENTS.

The proceedings of the Conference on Trade Agreements, held in New York City under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, possess more than sufficient interest and instruction to warrant the full report which we present in this number of THE REVIEW. A distinct disposition was shown among those who addressed the Conference, representative of both employers and employed, to extend the operation of trade agreements and to learn more of their forms and principles. In furtherance of this desire, a permanent Department of Trade Agreements of the National Civic Federation has been organized and will exercise its activities toward education and the encouragement of this method of securing industrial harmony based upon equitable terms and conditions.

An agreement has been signed at San Francisco between the Steam Schooner Managers' Association and the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, the Pacific Coast Marine Firemen's Union and the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Association of the Pacific Coast. Generally speaking, the agreement continues for another year the existing conditions. The seamen are safeguarded against a reduction of pay, while the managers are assured of a stable wage rate. The working rules of the sailors' union are embodied in the agreement, which includes matters of overtime and meal hours, which have been regulated tacitly by custom, although more or less in dispute. Under the new agreement, the managers are to provide messrooms on board every vessel under their control, "where practicable." The "Coast Seamen's Journal" says of the agreement, that it "marks another step toward the permanent establishment of peaceful, business-like relations between the two essential factors in maritime commerce on the Pacific. The unions concerned do not pretend that the terms agreed upon are entirely satisfactory in every respect. With all its faults, however, the agreement is a fair and honorable compromise; if it doesn't mark much improvement upon previous conditions, it certainly marks no surrender of anything so far gained."

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRADE AGREEMENTS.

THEIR SUCCESSES AND FAILURES DISCUSSED BY REPRESENTATIVE EMPLOYERS AND WAGE-EARNERS—DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AGREEMENTS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

The conference upon Trade Agreements, held in New York City on May 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, was highly successful in attaining its purpose, which was the interchange of ideas and the comparison of experiences in forming these agreements. In making them binding, in their success and failure, in their inclusion of provisions for conciliation or arbitration, or both, and as to the subjects which should be specified or excluded. Those who took part in the conference included employers, individual or representing organizations in their industries, and employees, representing national or local bodies of organized labor. The discussion brought out a unanimous expression of belief in the desirability of trade agreements, and that they offer



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS

a practical method of attaining more harmonious relations between capital and labor in all the industries that were considered. In two trades, those of pattern-making and iron-molding, the movement for trade agreements national in scope received distinct impetus. The recital of experiences as well as the discussion of theories, by those who attended the conference was considered so valuable that the formation of a Department of Trade Agreements of the National Civic Federation was afterward effected.

Following is a detailed report of the conference. Direct quotations are from stenographic notes and condensed quotations are based upon them:

The conference was called to order on behalf of the National Civic Federation by Marcus M. Marks, president of the National Clothiers' Association, who stated that its purpose was to discuss trade agreements, with special reference to methods of arbitration or conference, and to the subjects that are proper for arbitration. He suggested that Francis L. Robbins, president of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, who had recently participated in averting a threatened trouble in the soft coal industry, through the successful operation of a trade agreement, would be the most competent man present, at least on the part of employers, to lead the discussion. The suggestion was seconded by Isaac W. Frank, president of the National Founders' Association, and Mr. Robbins was unanimously chosen to preside.

Remarks of Chairman Robbins.

In taking the chair, Mr. Robbins said:

"There is nothing in my judgment that is so important for the future of this country as the joint trade agreement as a method of reaching harmonious relations between capital and labor. I think there is nothing that will solve the problem and avert difficulties, dangers and possibly disaster so well as the coming together of employers and employees to discuss the questions at issue between them and to arrive at what is known as the joint trade agreement.

"There is probably no trade wherein the difficulties are greater than in the coal mining industry, which presents a method of agreement that has been very successful. We do not claim for it that it is perfect by any manner of means, but we do claim that between the leaders of the operators and of the miners there has been that feeling of confidence of belief in each other, of fairness and of a sincere desire to reach an agreement, that has resulted in accomplishing the object.

"We leave nothing to arbitration. We do not believe in the principle, if you can get away from it.

We believe that the people who know the conditions in their trade, both employers and employed, are better able to deal with these questions than any stranger. We believe that if you meet the issues with fairness and with conservatism, you can better come to an agreement that will be satisfactory than by leaving it to be arbitrated by some one else. Compulsion of any kind, either by legal authority or by the decision of some one to whom matters are referred, is never as satisfactory as a voluntary agreement between two interests. You always find that it will work out far better if you will make your own agreement amongst yourselves. Even if, in making that agreement, possibly one side or the other does not think that it is getting exactly what it is entitled to, better far a concession from either side in reaching a joint agreement than it is to leave it to some one else to decide for you. You know the conditions, and you will accept them and live up to them; and the people under you will be better satisfied.

"Mr. Mitchell, who has ably represented the mining industry in this country and who is thoroughly familiar with every particle, both theoretically and in practice, of the principles of joint trade agreements, and to whose conservative action and advice the joint trade agreement with the bituminous miners was reached recently, is here and can speak from



GRANGE SARD

the side of the employee. Mr. Keefe, who is here representing the Longshoremen's Union, stands in the same capacity as Mr. Mitchell—both conservative, fair-minded, competent men, representing interests that are hard to handle. I don't think in all the country there are any two interests harder to handle than those. These men can hear testimony to our methods of settling these questions, rather than by resorting to arbitration. I would be glad to hear from each of them."

Mr. Mitchell's Address.

John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, addressed the conference:

"The joint trade agreement is the most unmistakable recognition of the mutual dependence of capital and labor. It is the essence of trade-unionism. In the coal industry, where wages and conditions of employment are regulated by it, we have found that industry has thrived, that wages have been bettered, that conditions of employment have been more satisfactory than under any other method that has been tried in our trade. We have 350,000 coal miners who are working under agreement, whose wages and conditions of employment are determined by a joint conference.

"I do not know of any other industry that will show so marked a change as the coal industry. I remember only eight or nine years ago, when each employer fixed the conditions of employment at his own mines, when the workmen at those mines resorted to strikes or other means to change those conditions. The net result was that wages constantly fell, until the earnings of the miners were so low that they were unable to live and provide for themselves as we all believe American workmen should. And on the other hand, the profits of the operators had fallen so that many of them were in practical bankruptcy. One mine owner did not know what his neighbor was paying for labor. The man at one mine didn't know what the wages were at the neighboring mine. In the competition for business,

there would be a cut here and a cut there, and so on all along the line; and with the desire to secure trade, the outcome was unsatisfactory to both sides.

Competition and Wages.

"In 1897 we held our first joint convention and fixed a uniform competitive wage scale. That is to say, in our trade the wages are not uniform, but they are fixed upon a competitive basis. The principal element entering into the wage scale in the mining industry is competitive opportunity of all interests represented. We have to make our mining scale so as to give, say, Mr. Robbins, in Pennsylvania, a wage scale that will enable him to compete with coal men in Ohio. It so happens that in this case the wages are the same, but if they could not enter into the same markets on the same competitive basis we would have to change the wage scale to enable them to do so.

"Of course, what is true of our trade would not necessarily be true of other trades. For instance, in the building trade there is no competition between men putting up a building in New York and men putting up a building in Chicago, but in the case of any commodity which is transported, such as coal, there is competition that has got to be taken into consideration in determining the wage scale. We adjust all our differences by agreement.

"The agreement provides not only for the wages but the hours of labor, and it determines in detail the conditions under which labor shall be performed. We provide in our agreements for every detail. We leave no question to arbitration.

Faults of Arbitration.

"I quite concur in the statement of Mr. Robbins that arbitration of wage questions should be avoided as far as is possible. Arbitration is provocative of strikes. That is, all my experience has been that where a trade agreement provides for a reference of questions to arbitration, it gives each side an opportunity—indeed, an invitation—to shirk responsibility. There is in every man's nature a certain fear of assuming responsibility. If he can shove it off upon somebody else he is often willing to do so. In our trade we take the position that we have got to settle these questions ourselves, and when we know we have got to settle them, we rise to the occasion and do it. So it seems to me that arbitration should be avoided in these joint agreements as far as possible.



JOHN MITCHELL

"In some of our districts, for instance in Indiana, when an agreement is made, if a dispute arises as to the meaning of it, it may be referred to a Board of Arbitration, in which a disinterested person acts as referee. But our experience there has been that many questions to both the operators and miners seem perfectly clear; but when a disinterested person was called in he could not understand them. He could not understand the technique of the mining code; he could not understand our technical terms. The result has been that decisions have been rendered which were not only unsatisfactory to us, but just as unsatisfactory to the employers. So I think that the best agreement and the best condition under which industry can be conducted is that where the arrangement is made direct between the representatives of the manufacturers and the representatives of the workmen.

The Process of Agreement.

"In the coal industry we have an arrangement

probably different from that existing in any other industry. It is impossible in our trade to put a condition of employment upon an operator, or for an operator to pass conditions upon a miner, that will be unsatisfactory to him. That is to say, in our conventions we cannot vote a condition of employment upon an operator or a miner without his consent. In our inter-State conventions we make a representation based upon all the miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and we give to each of those districts four votes—that is, the miners have four votes from each district, and the operators have four votes from each district. Before a motion can be carried that fixes or affects our scale of wages, it must have the unanimous vote of all the miners and all the operators in that convention. If one miner or one operator vote in the negative, the vote will be lost. So you see the interests of all parties



I. W. FRANK

are protected, because it requires their consent before a motion can be carried; and we have found that to work out in mining matters entirely satisfactorily to us.

Lower Wages Accepted.

"I might say that under this agreement wages have both advanced and declined. I have heard it said by employers many times that this trade agreement arrangement was all right as long as wages advanced, but as soon as the time came when workmen would be expected or compelled to take a reduction of wages, that then the joint agreement would go to pieces. We have disproved that in our trade. It is true we have received more advances than we have declines, but this year the miners represented in our organization and who took part in this joint convention voted to accept a reduction in wages; and I think their action has done more to strengthen and encourage this trade agreement than any other one thing that has happened in our industrial affairs.

Wages Relative to Profits.

"We try to fix our wages based on the selling price of coal. If the mine owners are securing large prices for coal, we expect at the end of our agreement to share in that prosperity. On the other hand, if prices of coal fall off—if there is a depression—we expect to take a reduction in our wages, and share adversity with our employers. Under our arrangement we have grown to know one another and have grown to know one another's business.

"We know just as well as employers what it costs them to produce coal. We know what their profits are, and we know what they pay for their freight rates. We know, in a general way, practically as much about their business as they themselves. And they are willing to let us know that. Indeed, I have on more than one occasion had coal operators ask me to come to their offices and go over their books; if I doubted at all the statements they made as to their profits they have asked me to go over their books and satisfy myself, and to go over their cost sheets so as to know exactly what the reports from their business were, and to know how the business was conducted. In that way we have established, not only very close, but the very closest business relations.

"Aside from that, we have established a very pleasant personal relation. And my experience in the labor movement has been that a close personal relation does very much at times to avoid strikes and turmoil. When we learn to understand that each side is earnestly and honestly striving to do what is right,—when we learn to know that—it does very much to stop these strikes and lock-outs.

Right to Strike and Lock Out.

"I want to express this one personal opinion as to the rights and the relations of each side: I personally favor strikes. That is to say, I would dislike to see

the time come when men could not strike, or when employers could not close their shops, or mines, or railroads. I think behind all this lies our right to strike and the right of employers to lock us out. I think we must not surrender either of these rights. But a strike should in no instance be inaugurated, and there never should be a lock-out, until each side has exhausted every possible peaceful, conciliatory method at their command. I think they should try everything else. But when everything else has failed, and an adjustment cannot be reached, then I think the interest of industry—the interest of labor and the interest of capital—will be best conserved by retaining and maintaining the right to stop work

Conferences Prevent Strikes.

"We have been fortunate, and I believe we will continue to be fortunate in our trade, in averting strikes, whenever we have had conferences. As a matter of fact, we have never had a strike in the coal industry where we have first had a conference. The strikes in the coal industry have invariably taken place in those branches of our trade where employers or workmen have refused to confer. Wherever we have been able to meet in fair conference to consider a question upon its merits, we have reached an agreement. This spring we had some difficulty. It was the impression of many of our people that reduction in wages was not warranted. We adjourned our convention, and went home; but instead of going home and striking we went home and came back to our convention and tried it over again, and we kept at it. We threshed the thing out for weeks. But at the time we were arguing it—the time we were negotiating—everybody was at the mines and the men had work. And if we had stayed there from that time until now, I am sure that the interests of the country, the interests of both operators and miners, would have been better conserved than if we had been on strike.

Combinations of Capital and Labor.

"Now, gentlemen, it seems to me that where industry is carried on by agreement the most satisfactory conditions will prevail. This old idea of men conducting their affairs to suit themselves in doing business, without restraint, if permitted to go on, will lead to chaos and anarchy. It can do nothing else. Where we have these great combinations of employers and where we have great combinations of laborers, as we have and as we are bound to have, I believe firmly that the only possible condition of peace is where industry is carried on by mutual consent and by a trade agreement. It seems to me that that is the outcome, that that is the natural sequence, of these great combinations of employers on one side and the combinations of laborers on the other side; and there is no use of us even hoping that the conditions of industry will change and go back to what they were fifty years ago. We have got the combinations of capital and employers, and they are going to stay. We have got the combinations of labor and they are going to remain. We cannot change it if we would, and I don't think we would if we could. So it seems to me, gentlemen, that the sooner the employers of this country, the sooner the laborers of this country, agree to understand this mutual dependence, the better it will be for not only ourselves directly interested, but the better it will be for society as a whole."

Instructed Delegates.

In reply to a question by Isaac W. Frank as to why the bituminous agreement, involving a reduction of wages for the current year, had been submitted to a referendum, Mr. Mitchell explained that the reference was because delegates to this convention had been instructed. The instruction of delegates was not a rule of the organization. In a majority of cases, they were not instructed. Mr. Mitchell said that if the agreement reached at the conference had been rejected by the referendum, he supposed a strike would have followed. But the men would keep at work so long as negotiations continued. As to output, the only restriction was the eight hours

working day. Practice had proved that miners produce more coal in eight hours than in ten. The agreement contained no restriction upon the quantity of coal to be produced by any miner in eight hours.

As to Union Labor.

Mr. Frank asked whether it was required that all miners employed must belong to the union. Mr. Mitchell replied:

"We do not require that a man who gets employment shall be a union man first, but on accepting employment he becomes a member of our union. In the anthracite region in Pennsylvania men are employed without discrimination. Also, there is no discrimination against a union man. In Central Pennsylvania and in the Pittsburgh District, practically all the men belong to the union. There is nothing said in any of our contracts as to whether a man shall be a union or non-union man; not a single word."

"What is the effect?" asked Mr. Frank.

"The men join the union as a condition of employment," replied Mr. Mitchell.



FRANK BUCHANAN

Mr. Frank: "They do then require that men belong to the Union in order

to be able to work in certain mines, whether the employer is desirous of employing whomsoever he pleases or not?"

Mr. Mitchell: "An employer has that right always to employ whoever he pleases. When a man secures employment, he becomes a member of our Union and works under our contract. The only way we can carry our contract out is by making him a party to it. The contract is between the operators and the union man who works, and the man who is not a member cannot be a party to that contract."

Mr. Mitchell further explained that not once in a thousand cases was it necessary to ask a man to join the union. The men joined voluntarily. The condition of a man not in the union would be no more onerous than that of any single man in a community where every other man believed in one practice. He had never known a strike for the specific purpose of preventing the employment of a minority of non-union men in a mine operated under the union agreement. Mr. Robbins added the explanation that he thought it unfair and unwise to send instructed delegates to a convention. Men should go to a conference free to listen to argument and to agree upon whatever was shown to be just.

Subjects Not Arbitrable.

Questions by Benjamin D. Trattel of the New York Building Trades Employers' Association and by A. Beverly Smith of the Lithographers' Association brought out this further statement as to his attitude toward strikes, lock-outs and arbitration, from Mr. Mitchell:

"Neither side should surrender its right to strike or lock-out. Failing in every other method to settle their differences, the men should always maintain the right to strike, or the employers the right to lock out their men. If they were to surrender absolutely those rights, then the chances are that the conditions of employment would be satisfactory neither to the men nor to the employers.

"My own judgment is that in preference to a strike we should resort to arbitration—I mean arbitration of the question of wages. There are questions I would not arbitrate at all. I would not arbitrate, under any condition, my right to belong to a union. And I would not arbitrate the hours of labor in our trade.

"If the question were raised in our trade as to whether or not we should abandon our eight hours a day, I would not submit that question to arbitration; and our employers would not ask us to, because it has been very satisfactory to both of us.

"There have been some failings, no doubt, which

have increased the cost of production in some instances; but on the whole the operators and the miners will both agree that eight hours is the most satisfactory for our trade. . . . The question of a man's right to belong to a union is particularly a question not to be arbitrated, because it is fundamental. You can't arbitrate fundamental principles. . . . I favor settlement by agreement, and only arbitration in the event of failing to agree, and then in preference to strike. I have advised miners in Kentucky to accept a reduction rather than arbitrate, in order to avoid the interference of outside interests."

Wm. O. Coakley of the Central Lithographic Council called Mr. Mitchell's attention to the statement that in the lithographic industry, after an agreement had been signed, some of the employers started to make individual contracts with workmen. Charles



W. O. COAKLEY

Wilhelms of the joint executive committee of the Lithographers' Association explained that a skilled artist, commanding a high wage, might cripple an employer's business by leaving him. Hence individual agreements with artists for longer periods than the year covered by the trade agreements were desirable. He maintained that his industry was one in which the strike and

lock-out must be eliminated, any controversy to be settled finally by arbitration.

The Longshoremen's Agreement.

At the request of Chairman Robbins, Daniel J. Keefe, president of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, addressed the conference. He explained that his organization includes tug-boat captains, engineers, firemen, marine firemen, oilers, water tenders, divers, longshoremen, lumber inspectors, elevator employees, tally men, grain inspectors and others. Their wages ranged from \$2 to \$15 a day. The organization meets that of the employers once a year. It is one of the oldest organizations under a trade agreement. Each local body sends an accredited delegate to these joint meetings, instructed only to make the best possible agreement. There is no referendum, the delegates having full authority. In the same way the employers come to the meetings with full authority from their association, or the interest they represent, to make an agreement without referring it back. Mr. Keefe continued:

"Our agreements cover the wages and hours and general conditions. There is always a provision for arbitration on questions that are not understood, or in the event of any question arising as to the meaning of any part of the agreement. That, however, does not touch on the wage scale; nor the hours; nor the conditions specified. That is only usual on technical questions, and the arbitration board is only called in, or arbitration is only resorted to, after the employer and the men, or the representative of the men, have exhausted every means to adjust their differences. We have had only one case of arbitration in four years.

"The employers are just as anxious to continue this trade agreement as we are. There is no question of non-union men getting into the agreement, or controversy at all. They treat with the union for union men exclusively, so many as we can furnish them. When we can't furnish them, then they may employ any other men they desire until such time as union men put in an appearance. That is the desire of the employer as well as ourselves. We have no dispute relative to non-union men.

"The employer says to us, 'We want you to furnish all the men and be responsible for their acts during the life of this contract.' That we usually do. We do not have any strikes; we do not have any lock-outs. All the men in the different callings are part of the organization, and there is no opportunity of striking against non-union men. All the employ-

ers are party to a contract, through an association or as an individual, and there is no opportunity of misunderstanding on that side; and I am very much pleased to be able to say that the employers at no time have sought to take any advantage of changed conditions.

Necessity of Strike Removed.

"We, like the miners and some of the other organizations, were unable to present sufficient argument to continue the last year's wage, and so were obliged to take a reduction, but the reduction was taken by the delegates in that convention, who were clothed with power and with full authority to make the best possible arrangement. We have been working under this system for many years, and we have had no strike. We never talk strike. There is no necessity for it. We meet with the employers and discuss wage or conditions, and always arrive at an amicable understanding. It may not be just what we anticipated or think we ought to have, or the agreement may not be just as the employer would wish; it may not be wholly satisfactory to either of us, yet we agree to it and accept it and carry it out.

"We say to the employer, whether it is on a declining or an advancing market, that the very best service within us belongs to him in accordance with the contract. There are no disputes; and I can declare from the experience of one who has served on an arbitration board for years, that the results of arbitration are not satisfactory to either side at any time. Arbitrators, as a rule, cannot go into the thing fully. They are often incapable of understanding the entire matter in detail. They may view it from a law standpoint. One or the other side may be able to put up the abler and more forcible argument, yet it does not follow that the fellow with the most forcible argument is right.

"Many employers as well as workers want to arbitrate everything—to submit the whole agreement to arbitration. Now, that is impractical. It is impossible to have a satisfactory result through arbitration of that kind. Anything you agree to should not be submitted to arbitration—hours of labor, wages and general conditions; but if there is something where there is a question of doubt as to its meaning, and that can't be cleared up or agreed to by the parties directly interested, then it is only fair to submit it to arbitration. The men at all times continuing to work pending the decision.

The Majority Rules.

"I am able to say very little on the strike or lock-out, because we have no experience with them. If there is a violation of the agreement on the part of one or any of the employers, the men can't stop work. They must continue to work while we take the matter up and hear the employer who has violated the agreement or contract, and then we insist on the contract being complied with. But we cannot let the local organizations take it upon themselves to assume that responsibility. The employer, on the other hand, does not attempt to lay his boats up while any matter is in dispute between himself and his employees; he also continues to do business until a satisfactory adjustment is reached. But there is so little of that arises that I could not discuss it intelligently. We don't have any friction. Ninety-four per cent. of our men are working under those trade agreements, and we meet every year and renew them.

"Now, as to the form of the contract other than the wage scale and the hours, it cannot be changed except by a majority of both sides. The general contract must remain as it is, except by a majority vote of both sides, each side having the same voting power. Like the bituminous miners, we cut down the number of votes on each side. The employers may have forty or fifty representatives and we may have a hundred and fifty, but the voting power is identically the same—each side has five votes. They may be cast by individuals, or by one representative, as they may see fit. But the general contract cannot be changed, either by us or by the employers, nor any amendment made, except with the approval of a

majority of both sides. That in itself prevents contention.

"Every member of our organization is furnished with a copy of the contract. He carries it in his coat or vest pocket, and at any time he can pull out his little book. We do that to prevent any confusion or misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the meaning of the contract. By furnishing every man with a copy of the contract he can see for himself just what it is, just what it means; and there is no danger of his making a mistake. The employers furnish their representatives, whether it be a captain, or a dock manager, or a warehouse man, with a similar copy, so that they, too, may know that the contract is being lived up to.

"But there is never any arbitration except on the matters that are not understood. We could not consistently submit anything to arbitration that is



D. J. KEEFE

agreed to. If we agree that the number of hours to constitute a day's work is going to be eight, or ten, or fifteen, we have agreed to that and there is no question about that. If we agree that the wages will be \$2 a day, or \$15 a day, we cannot change those figures; we have agreed to them, and there can be no mistake as to them.

"The other principal parts of the contract are also thoroughly understood. If there is any part that is not understood and the representatives on both sides can't agree on its proper construction, it may be submitted to arbitration. There is nothing further that could be submitted to arbitration. I think that our system is as good as any established in this country, and as far reaching.

"Only recently at a meeting in Cleveland of a branch of the Civic Federation, Mr. Mather, who is one of the executive committee of the Civic Federation, made a statement that was rather flattering to the organization I represent. He said if the laundry workers, barbers and the restaurant employees and newspaper employees and shoe polishers had organizations conducted along the same lines as the longshoremen, he wouldn't let anybody else do any business for him. That is only one instance. During a misunderstanding with some of the Pickands-Mather interests, a statement was made that the longshoremen would strike. Mr. Mather said: 'Well, do you know I would be more surprised to have the longshoremen strike than if I went home and found Mrs. Mather and my family refusing to live with me any longer.'

"Those are the relations between the men we do business with and our organization, and perhaps we have made as much progress as any other branch of labor in this country; perhaps our wages have been increased as rapidly and our hours reduced as much as those of any other branch of labor. I feel confident that the same relations could and will exist if the other employers and the men will get together, setting their personalities aside, the employer removing the idea from his mind that he is going to run his own business just as he sees fit without any interference on the part of anybody, and the employee also agreeing that his local organization or his organization alone cannot make the wage and conditions under which he has got to work, but that the employer is a factor. If these get together and discuss their interests freely and fairly, there is no reason why an amicable understanding and trade agreement cannot be reached.

"The longshoremen when our union was formed were perhaps the most difficult class of men in the whole country to organize and to induce to respect a trade agreement. Since those days, however, the most artistic or scientific men working in connection with the water-front have made every possible effort to become a part of our association. The very highest paid men—men who a few years ago would

not care even to have it known that they recognized a poor neighbor who worked as a 'longshoreman'—are willing to become a part of the same organization, purely from a business standpoint, believing that the method pursued by the 'longshoremen' is practical and that they have been able to gain the friendship and respect of the employers and the public through their fair and business-like policy."

A Broken Agreement.

Walter L. Pierce, formerly president of the National Metal Trades Association, spoke of the trade agreement with machinists, which had been formed by an arbitration committee, of which he was a member. After lasting about a year, that agreement "was broken by the machinists going on strike, although a part of the agreement was that no strikes or lock-outs should take place, and that any matters not covered by the agreement should be submitted to arbitration." Mr. Pierce said:



W. L. PIERCE

"The breaking of that agreement was a very severe blow to the agreement idea among the manufacturers. In that agreement there was a clause that no restriction should be placed upon labor or production. It was discovered after the agreement was made that

the restriction of production and the freedom of employment were subject to the constitution of the union. In other words the employer did not have freedom of production because of the constitution of the union. Our manufacturers, having made an agreement as they supposed in good faith which permitted them freedom of employment, found that it did not permit them that freedom. Upon a number of other questions there was a difference of opinion. Our association notified the union that a committee on interpretation had been appointed and requesting a similar committee, but that was never acted on by the union, and a strike took place in violation of the agreement."

Mr. Pierce expressed the wish that other unions would adopt the principles that had been set forth by Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Keefe. He said that if any man had the right to belong to a union, the converse held true, that any man had the right not to join a union. He thought that if violence could be eliminated, it would affect favorably the attitude of public opinion toward unionism. He discountenanced picketing, as leading men into temptation. He urged the necessity of more uniform action by the unions. They "should establish certain broad principles as right for everybody," and he thought these principles had been enunciated by Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Keefe. If they could be applied to the metal trades, there would be no trouble about forming agreements.

The Chairman, Mr. Robbins, said by way of comment upon the broken machinists' agreement:

"As representing docks on the lakes, in which our company has over \$10,000,000 invested, I shall endorse everything Mr. Keefe has said. We are perfectly willing that all our interests there shall be left in the hands of Mr. Keefe, representing the employees. Their fairness has been such that in one case at Sheboygan, where the local union refused to carry out its contract, they took away its charter from the organization, and there is no union in Sheboygan to-day because of it.

"It is only by conservative and fair action on both sides that agreements can be maintained. It is only by experience, by showing each side that an agreement is fair and that it is being applied to other trades, that a satisfactory conclusion can be reached."

Frank Buchanan, president of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, declared that "an agreement cannot be carried out to the interest of one party unless it is to the interest of the other." He pointed out that the miners

and operators were not alone interested in the production of coal. That was of concern also to the steel industry and the railroads. Hence it was important to extend the principle of trade agreements to all interdependent industries. Justice was in his view essential to any agreement.

Necessity of Fair Play.

Mr. Buchanan added as an illustration: "Say that a labor organization is so powerful that it has the employer in a position where it could enforce an unjust condition on him. I maintain that it is not to the interest of the organization to do so; that it must consider the employer's interest, if that agreement is to be a success. If the employer is in a position where he is strong and the union is weak, if he forces an agreement on the union that is unjust and unsatisfactory, in my opinion it will reflect back upon the employer himself in time, to his injury."

Mr. Buchanan said: "I am a believer in a sympathetic movement, but I am not always a believer in a sympathetic strike. The abuse of the sympathetic movement is not proper, but it cannot be denied that the use of any sympathetic movement is proper. The steel worker is interested in the miner being at work, else the steel mills cannot get fuel. Agreements, Mr. Buchanan pointed out, had been violated by employers as well as by employees. But because a good law had been violated it did not follow that the law should be repealed. Rather, a way should be found to enforce that law. The influence of all should be exerted to enforce fair trade agreements. He held that if the structural iron workers were to take an arbitrary position, it would not only hamper their industry but would injure other trade organizations. It would then become the duty of those organizations to say to the structural iron workers that they must recede from their arbitrary position for the sake of the other industries of the country. "Peace is what we want. Disturbances cost everybody too much. Through such meetings as this, we may learn how to deal with this question of agreements for the best interests of all."

At this point Mr. Robbins was called away by a business engagement, and John Mitchell was unanimously chosen, on motion, to preside. Mr. Mitchell called upon John Flynn, of the Metal Polishers' Association. Mr. Flynn said that all the shop trades are in favor of agreements. He believed that if they were drawn up properly they could be kept by both sides. It was important to go over every question in preliminary conferences. Nothing should be left to arbitration. Yet, if it came to a dead-lock, the shop trades would favor calling in an arbitrator. He deprecated the idea of some employers that they could do business solely to suit themselves.

The Lithographic Industry.

Mr. Parker, representing the allied lithographers' unions, said that he recognized the right of employers to run their business to suit themselves, and also the right of employees to sell their labor as they pleased. But there is no reason, he insisted, why the two sides should not come together and reach an agreement satisfactory to both. An agreement should stipulate certain things that should not be arbitrated. This should be done when a trade is at peace, and when rational thought can be given to the subject. In the lithographers' industry, the employers wished to eliminate the open shop and the piece-work system. The employees were willing that the employers should put themselves on an equal basis with one another. Mr. Parker quoted a member of the Civic Federation as having said that where there was a piece-work system, the employees restricted the output. During a strike, the employers paid non-union men more for piece-work than they had been paying union men. This made it plain that the union itself had restricted output. Thereupon the price of piece-work was cut, until there was another strike. After that, an agreement was drawn by which the piece-work men were to produce all they could, while men paid by the day were to receive as much as they could make by the piece-

work system. It was for the employers so to regulate the piece-work system that they would not be competing with one another. That would prevent cutting under the minimum wage; and at the same time no employee should be restricted in his output and the amount earned.

Mr. Parker argued for the closed shop, on the ground that the non-union man had no right to enjoy a rate of payment that had been gained by the efforts of the union. Nevertheless, any fair arbitrator would declare for the open shop, on the ground that any man has a right to accept employment anywhere. "Therefore," he said, "the unions work in a shop." A trade agreement should apply to all employees. There should be no individual agreements.

The Stove Manufacturers.

The Chairman called upon Grange Sard, of Rathborn, Sard & Co., representing the Stove Manufacturers' Association:



THOS. B. LAVEY

"I have been through the mill, so to speak. I have fought the union. I have thought it was to the interest of manufacturers to destroy the union. But I have been shown the error of my way, and I am prepared to say now and have thought for many years that it is the wise employer who en-

courages, rather than discourages unionism.

"The Stove Manufacturers' Defense Association was organized in 1886 for the purpose of fighting the union, of resisting what we termed unjust demands. We had our fight with the union, and at the end we had both more respect for the power and fighting qualities of the other; so that in 1891 we had a conference committee appointed representing six employees and six employers. They drew up an agreement which should fix the rate of wages and the conditions in shops for the current year. Previous to that time, each manufacturer had settled his own difficulties, but they were settled after the blow was struck. A fundamental principle of each agreement was that if there was any grievance in any of the shops of members of our association, the manufacturer should not lock his men out, nor should the men strike, but that pending a conference to settle the difficulty, the men should all remain at work. Since 1891 we have had no strikes of any consequence.

"If any one thinks that these agreements are going to bring about the millennium, they are greatly mistaken. There is bound to be friction and trouble. But by means of these agreements the troubles are reduced to the minimum. There has been no serious interruption of our business, but we have progressed smoothly and satisfactorily—immensely satisfactorily to the workmen and to the employers as well.

What Agreements Should Embrace.

"We especially want to consider what these agreements shall embrace. No agreement can cover all questions as to the relation of capital and labor. Any attempt to make an agreement cover everything will simply result, in my judgment, in failure. The fewer important subjects it covers the better. You can't start off and have everything as right the first year as you will the second and the third. So do not try to make an agreement that shall provide for every possible contingency that may arise under any circumstances. Above all, don't attempt to put into the agreement matters of controversy which cannot possibly be settled by agreement. There are fundamental views which employer and employee hold, and they do not propose to give them up, and it is unwise to ask either side to renounce them in an agreement. So there are things which need not and ought not to be mentioned in an agreement, but an agreement may be made which I assure you by

my personal experience may be the greatest means of settling disputes between labor and capital and that will remove the bitter feeling that does, but should not, exist between employer and employee.

"In order to make agreements effective you must recognize the union. Making your agreements with the union, you depend upon the union for carrying them out. If a man has a decided antipathy to unions he will not, naturally, participate in any such agreement; but the man who wants to fight it out on his own lines will have his troubles beyond expression. I want simply to impress you, from my experience, with the utmost value of agreements between employers and employees and the importance of having such agreements express certain essential things, such as wages and shop conditions, without any attempt to cover every possible contingency."

An Important Announcement.

James Wilson, president of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, being called upon, announced: "The pattern makers stand ready to meet at any time the representative of the National Metal Trades' Association for the purpose of consideration of an agreement international in its character, to cover the conditions of employment that shall exist in the pattern making industry of this country."



JOHN COOPER

Mr. Wilson said the Buffalo convention of employers about a year ago had declined to enter into an agreement with any organization of employees. He said that there had been one agreement that did not yield good results. But he believed in trying a gain. He believed in a minimum wage, but he knew of no labor organization that would restrict the earning capacity of any man. He added:

"If we have an agreement with any employer—whether organization or individual employer—and our members violate that agreement, we will not only take the charter away, but on strike we will furnish the employer with men to take their places. That should be the principle of the trades union. An employer should realize that with that agreement he is then assured that he is going to have no trouble; and I believe if the metal trades organization will overlook the difficulty that they have had with their first agreement and endeavor to profit by that experience and treat with the other metal trades or metal organizations, that agreements can be had with them that will settle trouble for the time being and lead to better understanding."

Founders and Molders.

The Chairman called upon Isaac W. Frank, of the National Founders' Association. He said:

"Our organization consists of molders. The father of our organization is the Stove Founders' Defense Association, which, as Mr. Sard stated, started for the purpose of annihilating the union. But our association did not start for that purpose; it started for the purpose of doing business with the union. We profited by the experience of the Stove Founders' Defense Association, who are dealing with the heads of the same organization as we deal with, and we endeavor by agreement to secure those harmonious relations between employer and employee that we all desire."

Mr. Frank read the text of the "New York Agreement." He pointed out that what this agreement termed a "committee of arbitration" was in fact a committee of conference, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the Founders' Association and the Iron Molders' Union, a majority to decide, and there to be no cessation of work pending adjudication. The agreement had been kept in the main, although there had been instances of its violation by both sides, in particular shops, or by local

organizations. There existed differences as to fundamental principles. The Founders' Association had been endeavoring for four years to formulate a national agreement. It was represented in the negotiations by two logical and fair-minded men—Mr. Pessano of Detroit and Mr. Pfahler of Philadelphia. The stumbling-block was the demand of the union that it retain control of apprentices; that when a union was established in a shop, that must be a union shop, that piece-work existing would be permitted but could not be extended; and that the agreement must say nothing about improved appliances.

Mr. Frank urged that the unions unite with the employers in reaching an equitable agreement. He read, with comments, the formal declaration of policy by the National Founders' Association. This is the policy outlined in pursuance of resolutions passed at the 1903 convention and subsequent meetings of the administrative council.

An Association's Policy.

Attempts at arbitrary limitation of output, or at arbitrary demands for excessive output, by either molder or foundryman, will not receive the sanction of the association. Limitation of a man's earning capacity is not to be permitted, whether by the day, piece or premium system. The association will not permit fines and punishments to be inflicted upon members of unions for the purpose of handicapping them in their work. Prices for castings made by the piece, contract or premium system are to be such as to enable a competent molder to earn at least an equitable rate of wages, and are not to be reduced except by improved facilities, or agreement. The requirements of the employer solely are to determine the number of apprentices, helpers and handy-men. The foundryman may introduce machines and appliances to be operated by whomsoever he finds to his advantage.

It is the privilege of the employee to leave employment whenever he sees fit. It is the privilege of the employer to discharge any workman when he sees fit. There will be no arbitration with men on a strike. There will be no lockout on any arbitrable question unless arbitration fails. There will be no discrimination against membership in any organization. Every workman will be required to work peaceably and harmoniously with all fellow employees.

In case of disagreement, we advise conference, to be followed, if necessary, by arbitration under the New York Agreement, where it is applicable. In other cases, the question should be submitted to a board of six, three from each side, its decision to be final and binding. There must be no interruption of work pending a decision. Any member refusing to comply with this recommendation shall be denied the support of the association, unless it shall approve the member's action. Employers may pay wages mutually agreed upon, the rates to be governed by local or shop conditions. Mr. Frank concluded:

"Now, those, we believe, are broad principles. We believe that if the union will set aside some hide-bound—if I may use the expression—conditions, that a restricted apprenticeship is necessary to their unionism, that a restricted shop is necessary to their unionism, that a restricted output is necessary—we can get together; but we cannot get together with those principles in force. I believe they are not in force in some of the unions. Let the progressive unions see the equity of the proposition that these things should be open and free to the employer, and then we can formulate an agreement that will be binding and lasting."

"But then comes the question of enforcing the agreement. I believe we can leave that to public sentiment to a great degree. I believe no man can go in the face of what the public declare to be right and just and hope to get public favor, and public favor on these propositions is everything."

The Molders' Side.

Thomas B. Lavey, proxy for Joseph F. Valentine, president of the Iron Molders' Union of North Amer-

ica, was called upon. He congratulated Mr. Sard upon the success of the agreement of his organization with the Molders' Union. In reply to Mr. Frank, Mr. Lavey said: "I am not entirely in harmony with Mr. Frank's views regarding our association. I want to say that in this district, comprising Greater New York and New Jersey, we control in our organization at least 157 shops covered mostly by agreements. We do not practice the abuses he speaks of; on the contrary, the agents here insist that the terms he specifically mentioned are carried out."

"We do not allow men to go out until the matter has been investigated. If they do go out, we order them back, and if they don't go back we insist on their charter being taken away from them. As a result, in this district we have harmony between employer and employee, resulting, so far as it concerns us locally, to the satisfaction of all."

"There is a difference of opinion regarding the



A. BEVERLY SMITH

New York Agreement read here. The terms of that agreement establish a condition that our organization followed until it was interpreted by some one wrongly. I have a copy of a letter showing how the previous president of the National Foundrymen's Association interpreted it. The late commissioner of the Foundrymen's Association interpreted it the same way. The present commissioner and

the present president, I believe, interpret the agreement altogether differently. This is from the former president:

Interpretation of the New York Agreement; how we understand it to be. In any case of difference between employers and employees, the men shall not strike nor the employer lock out their men until there has been arbitration. That either party in the event of dissatisfaction has the right to ask for arbitration, but pending such arbitration there shall be practically no change in the existing conditions in the foundry.

"That is the way we have interpreted that agreement. Within the past year it has been interpreted wrongly—that when either party makes a demand, or when foundry employees make a demand, that the men will work under the conditions demanded until such times as the matter is brought to the board of arbitration or brought to the investigating committee. Isn't that right?"

Mr. Frank said that Mr. Lavey's statement was correct. Mr. Lavey continued:

A Hope for National Agreement.

"So that is one more bone of contention before we are able to get on common ground, as we are with the Stove Foundrymen's Defense Association. I feel we must in the first place interpret any provision and have it fully understood."

"I am in hope, judging from the feeling of the men who expressed themselves here, that there is a prospect of agreement. I know there is. I feel that if at first you don't succeed, go at it again."

"Our hope is along the line of education. We have trouble with our local organization, the same as any national organization has trouble with theirs. We have local organizations that violate agreements. But our hope is in educating our men. We feel that it is necessary to work along the same lines as a good many organizations, and that is toward a successful national agreement. We feel that we will take care of the situation locally if we can get a national agreement. That is our only hope and prospect—a national agreement. But there are a great many differences of opinion that have got to be modified in order that harmony can prevail. The statement of Mr. Sard would verify the statement that I would make, that we are willing and anxious to do all we possibly can for the successful determination of the strike. Those little technicalities about men walking out of the shop because another man

hasn't his card should not prevail. We are immediately notified, and we do not allow a man's business to be hampered until the case can be investigated. We generally provide for the eliminating of that man by mutual consent.

"On the whole, I think the only thing that leaves us very far apart at the present time towards national agreement is that we haven't really simmered all these questions down to a fine point. When we do, there is no question, I think, that we will reach a national agreement for the whole United States or at least the district that our organization claims to have jurisdiction over."

John Cooper, president of the New York Iron League, said that trade agreements depend for success greatly upon the men who handle them. If employers and employees are both reasonable and conservative, there is no trouble. Of the agreement



H. C. HUNTER

with the iron-workers, he pointed out that its conditions are explicit, saying:

Explicit Trade Agreement.

"In the first place the hours of labor are stipulated, the pay for overtime is stipulated, the holidays are stipulated, also that there shall be no discrimination against any of the material given a workman to use in the erection of a building, and no discrimination or curtailment in days'

work. In the event of any complaint under this agreement—as we have on both sides radicals—it is provided that a Board of Solution, composed of three on one side and three on the other, meet and appoint an umpire to settle any point on which they cannot agree. But this Board of Solution only takes up questions that may arise from a misinterpretation or failure to carry out the agreement on the part of either side. We had a meeting of our board last week; three complaints were made and they were all settled without trouble. We haven't any plan of arbitration, because we thought the solution board meant a great deal more. Arbitration means compromise, and compromise means a bad taste in the mouth when you get through with it.

"Under our trade agreement, we propose to settle all matters between us and the iron workers if possible. When it comes to the relation of the iron workers to the other mechanics in the building, we are under another plan of arbitration which provides for no sympathetic strike and all questions of trade jurisdiction shall be settled without any strikes or lock-outs on either side.

Agreements Between Unions.

"Most of the strikes in New York City for the last eight or ten years have arisen over differences between workmen, one party claiming that he should do that or this part of the work. By this morning's mail I got a notice from the general board of arbitration stating a disputed point between iron workers and electrical apparatus workers,—simply a question of the drilling of holes in the building to provide for electric appliances; the iron worker claiming he should do it and the electrical man claiming it as part of his work. One case I remember, of two years ago, where two men both claimed the right to do the same work, and the superintendent, rather than have a strike, agreed to pay them both; so the iron man did the work and the electric light man drew his three days' pay for looking at him. Now an agreement is reached between the two unions as to what portion of the work each shall do, and no strike has taken place; the work goes on. The same condition may occur in another building and the arrangement now will settle the condition in that building also.

"I am thoroughly in favor of trade agreements. There should be no question about their containing all the clauses as to wages, hours and holidays and

also avoiding sympathetic strikes; and a solution board. Get all those things down and get a reasonable number of men on both sides to discuss the matters, and there will be no trouble; but if not, there will be trouble.

Better Union Representation.

"I feel very much that the trend of unions to-day is for a better representation, that the men that we meet to-day are better than we met ten years ago. It is unfortunate that the men will not take as active part in the unions as they ought. They leave that to the men who have less to think of and who are not bound by family ties. They let them go to the meetings and run things to suit themselves. I think on the whole we have a very fair trade agreement, and we expect lasting peace and prosperity from it."

A. Beverly Smith of the joint executive committee of the Lithographers' Association said:

"We have heard to-day about various agreements for various trades. If we single out any one of these, we shall feel that one successful agreement should be applied to our industry, or that one unsuccessful agreement proves that trade agreements are a failure. Either opinion would be erroneous. In my judgment, the best agreement is the one that leaves as much as possible to be settled by joint action. Any agreement is a step out of chaos. It should contain no clause that has to be construed by courts or lawyers. Every clause should be fully understood by both sides. There should result from this meeting many more trade agreements. The violation of an agreement has become a moral crime.

"The first way to enforce an agreement is through thorough organization and united action on both sides. Every trade and all employers in each trade should be organized. Then say to any union that has entered into an agreement that it finds onerous, 'You must keep that agreement to its end and make a better one next time. If you break it, you will get no help from us; on the contrary, we will help the employers.' Equally, the association of employers must say to an employer who breaks an agreement, 'We will not associate with you.' I think that is the only way to enforce trade agreements. We have no courts in the industrial world. Our appeal should be to the public opinion that opposes the breaking, or even the bending, of an agreement during its life.

"There are two kinds of arbitration—before a trouble and after a trouble. To agree upon disputed questions in time of peace is preventive arbitration. Sometimes there are differences of opinion that cannot be justified. Are we then to say that there is nothing but the sword? Why not refer such a question to a disinterested person, before fighting, and abide by his decision for the time being? If his decision is wrong, a year or two will clear it away. It may work an injury to either employer or employee, but that very fact would cause the wrong to be righted by mutual action. I hold that employer and employee are equally interested in the way any business is conducted and in the conditions under which men labor. That interest is equal—not measured by the amount of capital invested or the amount of wages earned. If that is acknowledged, you have a line right down the center between labor and capital to which each must come and agree. In all trade, mutual action is necessary. Any trade agreement should contain a provision that the two parties can at any time agree to disregard the agreement, or to change its conditions, always by mutual act."

Mr. Mitchell, the chairman, said:

"This discussion has been very illuminating. No doubt this interchange of opinion will be productive of much good. I think we should keep in mind that in all our relations we ought to take into consideration human frailties and imperfections, and if we try to put ourselves occasionally in the other fellow's place we probably will be able better to appreciate his position and the feelings and conditions and environment that prompt him to do things that we believe may not be quite right. I think if we try to follow that rule in our business that it will establish a better relation.

"I am requested to announce that the National Civic Federation will appoint a permanent committee on trade agreements, through which we hope to have other meetings of this character and through which we hope to work out a satisfactory plan of trade agreement. In this meeting we seem all to have concurred in the opinion that trade agreements are the proper thing. We hold different views as to their form and what they should contain, but no doubt by getting together this committee will be better able to understand the detail of existing agreements and how to improve them."

Mr. Marks pointed out that the conference had been unanimous in agreeing that there should be agreement upon agreements. He requested that Wallace Downey, president of the New York Metal Trades Association, make a statement.

Mr. Downey announced that his association had



WALLACE DOWNEY

voted almost unanimously that trade agreements are advisable. When it attempted to renew its contract with the boiler makers, they insisted that the contract should require the employment of only union men. Otherwise, they refused to renew the contract. The employers refused to contract with anybody to the exclusion of all individuals outside that body. He thought that trade agree-

ments made in times of heated arguments sometimes contained provisions that were idiotic, from a conservative point of view. Contracts must be made honestly. He suggested that one way to enforce a contract would be for both parties to furnish a bond. That would open the way, in case of dispute, to appeal to the courts. In this way, the law of the land could be utilized. He did not believe in arbitration of rights. He did believe in labor unionism, as he did in the organization of employers. He hoped that organization of both sides would strip the situation of many technicalities.

The conference then adjourned.

LIBERTY, DEMOCRACY. (Concluded from page 9.)

production, it is a proposition that can be made the premise of an argument in favor of the employment of union labor. The aim of the unions, as has been pointed out, should be, and when the unions are wisely led is coming more and more to be, not the limitation, but the development, of individual efficiency, and through it the attainment of superiority of workmanship for the group as a whole. The constant tendency of unionism under such conditions is to lift the lower grades of workmen toward higher capacity and excellence,—in short to raise their standard of life. This increased efficiency must result in greater productivity, both in quality and quantity, and granted a market of adequate purchasing and consuming capacity, the outcome must be a greater sum of wealth to be apportioned between capital and labor as the reward of their trained effort and intelligent co-operation.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

Professor of Political Economy and Finance,
Columbia University, New York.

James E. Roderick, chief of the Department of Mines of Pennsylvania, in his report for 1903, issued in June, favors the enactment of a new mining law, for more effective prevention of accidents and other purposes. The mine inspectors and some of the operators are said also to desire new legislation. There has been a slight decrease in fatal accidents in mines, but compulsory employment of assistant firemen is advised by Mr. Roderick. He would advance the minimum age for employment outside the mines to 13 years, to conform with the school law of the State, and would require everybody employed to have a certificate from an inspector.

THE GREAT TEAMSTER TIE-UP AVERTED THROUGH CONFERENCE.

CONCILIATION, THROUGH THE NEW YORK CIVIC FEDERATION, SAVES THE CITY SERIOUS LOSS AND INCONVENIENCE AND EFFECTS A NEW TRADE AGREEMENT.



THOMAS F. MCCARTHY,
President N. Y. Truck Owners' Association.

A strike of organized teamsters, that would have brought to a standstill every truck in New York and, through sympathy, caused untold midsummer inconvenience and distress throughout the city, was recently averted by mutual conference, arranged through the efforts of the New York Civic Federation. Not only was the threatened strike averted, but out of an industrial controversy a satisfactory trade agreement, the first ever made between the organized New York truck-owners and teamsters, was evolved.

The settlement of any strike that causes loss and inconvenience to the community is always hailed with acclaim in the newspaper press and by the public. The averting of a strike, even though it would have caused ten-fold more expense and suffering than a strike that really occurred, usually attracts little public attention. In this case, however, there were attendant circumstances that gave some prominence to the adjustment of the difficulty. While the general public may not have realized fully the inconvenience and even suffering that it thus escaped, business interests were aware of their danger. Both truck-owners and teamsters have expressed their gratification at reaching a friendly settlement of their differences, without resort to costly hostilities. The adjustment illustrated again the practical value of conciliation and conference.

There had been increasing discontent among the local members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with both hours and wages. This discontent had grown in January into an open threat of a strike for shorter hours and higher pay, accompanied by a demand that the truck-owners employ only members of the Teamsters' Brotherhood. The New York Truck Owners' Association refused to consider the demand for the exclusive employment of union teamsters, or to recognize the union at all, and a strike seemed imminent.

The situation was made more acute by the existing trouble between the marine freight-handlers and the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad Company. The freight-handlers were looking to an alliance with the teamsters in their strike, and such an alliance would obviously have increased the difficulties of the railroad in handling its marine transportation. Even without this complication, a general strike of the teamsters would have meant a disaster to the entire city. It would have blocked all commerce by land and water by preventing the cartage of cases of merchandise. Through sympathy, it might have paralyzed local trade, by interfering

with the delivery of all goods, wholesale and retail. Milk wagons, ice wagons and coal carts would not make their rounds. Household arrangements would have been thrown into confusion through the inability of dealers in all kinds of supplies to meet the regular, established requirements of their customers. The strike would have been felt in the kitchen and in the sick-room, as well as by the great shippers and transportation companies.

These were the circumstances that suggested an appeal to the good offices of the Civic Federation of New York. On Monday, May 23, Henry C. Hunter, secretary of the Truck Owners' Association, invited Marcus M. Marks, chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the Federation, to meet for a consultation the members of the Executive Committee of the Truck Owners. In accepting this invitation, Mr. Marks secured permission to bring with him John C. Eames, vice-president of the H. B. Claflin Company,



MARCUS M. MARKS,
Chairman N. Y. Conciliation Committee.

and J. C. Juhling, of Francis H. Leggett & Co. The entire situation was reviewed at a luncheon in the Astor House on that date. The Truck Owners present expressed strong objections to entering into any negotiations, fearing that they would involve a surrender of what they held to be an essential principle,—the right to employ teamsters outside the unions. It was explained to them that a way could be devised to reach an agreement that, while recognizing the union, would not violate the abstract principle of the "open shop."

Accordingly, a conference was begun between the representatives of the Truck Owners' Association and a committee of the Teamsters' Brotherhood, in the office of Mr. Hunter, at No. 203 Broadway, Mr. Marks presiding on behalf of the Civic Federation.

Those present representing the Truck Owners' Association were: T. F. McCarthy, president; C. F. Copplins, vice-president; H. C. Hunter, secretary; Benjamin A. Jackson, Thomas Orr, J. M. Lowden, I. Goldberg, J. H. Wilks, Paul Vianne and W. Fox.

The representatives of the Brotherhood of Teamsters were: Edward Gould, general executive board; John Clark, William H. Ashton, joint executive council; Richard Condon, Dennis Crane, Philip Gould, Gustavus Becker, William Crawford, Valentine Hoffman, dry goods teamsters; George Prescott, Michael J. Rogan, building material teamsters.

This first conference was in continuous session until 7 p. m. The question of employing union labor exclusively was precipitated; and the conference was on the eve of breaking up without action of any kind,



EDWARD GOULD,
1st Vice-President Teamsters' International Brotherhood.

when Mr. Marks made a vigorous plea for another effort to reach an agreement, pointing out the critical nature of the situation and the importance of persisting in the negotiations. His argument, with the aid of some of the conservative men on each side, had the effect of securing an adjournment until 3 p. m. on Tuesday, May 24.

This second conference was occupied with fixing the hours for a day's work, including the time consumed in going to and from the stables; the rate of wages for the several classes of teamsters; the subject of overtime, about which there was much difficulty, its final adjustment being left to arbitration; and the question of the exclusive employment of union teamsters. Finally, the representatives of the teamsters, in view of the concessions that they had gained as to wages and hours, accepted the proposition that the truck-owners should agree not to discriminate against a driver because of his membership in the Brotherhood. The teamsters agreed to make no restriction or discrimination in the handling or trucking of any merchandise. The average increase of wages is about \$1 a week, and the limit of ten hours for a day's work, excluding stabling, is a gain to the teamsters.

Although each of these subjects contained elements of acrimony, the representatives of both sides were remarkably self-controlled throughout the conference. The agreement was discussed line by line and section by section, in order to make certain the perfect mutual understanding of its terms. This process brought out occasional demonstrations of feeling, in some instances passionate in tone, but the spirit of patient consideration of the plan proposed for averting a grave danger was always resumed. The successful conclusion of the conference and the signing of the agreement were followed by a general interchange of congratulations and expressions of good-will, while Mr. Marks received from all present hearty assurances of appreciation for the manner in which he had guided the negotiations, as the chairman of the Conciliation Committee of the Civic Federation, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The agreement provides that there shall be no sympathetic strike during its term, which continues until April 30, 1905. The agreement is in the form of a contract. It is signed for the Truck Owners' Association by Thomas F. McCarthy, president, and for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters by Edward Gould, vice-president, and is witnessed by Marcus M. Marks of the Civic Federation.

A RAILROAD PRESIDENT TO RAILROAD UNIONISTS.

THE WISE COUNSEL OF CHARLES S. MELLEN TO ORGANIZED LABOR, WHOSE UNIONS HE BOTH CRITICISES AND ENCOURAGES.

Charles S. Mellen, president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, delivered an address on April 28, before the West Side Workingmen's Club, in Hartford, upon the subject of trade unions. Mr. Mellen's expression of his opinions has elicited much comment. His address follows in part:

"The hope and future of this country lie in the common people, in the workingmen, in yourselves.

"This is the age of the workingman. Let him, with moderation, with conservatism, show his ability to assume responsibility, and there is no bound set to his attainments. Let him but exercise good judgment, and his ambitions will be attained in less time, with the good will of all, and be of more lasting benefit.

"The captains of industry of the future are among you struggling at day's wages for recognition. Men of affairs are looking earnestly for them, for there is a great dearth of men for the higher positions the modern industrial combinations are creating, and the duties of these positions are so exacting they wear out quickly those who fill them, causing constant changes.

"But they are not looking for firebrands, for trouble-breeders, for talkers, but rather for the quiet man who works while others do the talking—the one who is as much interested in his work as his wages, and such men, when found, need no help from any source to secure either recognition or increase of pay.

"To those of you who belong to unions I wish to say I believe they have accomplished much good; but they are, nevertheless, not an unmixed blessing to the laboring man. They tend to the discouragement of individual effort and reduce man to a part of a machine. They are a good thing for the drone, the inefficient man, for the walking delegate and the officers, but are unnecessary for the man who has the stuff and courage within himself to carve his own way in the world. There are many workingmen who can earn more than they do, whose employers would gladly pay them more, but that they have become classified, and an advance to them means an advance also to their inefficient associates of a similar class, making it often too formidable a matter for consideration. Therefore, when I say unions do much good, I mean they help the lame, the halt and the weary, at the expense of the really competent.

A Means of Averaging Wages.

"Divested of all claptrap, the union is simply a means of averaging wages, and an employer views it as such. It is a device for making those who are willing to work care for those who want to soldier. On the principle that every man must have a living somehow, in place of making the community contribute support openly, to which process there attaches some discredit, the really efficient workmen of a class receive less for their services, and thus help support those who are unable to earn as much, under normal conditions, through establishing a scale of averages.

"Now, having hurt the feelings of some of you by the foregoing, I am going to surprise you by saying that I regard the unions as a condition that has come to stay; that I have no prejudice whatever to properly-conducted ones, and express my wish that our men generally would join them, not that I would run a union plant as such, for I would not coerce my men nor consent to discriminations as between those who were and who were not members, but I would wish to have in the unions the conservative influence of many of the good men who are out, to counteract the floater, the anarchist, the man who has nothing at stake in the world, who works with his mouth more than his hands.

"The trouble with unionism is its intolerance.

"To succeed in this world, one must bear and forbear. The same spirit of intolerance that fills the union man toward the non-union is what history shows us to have prevailed ages ago in religion, in race prejudice, and in

other ways. The cry of 'The Union or the Hospital!' has its counterpart in that of the older one of 'The Church or the Stake!' It is through the elimination of the feeling that physical force is necessary to the accomplishment of results that real progress is made. The time when brute strength shall rule is becoming a thing of the past. The advance has been slow, but looking back to the monuments history has left for our instruction, we can see most substantial progress has been made in this direction. You cannot force things your way, but you may direct them. You hurt immeasurably your cause when you descend to violence in language or action.

Seniority Rule a Bad Thing.

"The rule of seniority is a bad one. It is most discouraging to men of ability. It is repressive and oppressive, and puts many of little wit and less ability into positions they are unfitted for, and keeps out those who



CHARLES S. MELLEN,
President N. Y., N. H. & H. Railroad.

are more deserving and competent. It deteriorates the service. In the short time I have been in authority here I have been restricted from advancing those who had attracted my attention by their ability, through this rule I fail to understand why young men assent to a rule that requires them to grow old in one line of employment before recognition becomes possible, no matter how well deserved. It is all wrong that a man should be held back by this rule from a position he is competent to fill, and see that position go to one his inferior in every respect, for no reason but he is higher up on the list of numbers of his class. The result makes for dissatisfaction, this makes for change, which in turn accounts for the large floating class in each grade of employment, with the responsible positions filled by old men.

"No one interest has done more to promote the trust or combination, the larger corporation, than organized labor. It has forced them into existence, for protection from exaction. And to what does it all tend? Given all your hotheads seek, and there will be no one to employ you, and public corporations must be run by the government. Capital will not seek investment where nothing but loss and controversy is to result. The rule of the radical will not prevail. The hothead must be retired, or in the contest in which he will involve you, you will go down in defeat. The contest will not be determined by numbers. Education and brains will outweigh numbers and brawn. The spectacled student is to be the general of future armies; captains of industry may not always be those who have worked with their hands. Give heed to whither you are drifting, for at the

end there may be a rude awakening, from which those who believe in you, who are of you, would have you spared.

"My advice to you who have families, who have a stake in the world, is to join your unions, and make yourselves felt in them. Be always a force for conservatism. It seems to me as much in your interest to do this as that you shall attend the caucus and nominate good men for office and vote for them at the polls. Your apathy is the opportunity of the demagogue, the anarchist, the floater, who has nothing to lose.

"Whatever tends to better the condition of labor must command the earnest and honest consideration of every right-minded man. The brightest minds, the most practical, are studying the subject, and the great progress made by organized labor, to my mind, has been not by securing an increase of wages here and there, but by attracting the attention of such minds to a study of the conditions that have produced the present state of unrest. That force having been set in motion, it cannot be stayed, and its results can hardly fail to be of advantage to all.

Too Much Arbitrary Conduct.

"If I have criticised the unions, let me now say that I have seen much to deplore in the course of those in authority who have dealt with them. There has been too much of arbitrary and unreasonable conduct on that side, as well, and I desire to go on record here that arbitrary, unreasonable exercise of power by those temporarily in authority is as offensive to me as to any of you, and I am disposed to neither countenance nor condone it.

"You cannot get for a thing more than it is worth, except temporarily, and the cost of maintaining an artificial market is greater than the profit in it.

"Some gentlemen interested in high finance are only just beginning to realize this, and it is no wonder this fallacy has taken root elsewhere.

"With business falling off, day by day, here in New England, I find my political friends opposing an enlargement of our markets and preferring a phrase 'stand pat' to the substance which reciprocity with our neighbor, Canada, would give us; and when I feel they ought to know better, it is not in me to too severely criticise the employes of our company who feel they should have higher wages, when the conditions with which we are surrounded compel us to disagree with them.

"I would like to pay the men of our company better wages and allow them greater privileges than my neighbors, but if I do it some one else will take my place who will bring about an equitable comparison.

"If our employes could only know the struggle it has been the past few months to keep so many of them at work at all, they would feel our officials have had their interests in mind much more than they are willing to admit.

"I have never had so many bosses as I am working for at the present time. I never had to say 'no' so often when I wanted to say 'yes.' I am under more restraint than any of you, and yet I am pegging away all the time with all my strength to prevail, to keep my property strong for the benefit of the public, its stockholders, its employes, and with little advantage to myself.

"The foundation of everything good and desirable in the social or political system of the world is the home. The end for which we all should work is to make that home better, more attractive, more influential. We are permitted to live here not simply for our own gratification, but should so arrange our lives that others who follow us may not have the same old struggle to go through."

The men who emerge from great testings as heroes are the ones who have learned the habit of duty doing and of unselfishness through the quiet, unremembered days.—"Philadelphia Press."

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY.

ELECTION OF ITS OFFICERS AND GENERAL BOARD—STRIKING TESTIMONY AS TO ITS SUCCESSFUL SERVICES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The first annual meeting of the Civic Federation of New York and vicinity, in the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation, listened to addresses by Oscar Straus, who acted as chairman; Otto M. Elditz, Robert E. Neidig, Marcus M. Marks and others. Mr. Straus remarked that a seeming tendency to depreciate the work of the Civic Federation was because its work was not done with noise and clamor.

"I can announce," said Mr. Straus, "that in 95 per cent. of the cases in which we have tried to end labor troubles, we have succeeded." Mr. Straus also announced the progress in organizing other local branches of the Federation.

Otto M. Elditz, chairman of the Board of Governors of the Building Trades Employers' Association,

The following constitute the General Board:

On the part of the Public:—

FELIX ADLER (Professor, Columbia University).
 CORNELIUS N. BLISS (Ex-Secretary of the Interior).
 NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER (President Columbia University).
 JOHN B. CLARK (Professor, Columbia University).
 RALPH M. EASLEY (Chairman Executive Council National Civic Federation).
 RT. REV. JOHN M. FARLEY (Archbishop Roman Catholic Church).
 R. WATSON GILDER (Editor Century Magazine).
 HAMILTON HOLT (Editor Independent).
 ALEX. C. HUMPHREYS (President Stevens Institute).
 V. EVERIT MACY (Capitalist).
 EMERSON McMILLIN (Banker).
 WALTER H. PAGE (Editor World's Work).

BENJAMIN D. TRAITTEL (Traittel Bros. & Co.).
 CHARLES WILHELMS (President United States Lithographers' Association).

On the part of Wage Earners:—

JAMES P. ARCHIBALD (Brotherhood Painters and Decorators).
 A. J. BOULTON (Stereotypers).
 JAMES DALY (Dockbuilders).
 CHARLES DELANEY (Granite Cutters).
 SAMUEL B. DONNELLY (Typographical Union).
 WILLIAM H. FARLEY (Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers).
 J. J. FLYNN (Metal Polishers).
 M. J. FORD (Machinists).
 EDWARD GOULD (Teamsters).
 JAMES P. HOLLAND (Stationary Firemen).
 W. LONG (Lithographers).
 FRANCIS J. MCKAY (Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders).



CHARLES A. MOORE
CHAIRMAN



WILLIAM H. FARLEY
1ST VICE-CHAIRMAN



CORNELIUS N. BLISS
TREASURER



JAMES P. ARCHIBALD
SECRETARY

tion and president of the Mason Builders' Association, said:

"The building industry of New York City during the past four years has been in a deplorable condition. Chiefly owing to the efforts of the members of the Civic Federation it has at last emerged from that condition into what we believe to be the pure light. The most serious single phase of the situation was that in connection with the iron trade, and due largely to the efforts of members of the Civic Federation, this situation was cleared up in a proper way the past week."

Robert E. Neidig, who was active in the reorganization of the Housesmiths' Union, made this statement:

"The committee on our recent settlement and reorganization wish me to express gratitude and appreciation to the Civic Federation for its valuable services in arranging a meeting for us with our employers when it seemed as if such a meeting was impossible."

"We realize that it was entirely through the efforts of the Civic Federation that the several meetings were arranged, and as a result of these meetings we were able to effect a settlement of the disastrous strike of the Housesmiths' and Bridge-men's Union, which had been on for eight months."

The meeting authorized a committee to elect officers and a General Board. That committee has performed its duty. The officers of the New York Civic Federation are: Chairman, Charles A. Moore; first vice-chairman, William H. Farley; second vice-chairman, V. Everit Macy; treasurer, Cornelius N. Bliss; secretary, James P. Archibald.

ROLAND PHILLIPS (Managing Editor Harper's Weekly).
 RT. REV. HENRY C. POTTER (Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church).
 C. T. ROOT (Editor Dry Goods Economist).
 ALBERT SHAW (Editor Review of Reviews).
 OSCAR S. STRAUS (Member of the Court of Arbitration at the Hague).
 FRANCIS B. SWAYNE (Lawyer).
 H. C. WATSON (Editor Dun's Review).
 THOS. F. WOODLOCK (Editor Wall Street Journal).

On the part of Employers:—

W. D. BALDWIN (President Otis Elevator Company).
 EMIL L. BOAS (General Manager Hamburg-American Line).
 JOHN COOPER (The Cooper-Wigand-Cooke Company).
 OTTO M. EIDLITZ (Chairman Board Governors Building Trades Employers' Association).
 WM. GREEN (Chairman New York Typothetae).
 J. ALEXANDER HAYDEN (Chairman Association Interior Decorators and Cabinetmakers).
 HENRY C. HUNTER (Commissioner New York Metal Trades Association).
 REGINALD H. JAFFRAY (R. H. Jaffray Company).
 EDGAR L. MARSTON (Blair & Co.).
 MARCUS M. MARKS (President National Clothiers' Association).
 CHARLES A. MOORE (President The Shaw Electric Crane Company).
 THOS. M. MULRY (Thomas Mulry & Son).
 HOSMER B. PARSONS (Vice-President Wells Fargo & Co.).
 WALTER L. PIERCE (Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company).
 CHARLES A. SCHIEREN (Charles A. Schieren & Co.).
 LOUIS B. SCHRAM (President Associated Brewers).
 C. W. SWEET (Sweet, Orr & Co.).
 CHARLES W. TERHUNE (Edwin C. Burt Co.).

EDWARD A. MOFFETT (Editor Bricklayer and Mason).
 ROBERT E. NEIDIG (Housesmiths).
 GEORGE E. PEPPER (President Amalgamated Association St. Railway Employees, New York Division).
 HERMAN ROBINSON (Retail Clerks).
 HENRY WHITE (Garment Workers).

A summary of the advantages derived from membership in a local union is set forth by J. O. Carson, of Indianapolis, in "The Carpenter," in a manner that may appeal also to craftsmen of other trades. He gives importance to the training in parliamentary law and the preparation for taking part in miscellaneous public gatherings. The use of the referendum accustoms members to appreciate their individual responsibility for their votes. These are influences distinctly educational and promotive of good citizenship. The clearance card assures a welcome in other localities. The funeral and disability benefits encourage that feeling of independence and security which follows investment in a safe form of insurance. The minimum wage scale, which prevails in the Carpenters' Union, is adduced as a method by which the least efficient workman is enabled to make a livelihood, while not interfering with the greater rewards that are due to the sober, industrious and reliable. The support of trade journals tends to technical education. An economic proposition is involved in the claim that as unions raise the scale of wages, they increase the purchasing power of the greater part of any population. Such argumentative methods of forwarding the organization of labor are commendable, especially when they are directed to show that unions should strive for the mutual benefit of employer and employed.

THE GREAT LAKES DEADLOCK.

A Report of the Special Committee of the Cleveland Civic Federation Upon a Recent Important Industrial Controversy.

(From the Cleveland Leader, June 9.)

The report of the special committee elected by the Cleveland Civic Federation to investigate the deadlock existing between the Lake Carriers' Association and the American Association of Masters and Pilots has been submitted.

It is an interesting document of some 5,000 words. It reveals some of the inside history of the trouble and closes by saying that the committee is powerless to adjust the difficulties.

The testimony given at the hearings of the committee is not given in full in the report. It is simply outlined, and some deductions are made from the information obtained. The committee is composed of Hon. John C. Hutchins, chairman; James A. Reynolds, secretary; W. H. Hunt, Colonel J. J. Sullivan, Hon. Elroy M. Avery, W. H. Canniff, E. W. Oglebay, Harry D. Thomas and Peter Hasenpflue. It was elected May 26, and the first hearing was held on May 31.

The whole of that day was devoted to receiving written and oral statements from the two associations, both of which willingly responded to the request of the committee for information. Many questions were asked by members of the committee, and the proceedings were taken down by a stenographer. On the next day the lake carriers' representatives were heard separately and later the masters and pilots, and both positions were gone over with the greatest freedom.

Efforts Toward a Settlement.

The report says that the result of these various meetings made it perfectly manifest to the committee that an agreement could not, probably, be arrived at as a basis for a settlement of the difficulties. Thereupon the committee in executive session voted to authorize the chairman to select two special committees of three members each to wait upon the two warring factions separately to determine whether or not the chief points of difference could not be smoothed over in such a way as to make it possible to bring about a settlement.

These committees, the report says, worked earnestly toward this end, but were obliged to report back the failure of their efforts, as both sides claimed that the questions involved contained important principles which neither side could yield with safety.

The report then gives the history of the organization and the personnel of the two opposing associations. It says that the Masters' and Pilots' Association was organized a year or more ago and that, as such association, negotiations and working agreements were had with it in a greater or less degree, by the Lake Carriers' Association during the navigation season of 1903, and that preparatory to the season of 1904, some time this spring the lake carriers began again to renew negotiations with the Masters' and Pilots' Association.

The unexecuted agreement is given containing section 11, "that all members of the lake carriers will pay their masters and pilots the same salaries as were paid during the year 1903." The history of the hitch on this section is given and the different interpretations of the break in the negotiations are stated.

The Lake Carriers' Contention.

The report states that while the evidence shows that the two associations had up to this point endeavored by meetings between representatives to harmonize their differences, at no time since has the Lake Carriers' Association manifested a disposition to deal longer in any way with the Masters' and Pilots' Association. The reasons of the lake carriers are given as follows: (1) that past experience with the Masters' and Pilots' Association has convinced them that they can no longer recognize the association in any way; (2) that the masters occupy a

unique position to the government in that there is no principle applicable to any class of skilled or unskilled service which is in any degree applicable to them; (3) that the government has placed certain restriction upon the masters and given them certain privileges; (4) that the relation of a master to his ship is that of general agent with possibly the broadest powers known in the laws of agency. He has the power in case of necessity even to sell the cargo or the ship, for the proper exercise of judgment in this respect the owner is responsible.

On this last ground the carriers maintain that they cannot negotiate with an organization in which the masters are associated with their subordinates in such proposition that the latter can outvote them and are oath-bound to rules beyond and inconsistent with the rules prescribed by the government and the full performance of their duties to the ship, the owner, and the public. The lake carriers say that because of the peculiarly close relationship between the owners and the masters they cannot deal with an association of masters and mates. They insist that such a compound organization is inconsistent and unreasonable, and say they are willing to deal with two organizations composed each of masters and mates, and will aid in the formation of such associations.

Masters' and Pilots' Side.

The masters and pilots deny this stand, the report says. They claim the double organization is not inconsistent because from year to year mates become captains and captains become mates. They claim that the carriers would, in event two organizations were formed, use one to disrupt the other.

On this rock the negotiations were wrecked, the carriers refusing to deal with the masters and mates in joint organization, the latter refusing to change their association. The report says that the committee believes that growing out of the change, which has been going on so rapidly, which has resulted in the passing of the ownership of lake vessels from individual and private hands to corporate and syndicate ownership, various abuses have crept in of which the masters and mates have reasonable ground to complain. But the committee believes that many, if not all of these grievances, would be corrected by the present management of the various lake fleets; that representatives of the Masters' and Pilots' Association also believe this.

"We further report," says the committee, "that while the different associations are divided upon a number of propositions, these differences could be adjusted if the two contending parties could see their way clear toward meeting and negotiating these differences."

In view of the foregoing facts the committee decides that no effort on its part would avail, and asks to be discharged. The report closes with the following words:

"In view of the determined attitude assumed by both associations as indicated above, all the efforts which this committee could, by any possibility, put forth to settle their differences, were from the beginning doomed to failure."

AN EVIDENCE OF UNION WISDOM.

(Labor World, Pittsburg.)

The sympathetic strike is no longer a necessary part of trades unionism. This fact was fully demonstrated the other day by President Dolan, of the United Mine Workers. The pilots now on strike on the lakes recently joined the American Federation of Labor. Because of this they became possessed of the notion that other organized bodies identified with the A. F. of L. would, if required, join in the strike. Thus it was that the miners who mine coal for the lake trade were asked to strike against mining any coal for that trade.

President Dolan very pointedly stated that no such strike would be inaugurated by the miners, and he added that he could not see the justice of entering on any such conflict.

This declaration ought to silence Parry and his friends who never tire of asserting that the sympathetic strike is one of the leading features of trade unionism. As pointed out influential trade unionists are strongly opposed to it because of its injustice to the workers and also to employers. It would be difficult on principles of morality to defend miners who resolved to strike in the Pittsburg district simply because seamen were on a strike hundreds of miles away. The difference between the seamen and their employers has nothing whatever to do with the mine operators of Pennsylvania or Ohio. The relationship between the miners and their employers is of the most harmonious kind, and there is no trouble whatever between them. Hence the unfairness both to the public and to the operators of the miners inaugurating a strike because the pilots are in conflict with their employers.

The refusal to participate in this sympathetic strike is a definite indication of the intelligence and moral advancement of trade unions. Not many years ago the request of the pilots would almost certainly have been granted. This sign of progress prompts all classes to have a greater regard for and a stronger faith in organized labor.

SYMPATHETIC STRIKES.

The Longshoremen's President Dwells Upon the Importance of Holding to Agreements.

President Daniel J. Keefe of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers, in his latest report made the following statement on sympathetic strikes and the necessity of strict observance of trade agreements:

"The so-called sympathetic strikes cannot be countenanced by our organization. When deserving we can lend our aid and moral support. Yet we must not forget that our honor and manhood is involved in the obligations of our contracts and agreements. The influence and respect we to-day command as an international union is due to the fidelity and faithful performance of each and every agreement entered into.

"Labor long ago complained, and justly so, of the gross injustice practiced on them in the past. Now when we are dignified with the consideration and public approval of just cause, we can ill afford to be swayed by the inexperienced and unthinking portion of the movement, who have but recently been made aware of the existence of a union.

"It has taken years of patient struggle and sacrifice to build up our organization, and the wisdom of the best minds who have suffered in the past contend that unless the provocation is very great, should we order a sympathetic strike. The past policy of this organization has always been to exhaust all means to arrive at a satisfactory settlement and only when every other means failed, to strike, and then do so with a full knowledge and appreciation of what the contest means, and be prepared to endure all the conflict entails.

"But the great secret of the success of our organization has been due to our ability to meet with our employers and have them see where our labor has merited and is entitled to increased wages and better conditions. * * *

"Public sentiment is sure to be with us, if our cause is right, and deserves public support, and our every act should be a studied effort for its approval. Public sentiment to-day exacts that the contracts or agreements of labor be free, as contracts for commodities, under fair and just agreement for services rendered, to the end that the wageworker shall not be obliged to make contracts or terms not acceptable to him. And public sentiment will hold the party who violates an agreement or declines to resort to conciliatory methods of arbitration, morally responsible for all the ill effects growing out of contest or strike."

The label must be respected by union men themselves, and this only will be done as a good mechanic is respected—by making it the emblem of excellency in workmanship.—"Union Label Magazine."

National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

A SHORTER WORK-DAY WITH AN UNRESTRICTED OUTPUT.

VIEWS OF MANY EMPLOYERS UPON A PROPOSITION TO OFFSET FEWER HOURS OF LABOR WITH UNRESTRAINED EXERTION BY EMPLOYEES.

The discussion of the desirability and practicability of a shorter work-day in the United States has centered about the eight-hour bill in Congress. That measure, now under consideration by the Department of Commerce and Labor, proposes to limit to eight hours a day all labor performed for the government by contractors and sub-contractors, with exceptions provided as to emergencies and as to goods bought in the open market, and carries with it the machinery for its enforcement. But the proponents

reduction of the hours of labor in virtually all pursuits, and that the movement for a still further reduction is so general and so powerful that probably it cannot successfully be resisted or long stayed. Back of this movement lies a growing perception that the economic result of the shorter work-day is increased consumption of manufactured products, through the gradual elevation of the masses and the simultaneous multiplication of their wants. But this elevation can be ensured only by proper use of in-

uniform throughout an industry is of prime importance, because of competition. A ship-builder is concerned chiefly with the cost of labor to other ship-builders. If hours and wages are uniform in all ship-yards, competition is transferred to skill in buying and assembling the materials produced by many contributory industries, and in construction. So in mining, an operator is interested only in the length of the work-day in mines so far as it affects the cost of coal to himself and his competitors. He is not

MEMBERS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.



GROVER CLEVELAND,
Ex-President of the United States.



HENRY PHIPPS,
Director U. S. Steel Corporation.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

of the bill, including the American Federation of Labor, candidly avow that its design is to bring about a uniform eight-hour work-day in all industries in all the States, which Congress has not the constitutional power to require.

The discussion, therefore, has gone beyond the proposition embraced in the eight-hour bill for public contracts. It has extended to the social and economic philosophy of the shorter work-day and has elicited a mass of testimony from both employers and representatives of labor as to its practicability. It has included consideration of various statutes in States regulating hours of labor under public contracts and upon material for public use and regulating the employment of women and children. Finally, quite aside from the criticism, favorable and adverse, of the eight-hour bill, it has brought to the public consciousness a realization of the fact that the progress of our national civilization has been accompanied by an actual, though gradual,

increased leisure. So that, on its social side, the discussion has recognized the importance of providing the workers the opportunity and the guidance to utilize for their mental and physical culture the added time freed from gainful toil, and to prevent Satan from snatching the new leisure for his proverbial activity in finding mischief "for idle hands to do."

The discussion has included consideration of voluntary trade agreements for a shorter work-day, extending throughout an industry, and including the removal of arbitrary restrictions upon output. Cannot the desire of the employer to be rid of such restrictions be matched against the desire of the employed for shorter hours of toil? Cannot one be made the quid pro quo of the other? In fact, that idea was incorporated in the agreement made in 1900 between the National Metal Trades Association and the International Association of Machinists.

This idea of making the length of the work-day

concerned directly in the hours of work in ship-yards.

The proposition to make reduction of hours gradual is of equal importance, because it relates to the supply and equipment of labor and sometimes to existing contracts. It may involve the training of more apprentices in a given craft. The president of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Association has furnished a concrete illustration in saying: "Speaking for myself, I would rather see the clothing business of this country upon an eight-hour than a nine-and-a-half hour basis, if it could be brought about gradually and uniformly throughout the trade. But a proposition to go to eight hours in thirty days is revolutionary and could not be considered for a moment. In the first place, it would call for an increased number of cutters, and they could not be obtained, for we barely can get enough for our business now. But, if we had the increased number, we would have no room for them in our factories as



ANDREW CARNEGIE,
Capitalist.



AUGUST BELMONT,
President Interborough Rapid Transit Co.



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers.

now arranged. We also have contracts for future delivery which are based on the nine-and-a-half hour schedule. There must be plenty of time to adjust to the new condition."

The National Civic Federation has made an effort to ascertain the drift of opinion among employers upon that subject, and will follow that effort with another to ascertain the disposition among workmen to grant, in return for a shorter work-day, the removal of arbitrary restrictions upon output. A circular letter addressed to a list of manufacturers, none of less than \$500,000 capital, contained the following question:

"Do you regard it a practical proposition to gradually reduce hours by voluntary uniform agreement through a given industry, providing the employees agree to abandon any arbitrary restriction upon the output?"

To this question there were nine hundred and twenty answers, of which six hundred and seven said "yes" to the proposition, coupled with opinions as to its practicability, varying from unqualified assent to extreme doubt. The *Monthly Review* obtained the consent of a large number of the writers of these answers, which in the first instance had been confidential, to their publication. Out of these as many have been selected for presentation as space would permit, and as would afford fair representation of the various opinions expressed.

These opinions readily divide themselves into groups, according to the point of view, the conditions of an industry, commercial and social theories and the attitude of the writers toward organized labor. It will be observed that there is a general prevalence of assent to the desirability of shorter hours as an abstract proposition. Those who object on the ground of increased cost of production and the restriction of business expansion are offset by those who propose a proportionate reduction of wages as a consideration in addition to unrestricted output. The purpose of both these considerations is identical—lower cost of production. One trade condition that opposes itself to shorter hours is when the industry requires continuous work, carried on by shifts, or tours. The two-shift system means a twelve-hours' day. There could be no reduction of hours short of the three-shift system, or an eight-hours' day. This, it is urged, would be too violent a change; although there is one instance cited of its economical operation.

There is a considerable group of replies that express a fear of foreign competition, if the American work-day is shortened. In contrast, another group declares that the demand of the home market, for some products and in active periods, is in excess of the supply, thus creating a need for labor that would only be aggravated by shorter hours. Some

manufacturers perceive a tendency toward shorter hours, not by industries, but by localities, beginning in the larger cities and influenced to some extent by time consumed in transit to and from work.

Many employers would welcome removal of arbitrary restrictions from output in return for shorter hours. But some of these regard such restriction as unsound morally and therefore not negotiable. Others raise the questions of both the responsibility and good faith of trades-unions in keeping such an agreement. Still others regard such an agreement as only possible of enforcement when an association of employers is strong. Another group holds that shorter hours can be attained only through the aggressive efforts of unions.

Those who believe that shorter hours would result in better social conditions far outnumber those who fear the abuse of more leisure. There are some who maintain that present hours of labor are not excessive, neither impairing the health nor denying reasonable opportunity for self-improvement.

The answers representative of these opinions follow.

J. P. Brophy, Cleveland Automatic Machine Co., Cleveland.—My idea of changing the hours of labor in this country is that if the labor unions as a whole in any particular industry would ask for say a nine-and-a-half hour day instead of ten hours, and agree to lose the wages while the manufacturer lost the output of his factory for this particular half-hour, and have this take place universally, I have not the slightest doubt that all manufacturers in this country would agree to this proposition because it would look to them as though the working-man was willing to sacrifice something in order to gain this shorter day. I also believe that in a short time his wages would come back to normal, or about as it is to-day. I also believe that after this nine-and-a-half hour day was universal and all the manufacturers on the same footing, then the nine-hour day would come about in the same way and this without any great contention. I believe that if the working-men were educated up to this point by the leaders of unions a great many of the strikes that we now have and bitterness that these strikes cause would be eliminated, and that the employer and employees would get along very smoothly, and would not have any bitterness in connection with this change in the working hours; but as I understand it, the working-men in asking for a nine-hour day with ten hours' pay, are demanding something that is very unjust, especially when this demand is not universal. As you well know, to any company that has got to grant this concession, it means about 20% of loss in their business. Bear in mind that this company as tool builders have very sharp competition, and if we should be forced to a nine-hour day with our competitors working ten hours, it would almost be necessary for us to close up our factory. It is well understood that there are very few manufacturers in this country that are making as high as 20%, and for this reason it is very easily understood that if we have got to compete, working a nine-hour day, the loss of output for this hour and the extra wages to our men would bring us to a standstill. We could not possibly advance the price of our machines be-

cause this price at the present time, owing to competition, is down to rock bottom, and it is very easily understood that if we had to raise the price of our machines, with our competitors working ten hours, this would drive us out of business. If the nine-hour day was brought about in the manner above described, it would, in my opinion, prevent all this bloodshed and trouble that we now have; and before a great length of time it would be the means of bringing together much closer than they are at the present time employers and employees. There is no necessity, in my opinion, for the great and disastrous labor troubles that we have at present.

C. W. Hubbard, Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, Jute and Hemp Goods, Boston.—We would like to see a shorter day in a business which, like ours, employs so many women and children, but at the same time it is a great handicap to economical manufacturing and the success of our business to have a very large and expensive plant operated shorter hours. The writer hopes in future to see some arrangement of double shifts of short hours in place of the present system of one shift of long hours; this would require one shift starting early in the morning, and another ending late in the day, and outside the hours now allowed under Massachusetts laws. Laws which may require the shortening of the hours of labor, and yet prevent double shifts, may work very seriously with concerns competing with other States or countries not so handicapped. We are strongly opposed to any restrictions upon output.

N. E. Whitaker, Whitaker Iron Co., Wheeling.—The proposition to reduce hours by voluntary and mutual agreement is thoroughly practical, especially if arbitrary restrictions are removed and abandoned, provided based upon equitable conditions of compensation, but we do not regard the proposition practical, expedient, or equitable, if involving the same compensation for a less number of hours.

F. A. C. Perrine, Stanley Electric Manufacturing Co., Pittsfield, Mass.—It is our belief that it is a practical proposition to gradually reduce the hours by voluntary and uniform agreement, throughout any given industry, provided that no restriction be placed upon output and providing, of course, that the reduction of hours be limited to a point where the output from a given shop shall be the greatest. As the number of hours is decreased, the output of men, not largely dependent upon tools, is increased; but the output of all large tools and of all automatic tools is decreased. There is a point where these two curves will cross and give a maximum total output. Beyond this point, hours cannot be economically reduced, but up to this point it would be a gain both for the men and the manufacturers to reduce them.

Nathaniel French, Bettendorf Metal Wheel Co., Davenport, Iowa.—In most branches of work we regard it a practical proposition to gradually reduce the hours of work, being of the opinion that a workman in these branches can expend, without injury to himself, all his daily working force in less than ten hours. In other words, he can do as much work in nine hours as in ten, and possibly in eight hours. An agreement to abandon arbitrary restrictions will be of some value, but it will be broken with great frequency, till the workman learns that he cannot



CORNELIUS N. BLISS,
Ex-Secretary of the Interior.



E. E. CLARK,
Grand Chief, Order of Railway Conductors.



FREDERICK P. FISH,
President American Bell Telephone Co.

receive more than he produces, that limitation of production must also in the long run prove a limitation of wages, and that increase in production makes possible a higher wage rate.

Thomas Hoopes, Wheels and Wheel Material, West Chester, Pa.—I think it desirable that the hours of labor be gradually decreased, and believe that with the improvements going on in machinery and methods, it is possible to do this and still produce all the goods that are needed.

Thos. H. Williams, A. A. Griffing Iron Co., Steam Warming Apparatus, Jersey City.—This question of hours of labor per day resolves itself in the writer's mind to a question as to whether a shorter day becomes the universal practice or not. As long as all competitors in our line work nine hours a day it makes no difference to any of them, as the relative position of each one to the others remains the same. If, however, the shorter day prevails to such an extent that it is carried to all other lines, then it becomes a matter of national policy, since it would directly affect the ability of this country to compete in the world's markets. In order that the conditions should remain the same as between one country and another, it would be necessary that all countries adopt the same length of working day. What we fear is that this shortening of hours and thus curtailing of product produced would increase the cost to such an extent that it would curtail the demand, and all this is based upon the fundamental principle of supply and demand.

R. D. Reed, The H. B. Smith Co., Iron Founders, Westfield, Mass.—I personally believe that the hours of labor will be reduced probably eventually to eight hours in all lines of manufacture, but I have been led to believe that the reduction in the hours of labor will not follow given industries. It has already started in the large cities, and no doubt next year most of the cities of the first class will in all lines of industry be reduced to eight and nine hours; and I feel that it is just that it should start in the larger cities, on account of the length of time it takes the workmen to get to their respective places of work. I feel that a general reduction of the hours of labor throughout the country will not be attained, and it is not best that it should be attained, until times are much different than at present. It seems to me that the labor leaders should consider that at the present time, when nearly every line is pushed to its utmost, that this is not just the time to reduce the hours of labor. No doubt in the future all lines of manufacture will not be so pushed, and I have every reason to believe that a good many of the manufacturers themselves will voluntarily reduce the hours which constitute a day's work. I am satisfied, however, that in the lines of manufacture which I am familiar with, the reducing of the hours of labor will actually reduce the output with present methods, but I do believe it is the duty of each employer to himself to consider this matter seriously, and prepare himself for this reduction in the hours of work of his employees.

E. W. Peck, Co-operative Foundry Co., Rochester, N. Y.—The chief restriction is as to the number of apprentices. We deem this feature the most objectionable and tyrannical, and our experience this year has been such as to arouse our strongest antipathy to it; more especially in the unions connected with

stove manufacture are young men prevented, through restrictive apprenticeship rules, from learning the trade. We should not look with disfavor upon a uniform and voluntary reduction of hours by the employers, provided the union would agree to some modification of apprentice rules to the end that there might be enough mechanics to fill requirements of the trade, as now there are not, in our particular line, and the situation is growing worse monthly. If, in addition to this, hours of labor were shortened, a very serious condition of affairs would quickly ensue.

E. A. Mallory & Sons, Fur Hat Manufacturers, Danbury, Conn.—There are all sorts of restrictions put upon us, as to limit our production, methods of work and use of machinery. Those we consider the most serious. The men are limited as to maximum and minimum wages they can earn. We are handicapped in putting in machinery, and changing methods of work in order to make savings. We are also limited as to the number of apprentices we can teach, to such an extent that we cannot at times fill our shops with necessary workmen for the business we have to do, and the union does not supply this demand. In unskilled jobs we have to pay 30c. per hour, which is entirely too high.

C. B. Orcutt, Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., New York.—It may be practicable to gradually reduce the hours of labor, but this can only be done successfully in large plants with a system of supervision so complete that there can be no doubt as to employer getting the full benefit of the hours actually worked; the cost and difficulty of securing proper system of supervision makes one hesitate to state that the proposition is a practical one.

Theo. Bollmann, The Hoefinghoff & Laue Foundry Co., Cincinnati.—We are heartily in favor of the reduction in hours provided the employees will agree to abandon the arbitrary restrictions of output and the apprentice question.

E. L. Shuey, Lowe Bros. Co., Paint, Dayton, Ohio.—We believe it possible to secure reduced hours with comparatively small reduction in output if employees meet the employers' offer in the right spirit and recognize his desire to be just to all interested.

F. E. Wheeler, International Heater Co., Utica, N. Y.—As a general proposition, reducing the hours of labor means increasing the cost of production. Increased costs means higher prices, and a consequent curtailment of trade. But to leave entirely out of the question the policy of a reduction in hours, or to concede for the moment that the hours of labor are to be reduced in any particular trade, then the most practical manner of doing this is by a voluntary, uniform agreement throughout that trade, made through an association of employers which is large and powerful enough to control the situation, and who, when granting the concession will at the same time insist upon the removal of all limitations as to the number of apprentices employed, and all restrictions as to the amount of work done by any employee, in any given time.

G. C. Sherman, St. Regis Paper Co., Watertown, N. Y.—In our industry several of the best mills are running 144 hours a week, with three sets of men

instead of two, and this with the consent of the union. We think the mills refusing the shorter hours gradually lose their best men to competitors, who grant shorter hours at the same rate of pay. If eighty per cent. of the mills are running uniformly and twenty per cent. the other way, we should feel we were not suffering if we were in with the majority. On the other hand, if the percentage operating at the shorter hours was reversed, of course it would be necessary for us to adopt the short hour system and the lower rate of wages. The men understand, of course, that it is up to them to insist upon the short hour system, as otherwise the union would not be controlling.

Salling, Hanson & Co., Lumber, Grayling, Mich.—We believe it practical by national legislation to gradually reduce laboring hours from ten to eight hours a day, but this can only be done by national legislation, for the reason that if laborers are allowed to work ten hours in one locality for a day's work and nine in another and eight in another, the employers working only eight and nine hours could not compete with those working ten hours. We firmly believe that eight hours a day would provide a good living for the people of the United States and put 20% more of our laboring forces to work, and in a measure avoid idleness and over-production. We realize, however, that we have to compete with the rest of the world in our pursuits for a livelihood, and unless we can in some measure fortify ourselves so as not to come in competition with foreign labor, we would be practically a failure.

T. I. Hickman, Graniteville Manufacturing Co., Cotton, Augusta, Ga.—Hours of labor, sixty-six per week. We would be perfectly willing to reduce this to sixty hours a week if other cotton manufacturers would conform to the same rule; or we would favor a universal ten-hour law for cotton factories. I think that ten hours per day is enough for any person to work, but of course we cannot work ten hours while our competitors in the same field are working eleven.

F. C. Caldwell, H. W. Caldwell & Co., Engineers and Machinists, Chicago.—If an agreement were made which, as you state, would be voluntary and uniform, and would cover an entire industry, such an agreement would certainly be effective. Our idea of the question of shorter hours is that in so far as the reduction of hours is for the purpose of improving the social condition of the employee, the reduction can be brought about; but if the hours are shortened for the ulterior purpose of requiring the employment of a greater number of men, such action would be economically wrong and certainly would fail in the end.

Fred F. Smith, Ferracute Machine Co., Bridgeton, N. J.—We have always believed that the world could work with many less hours than now practised, if all would agree to it, and if there was no great amount of waste. At present we do not think it wise to change the number of working hours to less than ten in our line of business. In some kinds of business, where the men are exposed to great hardships or unusual strains, the hours should be less, but owners of factories and each set of employees should decide these matters themselves, as it is impossible for outside "delegates," who are not always men of experience, to decide arbitrarily a number of these details. We certainly do not favor a restriction upon



OSCAR S. STRAUS,
Of The Hague Court of Arbitration.



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
President Pittsburgh Coal Co.



JAMES DUNCAN,
Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union.

output, "for the sake of protecting the poor brother." Every one should produce all he can properly, and the world would then be richer.

H. Wittenberg, Pacific Coast Biscuit Co., Portland, Oregon.—The conditions in America are changing each year. Free schools, public libraries, and on all sides higher degrees of civilization are having their effect upon the workmen of our country. They are becoming more intelligent and observant, and have a good understanding of what their rights should be and how they should be treated by their employer. With a better condition and higher education comes a desire for more luxuries and more time for recreation, just the same as the operator, or employer, who, starting early in life, works late and early, practises every possible economy in his effort to accumulate and increase his worldly goods. This he continues until he has reached a certain point in life where he feels that he can take a little more comfort and reduces his hours of labor. Now, if this is the plan of the employer, why should not the employes have the same object in view, and why should it be denied to them? We can see no good reason for a counter argument. The people of this country, both as individuals and tax-payers, furnish the ways and means to improve the condition of the general public, and as they furnish them such means they should expect that the workmen, or general public, in securing such knowledge, should desire to profit and improve their condition, and in doing so, better pay and less hours of labor is required to satisfy their desires and new conditions. The only danger that presents itself in the labor situation in America, in my opinion, is whether labor will use good judgment in adapting itself to its new conditions. Not having the same experience and, if you please, the cool, conservative judgment which the employer in general has learned through years of contact with the business public, the employe is apt to overstep the bounds of prudence and injure himself many times over, before he has learned it is only by slow degrees that he can further improve his condition. Let us hope that the employe will realize that the interests of his employers should be safely guarded by him; that he should feel an interest in his employer's business, for only through the success of such business can he hope to secure further benefits. When such a policy will be adopted by the working men of this country, there is no doubt that the acme of good feeling and pleasant relations will have been reached.

Several establishments, compelled by the nature of their business to run consecutively, point out that they are confronted, not with the proposition of a gradual reduction in hours, but of a sudden reduction from twelve to eight hours:

H. J. Brown, Berlin Mills Co., Lumber and Wood Pulp, Portland, Me.—Most of our works run continuously, the day crew working from 7 to 6, six days in the week, the night crew working from 6 until 7, five nights in the week, each man having an hour's intermission, but his work being kept along by his mates. There can be no modification of this, except the jump to an eight-hour day, the men working through the eight hours without any time for meals, except to eat a lunch alongside their work. We do not see how this change can be brought about gradually. It might, however, be brought about by an agreement to all go on to this system at a fixed day

sufficiently far in the future to allow present contracts to run out and new ones to be made on the new basis. The only restrictions in our business are that the men in the paper mill will not work extra for extra pay at seasons of the year when we need to have them. This would be obviated by an eight-hour day, which would keep the mill running the entire week excepting Sunday.

Fox River Paper Co., Appleton, Wis.—It will be necessary for us to substitute three tours of eight hours each for the present two tour system in order to make any reduction of hours to those working, and in this connection it is well to say that we do not believe that our tour workers would favor the three tour system, as they recognize that if put in practice it must be a reduction of diem pay, and also that it would increase the number of skilled hands, which in dull times would make it more difficult for the individual to obtain work.

But another paper company, which made the change, writes:

F. L. Moore, Raymondville Paper Company, Watertown, N. Y.—Part of the mill is working on the three tour system, and part on the two tour system. In changing part of our mill from the two to the three tour system, making a day of eight hours, we found we could cut off a few extra men and that the same work could be accomplished with fewer men, and they would work harder and take more interest in their work than when working twenty-four hours in two shifts. We find in doing this our production is somewhat larger and the men are better satisfied with the hours.

Several replies object to shorter hours on the ground that they would increase cost on the amount produced and would retard business expansion:

Arthur E. Barlow, Newark, N. J., Malleable and Gray Iron Castings.—The foundry business cannot profitably be run on shorter time than nine hours per day. The only productive part, strictly speaking, is the time when they do the molding, and if an eight-hour work-day were enforced it would allow only six or six-and-one-half hours for molding; therefore, nine hours per day is the minimum time for a work-day in a foundry.

B. L. Stowe, Eureka Fire Hose Co., Jersey City, N. J.—We do not find that people will do as much work in fifty-five hours as in fifty-nine, as is sometimes claimed, and actually Saturday forenoon is not as valuable as other forenoons. The shorter week, therefore, places us at some disadvantage in competition with our competitors who work fifty-nine hours, but we have no intention of increasing our time.

The Bain Wagon Co., Kenosha, Wis.—We do not regard it practical to reduce the hours of labor; our goods are sold to the farmer almost exclusively. With nature for his master, the farmer must work such hours as are necessary to meet natural conditions, that is, he must sow his grain in the right season or it will not come to fruition; he must harvest it at the proper time or nature will waste it. Any attempt on our part to add the cost of reduced hours of labor to the product he consumes would be met by the sternest kind of oppo-

sition from him, and in our opinion ten hours per day is no more than the laborer's share of time to be expended in the production of our goods, when compared with the hours of labor that the farmer must spend in producing his crops.

Schofield, Mason & Co., Carpets, Philadelphia.—We do not doubt it might be practicable to gradually reduce hours by voluntary, uniform agreement throughout a given industry on the conditions you name, but we should deprecate such action in our business, as our machinery will only produce a certain amount of work, and to reduce the time 10% would be to reduce our output that much, and make our plant 10% less valuable.

Several establishments held that there is not always enough labor supply to warrant reduction in hours. These are frequently in industries having seasonal demand for their products. But the following replies were written before the present period of comparative industrial laxity:

C. H. Smith, Western Wheeled Scraper Co., Aurora, Ill.—When men are scarce I would not regard it as practicable to reduce the working hours to eight, or even nine. Our business has been restricted because we could not get help enough to turn out the work offered.

G. H. Schulte, Milwaukee Harvester Co., Milwaukee, Wis.—We have no objection to shorter hours, if the reduction can be brought on gradually and simultaneously throughout our line of business. We object to restrictions upon output for the reason that there is not enough labor to be hired at times to produce our output even at ten hours a day.

Wm. A. Lynch, The Aultman Co., Oil Engines, Canton, Ohio.—When the production is equal to or exceeds the demand, we would favor a gradual and general reduction of hours of labor, so as to keep all workmen employed a part of the time, but to reduce the hours of labor say from ten to nine hours in a period of great activity would be a loss to the productive capacity of the whole country.

C. G. Hussey & Co., Pittsburgh Copper and Brass Rolling Mills, Pittsburgh.—We doubt if we are competent to make reply, having had practically no experience with union labor, but we think it doubtful if your proposition would work satisfactorily for the reason that the labor employed, say this year, in all probability would not be to the extent of 50% of the same employed two or three years later, when it might be proposed to carry out the scheme and put any restrictions upon the output. The labor employed, say three years later, might object to these conditions, if the labor were non-union.

H. E. Hardin, Acme Harvester Co., Peoria, Ill.—The number of hours which employes are expected to work should be optional with the employer, especially if he shows a disposition to be fair, and should be a matter of mutual agreement before the employe goes to work. Conditions are such, especially in our line of business, that an iron-clad rule limiting the number of hours of labor to eight or nine per day would work as a great hardship

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CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President Harvard University.



HENRY G. DAVIS,
Coal Operator.



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
President International Longshoremen.

WHAT IS WELFARE WORK ?

ESPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR PHYSICAL COMFORT, RECREATION AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF EMPLOYEES.—CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS AND CAUSES OF FAILURE.

The announcement of the formation of its Welfare Department has brought to the National Civic Federation various inquiries as to the nature of the subject with which that department deals.

Welfare Work.

Welfare work involves special consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed; opportunities for recreation; educational advantages; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes; its application to be measured by the exigencies of the case.

Before discussing the several divisions of this definition, a brief statement of the theory underlying welfare work will be advisable.

The first essentials to the welfare of the employee are steady work, an equitable wage, and reasonable hours of labor. It is an economic truth that employment without interruption is of the first importance to the prosperity of the wage earner. The employer, however exacting, whose foresight and good management make steady work possible is a greater benefactor than can be the employer, however benevolent, whose business is of spasmodic activity. Hunger is only a fortnight behind the average worker thrown into idleness.

The payment of the market wage creates in the mind of the worker confidence in the justice and fair dealing of the employer. This confidence is absolutely essential to the prosecution of welfare work, which must fail whenever the workers are led to suspect that its cost is taken from their wages. It is difficult to explain to employees that the total cost of welfare work in any establishment, if distributed among them, would be individually an infinitesimal amount.

The relation of the hours of labor to welfare work lies in their effect upon the physical health of employees and in the opportunity they leave, especially where there is much "overtime," for recreation and education after the close of the day's work. It is recognized that, where competition is keen, a reduction in hours can only be brought about by agreement involving practically all the competitors in a given industry.

Each Industrial Establishment a Separate Problem.

In the application of welfare work, every industrial establishment presents in itself a separate problem, requiring special study. Every beginning is an experiment. Every general rule has its exceptions. Nevertheless, while the welfare work in any single

establishment can not as a whole be applied to another, various features can be adapted to the special conditions peculiar to a particular concern. Welfare work has proved of value in small as well as large establishments.

Special Supervision of "Welfare Manager."

A general rule for all welfare work in large concerns is that its successful conduct requires the employment of a welfare manager. This manager should not only possess tact, executive ability, common sense, acquaintance with local jealousies and sometimes with racial prejudices, but a knowledge of industrial subjects. He must recognize and in no way interfere with the authority of the superintendents, who are responsible for the successful operation of their departments, the administration of labor, and the maintaining of discipline. He must gain in advance their full approval of each effort, and use every proper method to enlist their full co-operation. He must have the patience to endure the slow realization of his plans. In time it will become evident that they are for the benefit of all, of the employer and of the executive chiefs as well as for the mass of employees.

Many employers would introduce welfare work into their establishments were it not for the time and trouble needed for its organization. The employment of a welfare manager removes this obstacle. Successful prosecution of welfare work requires concentration of responsibility. All of its branches must be under the supervision of one person, or efforts in different directions may conflict, or special and, perhaps, pressing needs may escape attention. Pressure of daily business routine usually relegates welfare work to the last consideration. This is another reason why in large establishments it should receive the entire time and attention of one person. Welfare work has sometimes been started enthusiastically, but has afterward failed because there was no one person to keep its operation active and apace with daily needs.

Participation of the Employer.

The part of the employer in welfare work invites special comment. His active participation and that of the executive heads of the business in the work is a prime requisite to its success. The employer should not expect demonstrations of appreciation or expressions of gratitude for his fulfillment of a moral obligation. He has within his control influences that affect the physical, moral and mental de-

velopment of the human beings in his employ. It becomes then clearly his duty to direct these influences for their welfare. Nor should the employer expect welfare work to avert a strike against unjust conditions.

The question is often asked whether the employer should take the initiative in welfare work or await suggestions from employees. In practice it is found that whenever an initial step is taken by the employer to meet an urgent need, abundant suggestions for his consideration of further betterments will follow from employees. It is essential in taking this initial step, however, that confidence in the employer's motive should be unquestioned by the employees.

Confidence in the Employer's Motive.

The employer must show that his interest in the welfare of the employees is genuine. An agreement with executive heads as to plans and purposes will ensure an understanding of his sincerity which will be helpful in reaching the rank and file. In securing confidence of employees at the outset of welfare work, it is necessary in unionized establishments to explain its purposes to the union officers; and in non-union establishments it is important to obtain the co-operation of selected committees of the employees. This may sometimes be promoted by the printing of placards in different languages.

Should Not be Used for Advertisement.

The employer, it has been shown, should not pervert welfare work into an advertisement for his business. This impugns his motive and discredits the plan. When publicity is inevitable, there should be care that the subject is treated in a dignified manner.

Paternalism and the Democratic Plan.

The spirit of welfare work must not be that of condescension, nor have the appearance of thrusting benefits upon subordinates, nor rob the worker of self-respect. But any effort at welfare work may be regarded as more or less paternalistic. A resort to direct paternalism, however, is necessary or desirable only for recent immigrants who in their native lands have been accustomed to the guardianship of superior authority. Going to the other extreme, in the so-called democratic idea, is also to be avoided. When their confidence has been gained, employees will generally prefer to entrust the direction of welfare work to the employer. The need of relaxation and the natural impulse homeward should not be denied or checked during intermissions or at the



JOHN IRELAND,
Archbishop, Roman Catholic Church.



H. H. VREELAND,
President N. Y. City Railway Co.



P. H. MORRISSEY,
Grand Master, Railroad Trainmen.

close of the working day by too much committee work. It must be borne in mind that the chief purpose of committees of employees is advisory and to enlist their interest, rather than to initiate or execute welfare plans. Committee work is also valuable in developing among the employees a spirit of helping one another, while it is, in its very nature, educational.

Some Causes of Failure.

Especially inquiry has been made into cases of failure in welfare work, in order to ascertain its causes. One cause of failure has been found in its too rapid introduction. As a general rule improvements should be adopted gradually, so that the workers may become accustomed to them. For example, if an employer were suddenly to erect a fine club-house at an impressive expense, the workers might conjecture that its cost was to be in some way taken out of their own pockets. If a library is not patronized by employees, its failure may be caused by the absence of interesting catalogues for leisurely inspection in the homes, or by lack of special effort to overcome diffidence in frequenting the library building. Prices charged for luncheons may be too high for wages in a given industry. A lunch room may not be patronized because it is untidy, or unattractive, or too small, or because there is no place for men to smoke. Elaborate toilet facilities with cold water only and no soap may be scorned for the drilling compound which does remove oil from the hands. In brief, failures are usually traceable to insufficient preliminary study of the particular need to be met. This study may often be forwarded by enlisting the co-operation of committees of the employees. There have been some failures of welfare work not justly chargeable to its conduct. These have been brought about by a change of management in the establishments concerned, the new management showing opposition to what had been done before.

Physical Welfare of Primary Importance.

The beginning of all welfare work must be directed toward meeting the pressing necessities for the physical well-being of the employees in their place of work. These most pressing needs are provisions for cleanliness, pure drinking water, adequate toilet rooms, ventilation, light, separate lockers for outdoor clothing and dressing rooms. In some industries, provisions for cleanliness should include especial attention to the relief of men whose toil induces profuse perspiration. There should be free laundries for washing their working clothing. Baths will be of benefit and will be much used. Ventilation in factories should include devices for removing dust. Much suffering in such superheated places of labor as rolling mills, foundries, and forge shops can be relieved at comparatively small expense, while more attention should be paid to damp substructures and

unnecessarily cold and and drafty places. Abundant light is important to cheerfulness as well as to health. Besides rest-rooms for women, it is important to have, when the task permits, fixed rest periods, even if brief.

All of the details that have been specified are primary. They are literally the first letters of the alphabet of welfare work. Yet these very things, simple as they seem, are of the utmost practical value to the employer. The one provision for cleanliness alone, for example, improves the spirit of every worker as well as the health, and raises the moral tone of the force, even improving discipline. Taken altogether, all the separate provisions that have been noted have the effect of attracting to any establishment a higher and more constant class of labor. Workers everywhere enjoy and will seek improvements in the surroundings in their hours of toil.

A further step toward physical welfare of employees is the establishment of lunch rooms. The importance of the midday meal to health and vigor is obvious. Also, forenoon luncheons and breakfasts are valuable, especially when the breakfast at home, through lack of appetite or haste in starting for work, has been skimmed or skipped entirely, and when there are several shifts. Luncheons in overtime are important. Any establishment should at least provide a place to keep from spoiling or drying the prepared food brought from home. A still further step will be care for the sick and injured. It is but humane to furnish a couch on which a prostrated woman may be restored, instead of permitting her to lie on the floor or on two chairs. Wherever serious accidents in a factory are likely to occur, a doctor should be continually present, and an emergency hospital is necessary. Under this head also would fall the guarding of machinery.

Protection for Women Workers.

In applying these primary beginnings of any system of welfare work, several moral questions are encountered. In factories where both men and women are employed, it is desirable, though unfortunately not always possible, to separate by a period of three or five minutes their times for beginning and quitting work. This simple precaution for the protection of the feminine element among the employees of any large establishment has the effect of preserving respect for womanhood. Experience shows that, where this system prevails, the establishments soon acquire a higher tone. An additional protection is the employment of a matron, who will also be a confidential adviser and render temporary relief in cases of illness. When the general morale of a factory is not in good repute, it is difficult for the employer to induce desirable working-women to accept employment.

Recreation.

After providing for immediate physical needs, the recreation of employees is the next step in welfare work. Here again the peculiarities of individual establishments must be considered. A gymnasium, for example, would be desirable only in establishments where the work is more or less sedentary, so

that the employees are in need of exercise, or for the young men and women employed in factories. A gymnasium would be superfluous in a place where the work itself involved severe bodily exertion. Athletics, both indoor and outdoor, are highly desirable. They may involve organizations. In large establishments, the plan of recreation may include a clubhouse, with rooms for theatricals, dancing, entertaining and for games. The entertainments may include music and, perhaps, lectures, which approach a further development of welfare work—that looking to the education of employees.

The question of vacations is important. Where the industry is located in a large city nearby camps in the country for laborers and their families may be conducted. Information as to the location of summer resorts, rates and transportation, is especially desired by clerical workers.

Educational Efforts.

The possibility of extending welfare work to the education of employees is contingent upon the hours of labor. A scheme of education may begin with technical classes for the younger men, and may include instruction designed to replace the loss of earlier schooling. Women employees may be taught to help themselves in such ways as in millinery, dressmaking, cooking, and all household affairs; and in some pursuits they may also profitably receive technical instruction. In a large settlement a kindergarten may be provided. The instruction of children becomes a direct contribution to better citizenship when the parents employed are largely immigrants. A reading-room or circulating library, or both, will be of great benefit. A company may publish with advantage a periodical in the several tongues used by the workers. Sometimes an establishment may be so large that its plans of education may come into co-operation with the municipality, or may even assume all the functions ordinarily performed through municipal agencies. This has been the case in towns which have been created for the industry, where the company has been obliged to provide public schools as well as churches and social halls.

Homes of Employees.

Welfare work concerns itself also with the housing of employees. The two purposes to be kept in mind in this branch of the work are the health and the self-respect of the employee. The reflex social and moral influence upon the people of a community in encouraging attractive home-making is of far-reaching consequence.

Plans for Saving and Lending Money.

Mutual plans for saving and lending money have proved highly beneficial to employees, through protecting them in times of stress, when desperation forces agreement to any terms, against the extortions of the "money-shark." To avoid encouraging the tendency to borrow, any plan for lending should be conditioned upon a system of saving.

Insurance and Pensions.

Beneficial insurance societies are quite commonly included in welfare work, both compulsory and voluntary plans having been tried with varying degrees of success. Related to these are pension plans, in which there is a growing interest. This entire class of projects requires more original research and experiment than any other phase of welfare work, as their inception and successful operation are complicated by many problems.

GERTRUDE BECKS,
Secretary Welfare Department.



HENRY C. POTTER,
Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.



THEODORE J. SHAFFER,
Pres. Amal. Ass'n I. S. & T. Workers.



SAMUEL MATHER,
Great Lakes Shipper.

THOUSANDS OF WAGE-EARNERS TO SEE THE WORLD'S FAIR.

THE WELFARE BUREAU AFFORDS EMPLOYERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ENCOURAGE WORKERS TO ENJOY ITS EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES WITH COMFORT, ECONOMY AND GUIDANCE.

The Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation has established a bureau at the St. Louis Exposition for the convenience, comfort and guidance of the thousands of wage-earners in the United States, for whose instruction a systematic study of special exhibits and observation of the World's Fair as a whole are highly desirable. Large employers of labor already show appreciation of this opportunity to add to the intelligent productivity of workers. To a number of such employers the following letter, which explains itself, has been addressed by H. H. Vreeland, chairman of the Welfare Department:

"On behalf of the National Civic Federation, I beg to call your attention to the unequalled advantages offered for the mutual benefit of the employer and employee through attendance at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

"It is generally conceded that in very many respects this Exposition surpasses anything of the kind in history. The sum of \$50,000,000 has been spent in construction, and its exhibits represent over \$500,000,000 in value. It is safe to assume that this generation will never have another opportunity of viewing such a stupendous exhibition of the world's latest and best achievements in industry and science.

"The Executive Council of the National Civic Federation recognizes that it would be most unfortunate

were not every possible effort exerted to place within the power of each wage-earner, where practicable, the opportunity to visit this Exposition. It is convinced that the superintendents, foremen and other leading workers in every manufacturing plant or commercial institution should enjoy the educational advantages presented at St. Louis. With the object of helping to solve the problem of how to visit the World's Fair to the best possible advantage, the National Civic Federation has, with the hearty approval and support of the Exposition management, authorized its Welfare Department to establish a World's Fair Bureau in the Transportation Building, on the exposition grounds.

"This bureau will be glad to arrange, free of all charge, for economical accommodations through responsible agencies, to prepare and furnish itineraries for the systematic observation and study of objects of special interest in the various departments, and otherwise to do everything possible to contribute to the profitable enjoyment of those who visit the Exposition under its auspices. It will undertake to engage lodgings in hotels, private houses or tented cities, meet parties at trains, and guide them to their stopping places.

"As experience demonstrates that the attendance at all expositions increases in the closing months,

it is obvious that more favorable terms can be obtained now than later. We would therefore urge the advisability of making your arrangements at the earliest possible moment. Exclusive of railway fares, the visitor can spend six days in St. Louis and see the Exposition comfortably at a total expense of \$15 for lodgings, meals, car fares and admissions.

"There is enough instructive entertainment in the main exposition palaces, the United States Government Building, State buildings, and the pavilions of foreign countries, to all of which admission is free, to occupy attention for a much longer period.

"One of our Illinois members is arranging to bring 6,000 of his employees in groups to the Exposition, and an Ohio member will bring 2,500, while others are arranging for from 100 to 500 foremen and superintendents from more distant sections. In some cases employers pay part of the expenses; in others, they help in securing low railroad rates; and in one case, the employer has advanced the money, deducting a stated amount from the weekly wage. One large manufacturer states that he regards it as a good business investment for both employer and employee—and he is defraying one-half the cost.

"If this subject interests you, our World's Fair Bureau will be glad to furnish any further information desired."

CONFERENCE COMMENDED.

President Covell Advises the National Metal Trades Association to Encourage Trade Agreements Consistent with Fundamental Principles.

A liberal attitude of organized employers toward organized labor was the subject of a portion of an address delivered by H. N. Covell, president of the National Metal Trades Association, to the sixth annual convention of that body, in Philadelphia. President Covell said:

It is not my purpose to enter upon a theoretical discussion of the great subject of capital and labor. You will find all the printed matter on every hand that you will be able to read on that subject, written by learned and wise men. It is not theory, but facts, with which we have to deal. This association is created to deal with men who hold no theories save that they are after all they can get. They should obtain all they are entitled to, but no more.

The question of our relations with organized labor is a most important one. I believe that the tendency is growing to a more liberal spirit; that is, that more employers have come to view the situation in a broader and less conservative manner, and have

eradicated from their minds, the idea that all is absolutely had in organized labor and, conversely, wholly good on the employer's end.

More lasting, ultimate good may be accomplished by an endeavor to correct the abuses of organized labor than by crushing it (if such a thing were possible).

I am of the opinion that no harm will be done, but that much good would ensue, by occasional conferences with representatives of organized labor. We cannot ignore the fact that organized labor is prominent in our nation's affairs. Were it not that labor is organized, this association would not be organized; and, therefore, in the mere fact of our own organization, we recognize the organization of labor.

The use of the word "recognize" as applied to labor organization, is, perhaps, not a happy one. To use the word from the labor union standpoint, would mean the adoption of the closed shop, minimum rate, hours work, limitation of apprentices, and, throughout, the whole category of labor union restrictions; which is a condition strictly contrary to our Declaration of Principles, and is in no sense to be considered by this association. But, using the word "recognize" in a broader sense, we cannot deny the fact of their existence. We recognize the fact of their existence, hence recognize them to that extent; and this is something we cannot avoid.

Organized labor has rights and a standing in the

community, whether we like it or not. If through conference we can impart some of our ideas, and we certainly can, it will be sowing seed which some day may take root and grow and thrive. If two persons disagreeing upon a matter, should stand upon opposite sides of a street and hurl epithets, stones and sticks at each other, no good will be done to either. Surrounding property and passersby would be liable to receive injury. The more stones thrown the more angry would they become. It would be infinitely more sensible if both sides should conclude to come to the middle of the street and talk it over.

And so it seems to me that the National Metal Trades Association should meet organized labor in conference. I am a firm believer in national agreements. I do not mean any agreement, but agreements which must be based upon our fundamental principles and this without any infringements of our rights as employers, citizens of the United States or members of the association.

It is not logical that we should disparage or disapprove of agreements with organized labor as a body when component parts, as represented by local associations, make local agreements, and are, in numerous instances, successfully operating under them to-day; and, in fact, using as a basis of the agreements a form officially sanctioned by this association.

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James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
William D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.
Henry White, General Secretary United Garment Workers of America, New York City.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.

THE OPEN SHOP AN OPEN QUESTION.

The organs of the "Smash the Unions" employers' associations unite in making much ado about the pronouncement by Judge Adams of Chicago, that a closed shop is illegal and criminal. Those anti-union organs persist in ignoring the fact that Judge Adams' declaration was not a decision but a dictum, and that the consensus of opinion of able members of the bar is that it stands the test neither of law nor of logic. Experience, not dicta, will solve the case of the open vs. the closed shop.

For that case is one of practice, not of principle. But it is a case that must be decided in accordance with principle. That principle is the principle of liberty. In turn, liberty must accord with the interests of society as a whole. The despot and the anarchist each has his definition of liberty. Neither can be right. Liberty does not mean freedom to do as one will with one's own. Liberty imposes duty. That is the duty to direct conduct and to use property for the common weal. The gain of the individual, whether from the use of capital or the increment of earnings, must not mean the loss of society.

It is the interest of society that the relations between employers and employed be such as to encourage the active and profitable use of capital so as to leave a margin for improving processes, and that they be such as to elevate continuously the condition of the great body of workers, so as to increase consumption. Anything that checks this progress opposes civilization and must be removed.

Apply this principle to practice in the case of the open or closed shop. The union is a means for securing the rights and bettering the conditions of labor. It is, therefore, wrong for the employer to discriminate against the union. The employer who aims to make the open shop mean a shop closed against the union, occupies an untenable position. On the other hand, the employer is responsible for the successful conduct of his business. Only such conduct makes possible the employment of labor and the betterment of wages and conditions. It is, therefore, wrong for the union to wrest from the responsible employer the control of his business. The union that dictates to the employer whom he shall vest with executive authority or whom he shall hire or refuse to hire, occupies an untenable position, and the employer is warranted in trying to smash it in self-defense. If all the workers in any establishment belong to the union, that is in effect a closed shop regardless of any specific contract. Should any one or several prefer not to join the union that is their right. But the union has also the right to refuse to work with any outside its membership. Such refusal does not deny the right of the non-unionist to seek employment, or the right of the employer to employ whom he pleases.

Whenever the employer discriminates against union workers because the union is the organized force that he confronts, he compels the union to fight for the closed shop as a necessity of self-preservation. The union then has the right to make that fight, because it is a fight for its life. It is idle for the "Smash the Union" employers' associations to attempt to deceive the unions or to mislead the public upon this issue. Their orators may prate upon the rostrum about the right of labor to organize and may protest that they do not fight the principle of unionism, but its excesses. But their insincerity is betrayed by their boasts in private of how they will break this or that union through the open shop. Such men force upon the union the issue of life or dissolution.

While the union has the undoubted right to strive for a closed shop, the employment of any form of coercion must be unequivocally condemned. If the union can convince the employer that the closed shop means a steady supply of

superior labor, it will have won its purpose by demonstrated merit. The closed shop upon any other condition would be intolerable.

CRITICISM AND FACT.

The animus against organized labor of some editorial writers for the daily press leads them occasionally into inconsistencies that are amusing. They are also instructive, as disclosing a disposition upon the part of these writers not to credit trades unions with evidences of growing self-restraint, self-respect and enlightenment, that are to be found in the record of facts published in their own news columns.

A typical newspaper critic of unions recently made these editorial remarks:

Labor cannot divest itself of responsibility for the excesses, the oppression, the cruelties and the crimes of individuals and organizations until it finds courage to disown the leadership and teachings of demagogues and agitators, and to relegate to obscurity men who, in executive control of trades-unions, have made them dangerous to the public interest. . . . If wage-earners by thousands are willing to march in public procession under the leadership of a convicted bribe-taker and barroom bully during a brief interval from deserved incarceration in State prison, . . . they have only themselves to blame if they are misjudged and saddled with a very large share of responsibility for the misdeeds of individuals and organizations.

This is a misstatement of fact. The same newspaper was more accurate at the time of the occurrence, leaving to others the distortion contained in the above quotation. When the convicted Parks was released from prison through a certificate of reasonable doubt, this same journal said editorially:

Judge Sewall acted within his rights. . . . Judge Sewall thought him entitled to a new trial, and he will have it. . . . He [Parks] is entitled to his rights, but the fewer honors he receives, the better for the interests of labor.

Despite this recognition that the convicted Parks had been restored to civil rights pending a new trial, but quite in accordance with its own advice, the news columns of the same journal during that week afford voluminous evidence that the great body of organized labor turned its back upon Parks and his political patron of that period. Of the 150 different labor crafts in New York City, only thirty involved in the building trades considered the Labor Day parade. Of these thirty, the twenty-three that had signed the arbitration agreement with the employers quickly turned it down. Of the other seven, supposed to be under Parks' influence, five of the largest also revolted, leaving only the two unions to which Parks belonged. As a matter of fact, only a small fraction of those two unions joined in the parade, the rest of his following being Devery heelers. On September 8 this critical journal thus headed its report of the Labor Day parade: "Labor Day Fizzle. Only 8,593 Men in Line, as against 25,000 Last Year." Editorially the same issue observed:

What promised to be the largest parade organized labor had ever had in New York was spoiled by the fatal mistake of placing Parks at the head of it. . . . The most hopeful feature of the whole unhappy and deplorable incident is that so many unions refused to parade under such leadership, and that of those which were not permitted to refuse so many self-respecting men remained at home.

Later, when Parks was apposing bitterly the negotiations that finally resulted in the arbitration agreement between the building trades unions and the employers. President Samuel Gompers and 1st-Vice-President James Duncan, of the American Federation of Labor, came to New York and investigated the situation. As a result, these two labor leaders issued a letter to the unions advising those who had been locked out or were on strike to sign the plan of arbitration. This was in effect a clear repudiation of Parksism, whose influence was recognized as the one obstacle in the way of restoration of harmony in the building industry. These national labor leaders explicitly recommended the plan of arbi-

tration which Parks was fighting. These facts were published by this same journal on October 14, under the caption, "Arbitration Plan Urged by Gompers." Surely, this was finding "courage to disown the leadership and teachings" of a demagogue and agitator, as it was a step "to relegate to obscurity" one of the "men who, in executive control of trades-unions, have made them dangerous to the public interest." Editorial criticism should be made to accord with news history.

THE "MUGWUMP" AND THE "SCAB."

Adherents of political parties heartily hate the "mugwump." The regular partisan rates the "mugwump" as the personification of dilletante selfishness. He beholds the tomahawk of the "mugwump" brandished against every nomination that does not please his personal taste. With all the hard physical and mental labor of forming national, State, county, city, ward and precinct organizations, of attending caucuses and primaries, of attracting allegiance of voters, of awakening interest in public issues, of educating citizens to their meaning, of all the toil involved in the control of conventions, the making of platforms, the conduct of campaigns,—with all these varied, incessant activities, without which there could be no republican form of government, the "mugwump" will have nothing to do. He holds aristocratically aloof from association with a political organization whose workers devote themselves to its extension in the interest of specified principles. Nevertheless, the partisan beholds the "mugwump," while thus escaping the hardships, the self-denial and the exacting efforts of partisan conflicts, enjoying, in common with other citizens, and accepting with irritating complacency the benefit of whatever progress in good government is the outcome of party competition for public approval.

There is a striking parallel to this partisan view of the "mugwump" in the attitude of the union worker towards the "scab."

Like the political party, the union is formed for the realization of certain ideals. These include higher wages, shorter hours, and generally better conditions of labor. These objects can be attained only through organization, as they could not be brought about by individual workers. To form and maintain 150 national and international craft organizations, 45 State federations, 1,200 city federations, and 25,000 local unions requires infinite effort and incessant self-sacrifice. Their officers must be chosen through all the machinery of caucuses, conventions and elections. Dues must be paid. There must be picnics, excursions, and all kinds of entertainments to awaken interest. There must be meetings, lectures, speeches, debates. Every member must face, with heroic fortitude, the prospect of suffering for the cause. These are some of the unescapable burdens of the loyal unionist. They are not lightly borne.

But in their bearing, according to the unionist, the "scab" takes no share. In securing the results severely attained by organized labor, he takes no part. He pays no dues. He robs his leisure of no hours for the elevation of his industrial group. Like the "mugwump" in politics, the "scab" holds selfishly, scornfully, hypercritically aloof. Nevertheless, while thus escaping hardships and self-denials necessary to win, through organization, by conflict or negotiation, from the employer better conditions for the employed and more rightful relations between them both, the "scab" shares all the benefits won by the systematic struggle of organized labor. Thus it is that the scorn of the regular party adherent for the "mugwump" is equaled by the scorn of the unionist for the "scab." The parallel suggests that an appropriate definition of the "scab" would be the industrial "mugwump."

If organization is essential to good govern-

ment, it becomes the patriotic duty of every citizen to enter a party organization and seek to make its policy and conduct conform to conscientious conviction. If organization is essential to advance the cause of labor, it becomes the duty of every wage-earner to enter the union of his craft and to eliminate from its conduct everything detrimental to the attainment of its purpose. But neither "mugwump" nor "scab" should be coerced into his organization by ostracism or bludgeon.

THE SHORTER WORK-DAY SYMPOSIUM.

The question of a shorter work day is very much alive. It is an issue of active current discussion and of present importance. The eight-hour bill, long pending before Congress, was referred by that body to the Department of Labor and Commerce, which is preparing a report upon the probable effects of its enactment. The American Federation of Labor has included the support of this measure among the questions that it is asking every candidate for Congress to answer. For these reasons, the opinions of employers upon this subject, presented in this issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW, are of interest and value.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN.

The countenances that look forth from the pages of this issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW are those of members of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. These are citizens representative of three groups, the general public, employers and employed, united by a common public spirit and devoted to the promotion of rightful relations between labor and capital. To that cause they unselfishly and patriotically give their time, their talents and their zeal.

INDUSTRIAL WAR AND PEACE.

Strikes are industrial war. They wake the echoes with discordant din and arouse public attention as they affect public interest.

Controversies between employer and employed, so long as they are kept within the pacifying scope of conciliation and conference, receive usually the notice only of the parties directly concerned. If a third party, by mutual agreement, is called in to arbitrate the difficulty, little more outside attention is attracted. It is when a controversy has exhausted or rejected these methods of industrial peace and reaches the stage of a strike that general public attention is excited. Idle cotton mills in New England and riots in Chicago stock yards distort the perspective. The great body of undisturbed industry is ignored.

The failures of conference and of arbitration, thus made conspicuous, are really of less importance than their successes, which are too quickly forgotten. The imagination shrinks from the paralysis of industry and the halting of transportation that would have followed the threatened bituminous strike, so happily averted through conciliation; while the pacific outcome of conferences in the tin and sheet iron and the longshoremen's industries is of incalculable value, although unnoticed because of its silent calm.

International diplomacy also has its ruptures. The Hague Court of Arbitration had its inception in the advocacy by the present Emperor of Russia of that method of deciding disputes between governments. Yet Russia and Japan today, despite the strongest, most earnest and persistent efforts of civilization to avert war, fill the Orient with the clash of arms, while their peoples suffer the expenditure of blood and treasure. But the world waits only the favorable moment when the good offices of some power may be invoked for the restoration of honorable peace. There is no reason to despair of the eventual settlement

of industrial conflicts, even when they are most bitter and passionate.

A COLORADO OPINION.

The Man Who Pays the Militia Believes that the National Civic Federation Could Have Averted Trouble.

Sheldrake, N. Y., July 25th, 1904.

To the Editor of the Monthly Review:

Sir.—As a citizen of Colorado, where for more than twenty years I have been a large employer of labor, I have been keenly interested in the work of the National Civic Federation. I have studied its literature about its purpose and scope, which you courteously furnished at my request, and I feel that I must express to you my conviction that the methods advocated by your organization form the one avenue of avoidance, in this country, of violent collision between the forces of capital and labor.

I write during a vacation in the east, which has afforded me opportunity of getting a new perspective upon the spectacle, presented in my own state, of the overthrow of normal civil processes and the substitution of military rule.

I write also as a member of Governor Peabody's administration, having been elected State Treasurer upon the same ticket with him.

Many things have occurred in Colorado, in the enforcement of law, that are to be deplored, and that probably would not be justified under ordinary circumstances, but the general policy of the Governor undoubtedly meets with the approval of most of our law-abiding people.

But that a military alternative should be presented to the executive authority of any state in the Union is itself an evidence that the public services of your voluntary organization, conciliatory and educational, are absolutely needed to insure the pacific fulfillment of the mutual obligations of social order.

The organization of labor is a necessity of self-defense, arising from the selfishness of human nature. In Colorado, this system of self-defense has developed into aggression, which has grown from defense against capital into assault upon capital in its physical property and in its independent employment of labor. This, in turn, has excited reprisal, itself a method of defense against anarchy, which in its turn has become a usurpation, temporarily essential, of the authority exercised under normal conditions by the courts and police. This extreme exercise of executive power is warranted only by necessity. The necessity is that of upholding the social order, recognized and beloved throughout all of the United States.

The intelligent and far-sighted citizenship of Colorado has no desire to set up a system of government within its borders different from that of any other state. But to restore a condition harmonious with that of the other Commonwealths of the Union, a reconciliation between the forces of capital and labor must be brought about. The men arrayed on each side must be made to see that the law is supreme, and that it must be obeyed by each alike. The men on each side must also be educated to perceive that harmonious co-operation between capital and labor is essential to profitable industry, because it is essential to both production and consumption. When this economic fact is brought home to opposing minds, they will become reconciled, if only through self-interest.

I believe that if the National Civic Federation had established a branch organization in Colorado two years ago, all of the blood-shed, riot and loss in wages and in the earnings of capital that have marked the dire months of 1904 could have been avoided.

Truly yours,

WHITNEY NEWTON.

The man who has nothing to sell but his services may be taught differently by demagogues and fanatics, but his interest in the maintenance of law is greater than that of most men who have great possessions of money, lands, buildings and securities. The rich man can get away from disorder. The poor man must stay and face it and stand the consequences.—"Chicago Chronicle."



DAVID R. FRANCIS,
President La. Purchase Exposition.



CHARLES A. MOORE,
Manufacturer.



JAMES O'CONNELL,
President International Association Machinists.

THE EMPLOYER AND TRADE UNIONISM.

THEIR RELATIONS, ADJUSTED TO CERTAIN PRINCIPLES, SAYS LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, WOULD BRING ABOUT AN ERA OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

"The Employer and Trades-Unions" is the subject of an address delivered recently at the annual banquet of the Boston Typothetae by Louis D. Brandeis, Esq. This address has taken rank as a brochure remarkable for its high purpose as well as for its keen analysis and lucid statement of the several duties and responsibilities of the employer and of organized labor. Its quality is the reason for reproducing here the general part of the address.

Mr. Brandeis reviewed the history of a rupture early in 1904 between the Boston Typothetae and the Boston Typographical Union, resulting in a strike, during which the Union induced pressmen and feeders to leave their work, which action was enjoined by the Supreme Court. The strike was finally declared off by the President and members of the Executive Committee of the International Typographical Union. Taking this as an instance of erroneous leadership in a local union and as a lesson of experience, Mr. Brandeis said:

Mr. Brandeis' Address.

So much for the past: what shall the future be? What should you do to make it an era of peace and prosperity? The answer involves a discussion of certain broad principles which, in my opinion, should govern the relations of employer and employe in all branches of industry, though in their application they would, like every rule, be subject to exceptions more or less temporary, dependent upon the peculiar facts of the individual case.

First. Prolonged peace and prosperity can rest only upon the foundation of industrial liberty. The peace which employers should seek is not the peace of fifty years ago, when the employers were absolute masters of the situation. The peace which the employes should seek is not the peace of mediæval guilds, with their numberless restrictions. Industrial liberty must attend political liberty. The lead which America takes in the industrial world is no doubt due to our unbounded resources; but of these resources none are so great as the spirit and the ability incident to a free people. We lead the world industrially, not so much because the resources of nature are unbounded, as because the faculties and aspirations of men are comparatively unfettered. The prosperity of New England—this poor rich country—is ample evidence of this. We must have therefore for the development of our industries, as for the development of our citizens, the highest degree of liberty attainable. Industrial democracy should ultimately attend political democracy. Industrial ab-

solutism is not merely impossible in this country at the present time, but is most undesirable. We must avoid industrial despotism, even though it be benevolent despotism. Our employers can no more afford to be absolute masters of their employes than they can afford to submit to the mastery of their employes, than the individual employes can afford to have their own abilities or aspirations hampered by the limitations of their fellows. Some way must be worked out by which employer and employe, each recognizing the proper sphere of the other, will each be free to work for his own and for the common good, and that the powers of the individual employe may be developed to the utmost. To attain that end, it is essential that neither should feel that he stands in the power—at the mercy—of the other. The sense of unrestricted power is just as demoralizing for the employer as it is for the employe. Neither our intelligence nor our characters can long stand the strain of unrestricted power. Every business requires for its continued health the memento mori of competition from without. It requires likewise a certain competition within, which can exist only where the ownership and management, on one hand, and the employes, on the other, shall each be alert, hopeful, self-respecting, and free to work out for themselves the best conceivable conditions.

Second. The right of labor to organize is recognized by law, and should be fully recognized by employers. There will be in most trades little probability of attaining the best conceivable conditions unless in some form a union of the employes exists. It is no answer to this proposition to point to instances of trade union excesses and of the disasters which attended them. We believe in democracy despite the excesses of the French Revolution. Nor are claims of the trades-unions disproved by pointing to the instances where the best results have been attained in businesses in which no trace of unionism existed. Wise, far-seeing employers act upon the spirit or the hint of union demands instead of waiting to have them enforced. "A word to the wise is sufficient." The steps in advance have been taken often for the express purpose of preventing trades-unionism from finding a lodgement, often, unconsciously, as a result merely of the enlightenment which comes with the necessary thinking that trades-union agitation compels. Such successful businesses are, indeed, the greatest triumphs of unionism; and their marked success is due in large part to the fact that they have had all the advantage of unionism

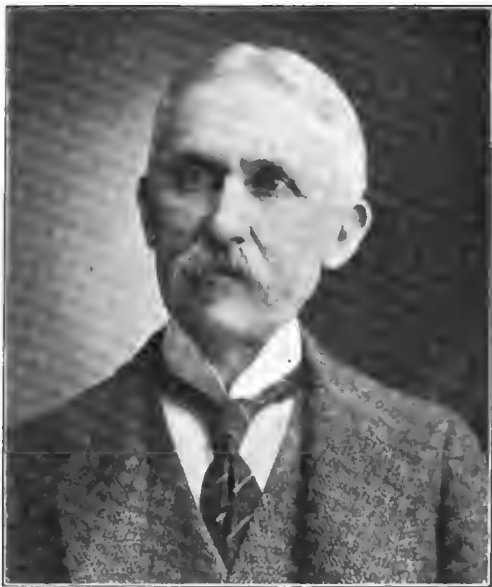
without having to bear the disadvantages which in their imperfect state attend the unions. We must not forget the merits of unionism in our righteous indignation against certain abuses of particular unionists.

Most people admit the immense service which the labor unions have rendered to the community during the last twenty-five years in raising of wages, shortening of the hours of labor, bettering of conditions under which labor is performed, and protecting women and children from excessive or ill-timed work; but the services which the labor unions can render in the future are even greater than they have been in the past. The employer needs them "to stay him from the fall of vanity"; the employes need them for their own protection; the community needs them to raise the level of the citizen.

Strong, stable trades-unions can best serve these ends. The leaders of strong unions only will adequately feel the terrible responsibility resting upon them. The leaders of stable unions only can get the experience essential to an adequate performance of their duties; and experience almost invariably makes the leaders reasonable and conservative. Only long service as a labor leader can give that knowledge of the employer's side of the controversy which is essential to its just and proper settlement. Peace and prosperity, therefore, are not to be attained by any attempt to weaken trades-unions. Our hope lies rather in their growing strength and stability.

At all events, the employer, whether he wills it or not, has in most trades to reckon with the union. What shall his attitude be?

Third. Employes are entitled to be represented by union officers. A short time ago it was common for an employer not to "recognize the union." That is, although he knew a large number of his employes were members of the union, he refused to negotiate in matters relating to the employe with its officers, on the theory that the employer should deal directly and only with his employe, and may not brook the interference of an outsider. This plausible but unsound theory has yielded generally to facts and to reason. One hears little now of employers arbitrarily refusing to deal with the chosen representatives of union employes. But, of course, recognizing that union officers are the proper representatives of the employes in any matter requiring consideration by the employer does not mean yielding to union demands, any more than recognizing a customer means conceding his demands.



FRANKLIN MACVEAGH,
Franklin Macveagh & Co.



ISAAC N. SELIGMAN,
Banker.



JOHN TOBIN,
President Boot & Shoe Workers.

How, then, shall the employer deal with the union's representative when a demand is made to which he feels he cannot accede, or a controversy has already arisen? Many are ready with the answer: Arbitration; others again say: Conciliation. Arbitration and conciliation are each at times wise, but each involves the intercession of third parties. In arbitration it is the referee; in conciliation, the common friend. Ordinarily, neither is needed.

Fourth. Employers and employees should try to agree. A very able man, who taught the law of partnership at Harvard, once asked the class, "What shall he do if a controversy arises between partners?" The students suggested one legal remedy after another,—a receiver, an injunction, a dissolution. "No," said he, "they should try to agree." In the most important sense, employer and employee are also partners. They, too, should try to agree; and the attempt made in a properly conducted conference will generally be successful.

Nine-tenths of the serious controversies which arise in life result from misunderstanding, result from one man not knowing the facts which to the other man seem important, or otherwise failing to appreciate his point of view. A properly conducted conference involves a frank disclosure of such facts,—patient, careful argument, willingness to listen and to consider.

Bluff and bluster have no place there. The spirit must be, "Come, let us reason together." Such a conference is impossible where the employer clings to the archaic belief commonly expressed in the words, "This is my business, and I will run it as I please." It is impossible where the labor representative, swaggering in his power to inflict injury by strike and boycott, is seeking an unfair advantage of the employers or would seek to maintain even a proper position by improper means. Such conferences will succeed only if employer and employee recognize that, even if there be no so-called system of profit-sharing, they are in a most important sense partners, and that each is entitled to a patient hearing, with a mind as open as the prejudice of self-interest permits.

The potent force of right reasoning in such conferences can hardly be overestimated. If applied with tact and in the aid of right action, it is almost irresistible. But it must be used only in the right spirit and in the aid of right action.

Fifth. It is necessary that the owners or the real managers of the business should themselves participate in the conferences, partly because the labor problem requires the best thought available and the most delicate treatment, and partly because the employees feel better satisfied and are apt to receive better treatment when they are dealing with the

ultimate authority and not with an intermediary. Such conferences are necessarily time-consuming, but the time cannot be better spent. They are as instructive to the employer as to the employees. We must remember that there are no short cuts in evolution.

The greatest obstacle to the success of such conferences is the suspicion of the labor representatives,—a suspicion due partly to ignorance of the employer's actual attitude, partly to knowledge of individual acts of unfairness of other employers, and partly also to a belief, which is frequently erroneous, that the employer will get some advantage through his supposed superior skill and ability. Suspicion yields only to experience; and for this reason, among others, the conferences are most successful when participated in by labor leaders of long standing. The more experienced the representative, the better.

But conferences, though wisely conducted and with the best of intentions on either side, do not always result in agreement. Men fail at times to see the right; and, indeed, what is right is often in doubt. For such cases arbitration affords frequently an appropriate remedy. This remedy deserves to take its place among the honorable means of settling those questions to which it properly applies. Questions, however, arise, which may not be arbitrated. Differences are sometimes fundamental. Demands may be made which the employer, after the fullest consideration, believes would, if yielded to, destroy the business. Such differences cannot be submitted to the decision of others. Again, the action of the union may appear to have been lawless or arbitrary, a substitution of force for law or for reason.

What, then, should be the attitude of the employer?

Sixth. Lawless or arbitrary claims of organized labor should be resisted at whatever cost. I have said that it is essential in dealing with these problems that the employer should strive only for the right. It is equally as important that he should suffer no wrong to be done unto him. The history of Anglo-Saxon and of American liberty rests upon that struggle to resist wrong, to resist it at any cost when first offered rather than to pay the penalty of ignominious surrender. It is the old story of the "ship money," of "the writs of assistance," and of "taxation without representation." The struggle for industrial liberty must follow the same lines.

If labor unions are arbitrary or lawless, it is largely because employers have ignominiously submitted to arbitrariness or lawlessness as a temporizing policy or under a mistaken belief as to their own immediate interests. You hear complaint, too, of lawless strikers in the legislature and in the city council; but, if lawlessness and corruption exist

there, it is largely because the great corporations and moneyed interests have forgotten the good old maxim, "Not one cent for tribute, but millions for defence."

Who bribed Sam Parks? The rich contractors—pre-eminently the huge corporations on whose boards of directors sat many of the leading financiers of the country. They corrupted Sam Parks or fed his corruption, corrupted him either to get an undue advantage over their employees or over their competitors, or as a seemingly inexpensive way of meeting what they deemed to be unreasonable and extortionate demands. At last employers, employees, and a large part of the community paid the penalty. Fortunately, the world is so ordered that we must pay the penalty for our sins, be they sins of commission or omission, of doing wrong or of suffering wrong to be done unto us.

You may compromise a matter of wages, you may compromise a matter of hours,—if the margin of profit will permit. No man can say with certainty that his opinion is the right one on such a question. But you may not compromise on a question of morals, or where there is lawlessness or even arbitrariness. Industrial liberty, like civil liberty, must rest upon the solid foundation of law. Disregard the law in either, however good your motives, and you have anarchy. The plea of trades-unions for immunity, be it from injunction or from liability for damages, is as fallacious as the plea of the lynchers. If lawless methods are pursued by trades-unions, whether it be by violence, by intimidation, or by the more peaceful infringement of legal rights, that lawlessness must be put down at once and at any cost.

Likewise industrial liberty must rest upon reasonableness. We gain nothing by exchanging the tyranny of capital for the tyranny of labor. Arbitrary demands must be met by determined refusals, also at any cost.

In our international relations we are told that the best assurance of peace lies in preparedness for war. This is equally true in the industrial world. The union has its strike fund. The employer must also pay in some form the premium for insuring an honorable peace. He has adopted long since the guaranty fund for his credits, the depreciation fund for his machinery. He should now adopt another reserve fund to guard him against the losses attendant upon strikes, and, above all, should so organize his business as to be less vulnerable to them. Known weakness invites arbitrary attack, as opportunity makes the thief.

These are the principles by which alone the labor problem can be satisfactorily solved. They are broad, indeed; for they are the eternal principles of Liberty, Fraternity, Justice, Honor,



JAMES SPEYER,
Banker.



CHARLES H. TAYLOR, JR.,
President Am. Newspaper Pub. Association.



JOSEPH F. VALENTINE,
President Iron Moulders' Union.

A SHORTER WORK DAY.

(Continued from Page 4.)

at certain seasons of the year. An employee, who has the interest of a company at heart, should not, in our opinion, be averse to making an extra effort to help them out at such times as it is really necessary, and should not take advantage of such conditions to force the payment of double his regular wage for all overtime.

A large number of answers emphasize foreign competition as a serious obstacle to shortening hours:

C. O. Bartlett, The C. O. Bartlett & Snow Co., Mill and Labor Saving Machinery, Cleveland.—If the hours of labor are reduced, it will be to the detriment of our business. We have already lost nearly all of our foreign trade, of which we had quite a large one worked up. Germany and England have taken it practically all. This is chiefly on account of paying high prices for castings and other materials going into our machines.

C. W. Post, Postum Cereal Co., Ltd., Battle Creek, Mich.—We would like to see a universal eight-hour day in all countries, but it is very plain that if we reduce the amount of labor two hours per day out of ten, equivalent to 20%, we must either increase the producing capacity or stand a 20% handicap in the markets of the world. Foreign buyers are not going to pay a 20% increase in the cost of our goods in order to supply us with an eight-hour day. I would like to see the hour system take the place of the day, and if some plan could be devised by which a man would be permitted to work ten or even twelve hours if he saw fit, and thereby earn an increased amount of money, it would be more in keeping with the American idea that a man should be allowed to earn all he can. On the other hand, I hope to see the day when under the hour system, or some other practical plan, wage earners will not be compelled to labor over eight hours per day. To restrict a man's energies by force or to compel him to labor beyond a reasonable time seems un-American.

Asher Miner, Colonial Pure Cereal Foods, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—The hours of labor of the engineers, firemen, millers and oilers is twelve, of laborers, teamsters, etc., ten, and the office force, nine. We do not consider it a practical proposition to gradually reduce the hours, as a considerable portion of the output in flour and corn mills is for export, and the business is done on an exceedingly small margin. If the hours of labor were reduced the cost of milling would be so great as to wipe out all profit.

J. H. Webster, Assignee, The Variety Iron Works Co., Cleveland.—Reduced hours of labor mean large increase of fixed charges in capitalization, salaries, real estate, machinery, etc. An industrious man naturally inclines to labor from sunrise until sunset. It has been so ever since labor began. A uniform agreement throughout a given industry can never be reached until that agreement extends to all civilized nations whose products of labor can come in competition. Making it uniform throughout the United States would not prevent the competition of the Old World except by building the wall of

tariff still higher. Are we ready to do it? An agreement of employees to abandon any arbitrary restrictions upon output is as hopeless as it is fantastic.

M. E. Clow, J. B. Clow & Sons, Cast Iron Pipe, etc., Chicago.—We do not believe it practical to reduce the hours of labor unless it is the intention of American manufacturers to follow the example of England. If we are to maintain the position we have taken as the greatest manufacturing nation on earth, we must maintain the same reasonable conditions that exist in other countries, and if men are well treated and properly cared for, there is no reason why they cannot work ten hours.

T. H. Thieme, Wayne Knitting Mills, Fort Wayne, Ind.—Foreign competition must be taken into account, and a ten-hour work-day to my mind is the only safe stand to take. Even if a given industry under present conditions would be safe adopting an eight or nine-hour schedule, conditions through competitive industries or tariff changes may seriously injure such an industry working on a shorter work-day. In our industry we are just able to compete with foreign competition, we needing ten-hour schedule, and with possible tariff changes shorter hours would receive no consideration on our part. The question of imposing restrictions upon output by employees or labor was settled in our factory a year ago at the close of a two-months' lock-out, when we put a minimum capacity on every machine with penalty of discharge for non-delivery of required product. This seemed hardship at first, but when our employees got accustomed to their larger pay envelopes, they showed every indication of being satisfied with the change.

F. A. Wilde, Nordberg Manufacturing Co., Engineers and Machinists, Milwaukee.—We regard it as entirely practical to "gradually reduce hours by voluntary, uniform agreement throughout a given industry provided the employees" abandon all restrictions upon the output. Indeed, we sincerely believe the shortening of hours to be most desirable and, therefore, to be earnestly striven for by employers everywhere. But in order to reduce the hours of labor of all, without diminishing the earnings,—the enjoying of the comforts of life—it is absolutely necessary to increase the product of each worker in even a greater ratio than that of the decrease in hours. This increase is to be accomplished by improved machinery, better processes and methods and greater ability on the part of each and every employee.

R. D. Wood & Co., Philadelphia.—My impression is that the hours given to any employment can best be arranged by the character of employment, rather than try to have a uniform rule covering all work. In other words, there are some duties at which people can comfortably work only six hours, and some where twelve hours is not too long. This question of eight hours finally resolves itself into simply whether mankind is going to be satisfied with what they can produce in eight hours instead of what they can produce in ten hours' work, or confining the question to the United States, the question is, will not some other countries work longer hours and take our export trade from us?

J. E. Mooney, American Oak Leather Co., Cincinnati.—Its effects would be to increase cost of pro-

duction to the extent of reduction of the availability of the plant, plus the proportion of tax, insurance and maintenance, placing home production to a fatal disadvantage for international and domestic trade, as compared with the production of other countries. In other words, arbitrary restrictions on the output of plants or on individual workmen would, we believe, be a fatal economic error.

A few establishments consider that the short hour movement must begin, if at all, in districts and cities, and not be general for a line of business, as:

W. D. Sargent, American Brake Shoe and Foundry Co., New York.—We regard it as a practical proposition to reduce hours where the employer finds he can do so without seriously interfering with his rate of production or his profits; but conditions differ so much over the country that we doubt if a shorter work-day can be brought about uniformly throughout the country, and feel that it must come by districts, and that each district should demand from its employees the abandonment of arbitrary restrictions, as suggested in your question, before consenting to the shorter day.

Several establishments regard restriction of output by workmen as not a matter for compromise but as wrong in itself, and not to be taken as a basis for agreement:

Samuel Moyer, The Lunkenheimer Co., Brass and Iron Steam Specialties, etc., Cincinnati.—We believe it practical to gradually reduce the hours of labor by voluntary, uniform agreement throughout a given industry, but we cannot afford to diminish the hours of labor in our shop unless all of our competitors do the same. As regards making an agreement with the employees to abandon any arbitrary restrictions upon output and giving them, in return, reduced hours of labor, would say that, looking at the matter in an abstract way, we cannot consider any such proposition, and any manufacturer who would, had better sell out his business. No manufacturer should recognize the right of any union to place restrictions upon the output, and, if we found that such a case existed in our shop, we would go out of business rather than permit its continuance; hence we do not consider this feature any element in connection with any labor organization, it being non-arbitrable.

G. O. True, Northern Engineering Works, Detroit, Mich.—In reference to an agreement with the employees to abandon restrictions upon output, in exchange for shorter hours, we do not believe the questions are on the same moral plane. We employ our men on a basis of hours and wages mutually agreed upon: under this agreement the workman owes his employer a fair day's work. If he limits his output he cheats his employer. Your proposition implies the gift to the workman of an hour or so a day, in consideration of a promise of the workman to quit stealing his time. We doubt the wisdom or morality of such a bargain.

L. B. Keiffer, Keiffer Bros., Shoes, New Orleans.—We think the only practical manner for the reduction of hours is by voluntary, uniform agreement throughout a given industry. We should not be willing to admit that employees had a right to restrict the output.



CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,
Publicist.



DAN R. HANNA,
M. A. Hanna & Co.



JAMES M. LYNCH,
President International Typographical Union.

A large number of those who oppose a reciprocal agreement of this kind give as one of their reasons their belief that unions would not live up to their agreement:

S. W. Watkins, Christensen Engineering Co., Milwaukee.—If this question had been written "Provided employes abandon arbitrary restrictions upon output," our answer would have been, Yes. As written, "Provided the employes agree to abandon restrictions upon output," would answer, No.

T. C. Wood, The Ball & Wood Co., Automatic Engines, New York.—We do not regard it as a practical proposition, first, because the conditions surrounding the different shops vary so greatly that it will be impossible to obtain the consent of all the employers in any given industry; and second, because employes could only make such an agreement through their union, and as these are irresponsible, no such agreement can be enforced.

H. D. Sharpe, Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co., Machinery and Tools, Providence.—It is difficult to say whether such a proposition is practical, but it would in no way depend upon what the employes agree. "Restrictions upon output" is not a matter of agreement but one of disposition on the part of both employer and employe. The solution of the question depends upon the proper working together of both.

E. T. Gilbert, Michigan Bolt and Nut Works, Detroit, Mich.—We believe it is practicable to gradually reduce hours by voluntary agreement. Would have no objection to such a movement if it was universal and if we obtained in return a real abandonment of restriction of output.

H. F. Wanning, Birmingham Iron Foundry, Derby, Conn.—We do not think it is a practical proposition to gradually reduce the hours. In fact, we started to do this as members of the National Metal Trades Association, but when the arrangement with the International Association of Machinists was repudiated, we went back to ten hours, after winning the strike. It will be necessary, in our opinion, to tie down the membership of unions in some manner to make them live up to their promises in regard to the restrictions of output. If there were really no restrictions whatever, it would be very easy to make up for a nine-hour or even an eight-hour day in contrast with the present ten hours.

G. W. Fuller, A. S. Cameron Steam Pump Works, New York.—Our plant is now operated on the nine-hour basis, or fifty-four hours a week, instead of ten hours as formerly, but on the same rate of pay per day as before. In other words, ten hours' pay for nine hours' work. We do not regard any further reduction in hours, voluntarily or otherwise, as a permanently practical proposition, for we do not believe there would be any increased volume in the output that would compensate for the added cost of labor due to the reduction in time, which would include payment at the same rate per day; and we would look upon a removal of "restriction upon output" as a specious offer, and one which past experience has proved the fallacy of.

R. M. Downie, Keystone Driller Co., Beaver Falls, Pa.—We do not believe it is a practical proposition to gradually reduce hours by voluntary, uniform agreement throughout a given industry for the simple reason that labor organizations are not chartered, are not responsible, and it has been our experience that an agreement cannot be made with them which will hold over night if they are disposed to break it. We have tried this and failed. If an agreement is made and a workman finds that he can get more money elsewhere he goes—which, as a matter of fact, is proper and right, but it prevents the possibility of making an agreement in advance which will bind workmen to stay with you any length of time at any given wages. We believe it is wholly useless to try to bind employes to agree to abandon arbitrary restrictions upon output because in so doing the unions would abandon their whole theory of procedure. Their limiting of apprentices is arbitrary, i. e., not founded upon any defensible right or principle of justice. Their limitation of hours is arbitrary and contradicts all personal freedom and even natural law. Their limiting the number of automatic machines a workman may watch is, likewise, arbitrary, and all are urged for one central purpose—the limitation of product. Our large factory to-day lies a heap of scrap iron and ashes because, after all offers to arbitrate had been refused, we presumed to permit apprentices and regulate hours without the consent of the union. We don't see how we could unite comfortably in any agreement whatsoever with that which ignores the common rights of all men.

J. H. Day, The J. H. Day Co., Machinery, Cincinnati.—We have no confidence in any agreement made by labor unions, and particularly with regard to restrictions upon the output. There are undoubtedly restrictions upon the output in our shops. We know this and see it almost every day, and the only way that hours of labor could be reduced without restrictions upon the output would be by the "premium" or "piece" work system. Several of our workmen have told us that they could easily do the ten hours' work which they are now doing in eight hours, and we believe it, but we found when we reduced the time from sixty hours per week to fifty-seven hours per week that the output was reduced even in a greater proportion.

G. C. Murphy, East Liverpool Potteries Co., East Liverpool, Ohio.—We would deem it a practical proposition to gradually reduce the hours of labor by voluntary, uniform agreement, providing the employes agree to abandon any arbitrary restrictions upon output. But we have very little confidence with any contract with employes, as our experience has taught us they will not live up to any contract, and are never satisfied. Any proposition of this kind we would not consider binding.

Some replies maintain that shorter hours can only be attained through the efforts of organized labor:

N. O. Nelson, N. O. Nelson Mfg. Co., Bath Tubs, Brass Goods, etc., St. Louis.—I don't regard it a practical proposition to gradually reduce hours by purely voluntary consent of the employers. Only after long agitation, repeated demands enforced by more or less strikes, can uniform agreements for reduction of hours through any given industry be reached. The employers look at a reduction of

hours as an increase in the cost. Even when a demand is made upon all similar employers in the same industry, they do not see that it simply raises the price and does not injure their profit. Commonly, the demand does not come in this shape, but affects one employer or one city or locality by itself. In that event, it is a direct invasion of the employers' profits. The building trades' hours were reduced from ten hours to nine and to eight by local demands and strikes continued throughout many years. The shortening of factory hours from ten to nine is now going on, and is possible only by the more complete national union organizations and the American Federation of Labor. The Civic Federation Industrial Department will also lend itself to the shortening of hours, by bringing employers' associations and National unions together. Restrictions upon output need not be considered an obstacle. It is not a union principle or a union demand except in a local and sporadic sense. It is not countenanced by the general authorities.

Everett Morse, Simplex Electrical Co., Boston.—We do not consider it practicable to reduce the hours in our particular industry on the basis mentioned. Our principal business is the manufacture of insulated wire, and with the most of our competitors the business is complicated by being in each case a department only of a much larger industry. We do, however, expect that within a few years the probable working hours in our works will be reduced to fifty-four per week, and that it will be quite general in manufacturing work. We do not believe that eight hours per day will be adopted except in special trades which are in the nature of a labor trust.

Some establishments hold that only a national law or uniform State laws can bring about reduction of hours:

Jacob Stephens, W. H. Haskell Mfg. Co., Bolts and Nuts, Pawtucket, R. I.—As to reducing the number of hours, were this to be a national law so that all branches would work a certain number of hours, we certainly should be in favor of it, but we are decidedly against an eight-hour law that is not a National law. A law that is made for government employes, or for any particular branch of trade, is certainly a detriment to business.

Thos. F. Parker, Monaghan Mills, Greenville, S. C.—We hardly regard as practicable to greatly reduce hours of labor by voluntary uniform agreement among mill men. While we favor a reduction to what may be reasonable and right hours, we however think that this will have to come through the education of public opinion and legislation.

A considerable number of replies indicate that there are social evils which follow on shorter hours:

Kalamazoo Corset Co., Kalamazoo, Mich.—The question of the benefits to be obtained by a reduction of the hours of labor is a very large one. Unless the character of the work is of such a nature as to make large drafts upon the strength of the employe, we think shortness of hours may prove to be a positive damage because of the tendency to bring on habits of idleness with all its attending evils. In other words, we believe it is best for every one to keep busy.



JOHN G. MILBURN,
Lawyer.



WILLIAM D. MAHON,
President Street Railway Employees.



MARCUS M. MARKS,
Pres. Nat. Ass'n Clothing Mfrs.

H. M. Kinney, Winona Wagon Co., Winona, Mich.—We do not think it wise to have a loafing period morning and night for the men who are inclined that way to drop into saloons on their way to and from work, and we believe they will be happier and more prosperous, and their employers will be better able to give them continuous work, on the ten-hour per day plan.

E. D. Johnston, P. H. & F. M. Roots Co., Rotary Blowers, etc., Connersville, Ind.—We do not regard it a practical proposition to gradually reduce hours by voluntary, uniform agreement, because if the employes agree to abandon any arbitrary restrictions upon output, we could not force them in any possible way to turn out as much work in eight hours as in ten. Generally speaking, we believe it is better for a laboring man to be employed ten hours than eight. It might be all right for some of the more intelligent class, but for the average laborer, he is better at work ten hours than eight. We believe if there was a general movement to adopt the eight-hour system, in ten years we would have more crime and drunkenness and, generally speaking, a lower order of intelligence among our laboring classes than if we adhere to the ten-hour rule.

F. B. Cole, Cole Manufacturing Co., Saw Mills, Engines, etc., Newman, Ga.—We do not favor reducing the hours of labor. We still believe in the doctrine that an idle mind is the devil's workshop, and in our forty years of manufacturing we have never noticed that any man's health was injured by ten hours' work.

The following reply is typical of a considerable number that maintain that the hours worked in their establishments, which are usually ten, are not excessive:

F. H. Stillman, Watson-Stillman Co., Hydraulic Machinery, New York.—Relative to the reduction of the hours of labor by voluntary agreement, I would say that machine tools as used in the shop do not get tired, nor do I believe that in our line of business the attendants upon them are over-wearied by a sixty (or a sixty-six hour week, when the residence is convenient to the shop), and I believe the fifty-four hour week the shortest that is possible at present rate of wages.

OTHER EMPLOYERS' EVIDENCE.

Opinions Favorable to Universal Shorter Hours Gathered by a Hostile Agency.

In the course of its campaign against the eight-hour bill in Congress, the National Association of Manufacturers addressed to employers a series of questions which included: "What are your general views as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the shorter work-day principle?" The inquiry was successful in developing opposition to the eight-hour bill. Nevertheless, it elicited many responses favorable to a universal shorter work-day, irrespective of the specific proposition to limit to eight hours all work on government contracts. A few of these replies are quoted:

Barry Lumber Co., Foley, Ala.—If universal and not permitting two or three shifts, we think it would affect us favorably.

Lathrop Hatten Lumber Co., Riverside, Ala.—We could not compete, unless all are on eight-hour basis.

California Cotton Mills Co., Oakland, Cal.—We would like to see a national enactment, applicable to every State, making a nine-hour day a full day's work.

California Fig Syrup Co., San Francisco.—We favor an eight-hour day, because you can work men for that time at higher speed and accomplish more.

California Barrel Co., San Francisco.—We hope to see the actual number of hours of physical labor shortened gradually. We believe that this is a natural process . . . and that with the gradual introduction of labor-economizing appliances, the actual hours of physical labor will be curtailed. We are rather doubtful that the time has as yet come rendering it possible to limit generally the day's work to one of eight hours.

Pacific Tank Co., Los Angeles, Cal.—A universal eight-hour law would suit us well.

Denver Engineering Works, Denver, Col.—The shorter work-day principle is all right, but we think this is a matter to be settled between the employer and the employee.

The Billings & Spencer Co., Machinists' Tools, Hartford, Conn.—We are willing to concede that the nine-hour work-day is of advantage to the workmen and of no great disadvantage to the employer, provided it is made universal.

The Bullard Machine Tool Co., Bridgeport, Conn.—We believe that a shorter work-day is desirable, but it should not be forced upon the manufacturers by law in such a manner that they cannot regulate their own shops to the best advantage.

E. A. Mallory & Sons, Danbury, Conn.—If it were compulsory on all manufacturers in our line, we would all be in the same boat; hence it wouldn't affect us much.

Lobdell Car Wheel Co., Wilmington, Del.—Excessively long working hours necessarily not only impair a workman's vitality, but detract from the social engagements to which he and his family are justly entitled. A ten-hour day requires a man's wife or family to be up early and late, and the trite saying that a woman's work is never done is fully exemplified.

Southern Spring Bed Co., Atlanta, Ga.—If universal, it would make no difference except in cutting short one-tenth or one-fifth of our product.

A. Rossi & Co., Lumber, Boise, Ida.—If universal in the United States, it would not affect us.

American Electric Telephone Co., Chicago.—We believe eight hours best if generally adopted; also we believe in a minimum wage and age scale.

Burson Knitting Co., Hosiery, Rockford, Ill.—Shorter hours are bound to come, but should come as the result of economic conditions and not of legislation.

The California Mfg. Co., Doors, Chicago.—It would in our opinion be better for the greatest number in the country to run uniform length of time, and even at eight hours' labor we believe American skill and machinery would fairly compete with outside products.

Rockwell & Rupe Co., Filing Cabinets, Chicago.—From actual experience, the writer, after careful

observation, considers that a man working forty eight hours a week can do a great deal more work than the man working sixty hours a week, or even longer, for the reason that he has more time for recreation and is fresher.

Acme Milling Co., Indianapolis.—The writer believes that an eight-hour day would be a good thing providing we could induce our men to be content with the short day.

J. A. Everett, Publisher, Indianapolis.—Let us have a ten-hour day and a five-day week, rather than eight-hour days and six-day weeks.

Haugh Noelke Iron Works, Indianapolis.—We believe that if an eight-hour law for all labor should prevail throughout the United States, that it then would be equitable to both employer and employee.

Topeka Milling Co., Topeka, Kan.—Short-hour days should not be compulsory.

American Steam Gauge and Valve Co., Boston.—Unless the law were universal, we could not compete.

American Optical Co., Southbridge, Mass.—We take the position that if the short day is to be adopted, it should be by national legislation, and to affect the entire country.

Covel Machine Co., Fall River, Mass.—This law has got to be a uniform law throughout the nation to be just.

A Massachusetts Manufacturer of Iron Pipes (name not stated).—We are thorough believers in a short day, but not an eight-hour day. We recognize the economical advantages that have come from shortening the day, but there is a point beyond which these advantages will not be gained.

Hastings Wool Boot Co., Hastings, Mich.—We would not object to it, if it could be applied to all classes of business and in all sections of the country.

The Michigan Stove Co., Detroit.—If eight or nine hours became a universal law, we could stand it.

Michigan Brass and Iron Works, Detroit.—We believe the shorter work-day is coming, but we do not believe it is wisdom for the government to enforce it at this time.

Michigan Bolt and Nut Works, Detroit.—We think shorter hours are likely to come. We think they will come slowly, and that the economic conditions of the country will secure it in good time.

Northern Engineering Works, Detroit.—If eight or nine hours could be universally adopted, both here and abroad, we would favor it, provided the Saturday afternoon holiday could be maintained during the summer.

The Walsh De Roo Milling Co., Holland, Mich.—Shorter days of work would have to be a world-wide practice, or those factories working shorter hours would be at a disadvantage.

The Millers' Exporting Co., Omaha, Neb.—Can see no objection to the eight-hour system, provided that all use it.

J. H. Bawden & Co., Grate and Fender Work, Freehold, N. J.—We are in favor of the eight-hour system, as we are able, under it, to obtain better results from our men than on the ten-hour run; but we cannot compete with other shops that run their men ten hours.

A. F. Griffing Iron Co., Radiators, Jersey City.—We can say that there are only certain industries



CHARLES J. BONAPARTE,
Lawyer and Publicist.



WILLIAM H. PFAHLER,
Stove Manufacturer.



DENIS A. HAYES,
President Glass Bottle Blowers.

which cannot be successfully conducted upon fixed hours, shorter days and half-holidays.

Newark Rivet Works, Newark, N. J.—If it were universal, it would not affect us more than others, but under present conditions it would be disastrous.

A New Jersey Manufacturer of Woollen and Waxed Goods (name not stated).—We believe a shorter work-day will gradually spread throughout the industrial world, and only because of its world-wide extent can it be successful or desirable.

Geneva Optical Co., Geneva, N. Y.—A general eight-hour law placing all manufacturers on the same basis would not injure us.

Hecia Iron Works, Brooklyn.—We think that any man ought to be able to earn a living by working eight hours a day.

Ithaca Calendar Clock Co., Ithaca, N. Y.—I have been long of the opinion that the eight-hour day is coming, not only in government work, but in all work, and it will be the standard day, the same as ten hours has been.

The Weber Piano Co., New York.—We think well of it, if all in our line would do so.

The Akron Beiting Co., Akron, O.—We do not object to a voluntary eight hours a day law.

The F. H. Lawson Co., Household Goods, Cincinnati.—If an eight-hour day law was made in each State, we would not have to pay labor any more than our competitor would; so it would give us better labor, if laborers in general had more time to improve themselves in every way.

The Lunkenheimer Co., Engineering Specialties, Cincinnati.—If every concern in the land would work but eight hours per day, it would be all right; but such a thing is out of the question at the present time.

O. H. L. Wernicke, Furniture, Cincinnati.—I think it is bound to come; therefore, the wise man will be on the outlook for offsets.

The American Pulley Co., Philadelphia.—It is our general impression that when men are working at their very best, on piece-work, fifty-four hours a week is about enough.

H. Belfield & Co., Castings, Philadelphia.—We would not object to a nine-hour day, if universal in every department of trade.

Thomas Devlin Mfg. Co., Castings, Philadelphia.—We favor a universal eight-hour day.

Falkenau Sinclair Machine Co., Philadelphia.—From a broad point of view, we believe that if an eight-hour day were universal, it would be a benefit to mankind.

Merritt & Co., Iron and Wire Ropes, Philadelphia.—I think the eight-hour day will come in time, but should not be forced.

W. T. Smith & Son, Textiles, Philadelphia.—We feel satisfied that in the future there will certainly be a curtailment of the hours of labor.

Chicago Brass Co., Kenosha, Wis.—We believe that the times are tending toward an eight-hour day, and undoubtedly it will come, and we would prefer it to come in a manner which makes it universal rather than haphazard.

Gold Metal Camp Furniture Mfg. Co., Racine Junction, Wis.—The time is coming when the eight-hour system will be generally observed, and the writer feels the sooner the better.

Hoffman & Billings Mfg. Co., Brass and Iron Goods, Milwaukee, Wis.—We favor a universal eight-hour day.

Thomas B. Jeffery & Co., Automobiles, Kenosha, Wis.—I think that it will be in a few years the prevailing rule, and think that the arrangement would be a wise one, but do not approve of any law which interferes with free and independent contracting for services.

ANOTHER TEAMSTERS' STRIKE AVERTED.

Representatives of the Teamsters' Brotherhood and of the Contractors' Protective Association Form a Trade Agreement at the Rooms of the New York Civic Federation.

The past month has witnessed another avoidance of strife between teamsters and employers and the formation of a trade agreement, between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Contractors' Protective Association of New York City. This agreement is the second to be made in this city between employers and the organized teamsters, the previous one having been consummated in June with the Truck Owners' Association, through the mediation of the Conciliation Committee of the New York Civic Federation, thereby averting a threatened strike that would have caused incalculable loss and inconvenience.

The members of the Contractors' Protective Association are engaged chiefly in excavating work, including those at work on the subway. In all, they employ about 8,000 men. There had been for some time a spirit of discontent among the organized teamsters with irregular rates of pay. This feeling displayed itself early in July, when the teamsters employed by Clarence Smith refused to work. They would not treat with Mr. Smith directly, but referred him to the officers of their International Brotherhood. A meeting of the Contractors' Protective Association was promptly called. It was considered that the strike at Mr. Smith's stable was probably the beginning of a series of demands for uniform wages, to be made upon one contractor after another. Some members of the Association suggested that this method warranted retaliation by a lock-out. But it was pointed out that such a course might involve many other contractors, particularly those in the building trades, in a conflict with the teamsters in their employ, and that, furthermore, through sympathy, all the wheeled carrying trade of the city might be tied up.

Accordingly, negotiations were opened with the Teamsters' Brotherhood. It was found that the formation of an agreement was not difficult, after the associated contractors had decided to confer with representatives of the union. The teamsters' representatives showed a spirit of fairness in assenting to the requirement that all drivers help load

their trucks in cellar work and also whenever teams are crowded at loading points, in order to break the jam. The maximum work-day was fixed at twelve hours, the hours to be adjusted to suit business conditions of the employer, overtime to be paid in proportion to a uniform wage-scale. This scale made a slight average increase of pay. The question of "open shop" was met by the stipulation that "Preference shall be given, in hiring new men, to competent members" of the union. A clause provided for the reference of differences between employer and employee to a board composed of an equal number of teamsters and members of the contractors' association, with power, in case of disagreement, to select an umpire, "whose decision shall be final and binding." Pending that decision, no lock-out or strike shall be ordered, and the union binds itself to order no sympathetic strike. The agreement is in force until June 1, 1905.

The agreement was put into final form and signed by representatives of the two parties at the rooms of the New York Civic Federation on July 7. The agreement is signed on behalf of the Contractors' Protective Association by A. McC. Parker, Patrick Reddy, Edward J. Galway, John L. Keating and Hugh Thomas; and on behalf of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters by Edward Gould, James M. Brady, Michael J. Rogan, George W. Prescott, John Martin and John P. Brannigan.

CO-OPERATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The State Arbitration Board Welcomes the Boston Branch of the National Civic Federation.

In its eighteenth annual report to the Legislature, the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration states:

"The Board at the end of its eighteenth year reports that the confidence of employer and employed, so necessary to a tribunal of voluntary resort, continues to increase. The attention which the public has ever given to the Board's work is manifested by invitations to address clubs, societies, schools and religious organizations, and by the requests of students and teachers, writers and speakers, for information concerning its work. This interest, which is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, was manifest when the transportation strike of 1902 was brought to a speedy close through the timely aid of public-spirited men of this State. In its efforts to secure the speedy termination of the strike and to prevent its recurrence during the month following the settlement, the Board was heartily assisted by the secretary of the National Civic Federation and its members. It is gratifying to note that these men, devoted to the promotion of peace between industrial parties, contemplate a branch of their organization in Massachusetts."



OTTO M. EIDLITZ,
Chairman Building Trades Employers.



RALPH M. EASLEY,
Chairman Executive Council.



HENRY WHITE,
United Garment Workers of America.

HOW LABOR UNIONS HURT THEMSELVES.

When Internal Labor Quarrels Disturb the Public,
Trades-Unionism Suffers.

(Editorial, "N. Y. Evening Journal," July 22.)

The threatened strike in New York City's underground railroad illustrates strikingly and unpleasantly one of the greatest difficulties in the progress of union labor.

There are two rival unions of painters, "The Amalgamated Society of Painters and Decorators," and "The Brotherhood of Painters." Both of these associations consist of union men, both seek employment for their members. The agents of each association, of course, do only their duty in protecting the members whom they represent.

But unions quarreling among themselves should find a way to settle their difficulties without exposing the public to great inconvenience, and without attacking the interests of any innocent third party.

This strike of painters should prevent the opening of the underground railroad, millions of people would be inconvenienced.

There is nothing more damaging to the interests of union men, nothing that so much undermines respect and sympathy for union labor as these quarrels between the men themselves, in which they sacrifice the interests of innocent parties—employers and the general public—to carry on internal rows.

When an individual employer or city is willing to hire union men, willing to pay fair wages, it is preposterous for the unions to say the work cannot go on, that a man's business must be ruined, or the public imposed upon, because the union men are fighting among themselves.

Let them fight among themselves if they want to. Problems of unionism, like other problems, must be worked out through struggles and misunderstandings.

But let rival unions fight each other, and pay the cost of their own fights, instead of making the public or the innocent employer pay the bill.

Perhaps the union men will ask: "Haven't the unions a right to quarrel and fight with each other, the same as the great corporations? Don't the corporations get into rows and fight to the death?"

Yes, the unions have a right to fight as much as they please and imitate, if they choose, the most elaborate cut-throat methods of the trusts and the big corporations. But, in the first place, the fact that a trust or a great corporation does harm certainly does not excuse evil-doing on the part of a labor union.

In the second place, and what is more important, when the trusts and the big corporations go to fighting the public is benefited.

But when unions fight, instead of fighting each other, they fight the public or their employer, threatening ruin to one or inconvenience to the other, and that is foolish childishness.

It is nonsense to say that the questions cannot be arranged without making the public suffer.

Suppose Belmont, the builder, should have a misunderstanding with McDonald, the contractor, and lock out all the men and delay the tunnel indefinitely pending an agreement. Would the public stand that kind of nonsense?

It would not, and there is no reason why it should stand the nonsense that results from a fight between the unions.

Unions are the most important factor in modern life. They alone stand between the working people and the unlimited greed of the corporations.

They alone, by compelling the payment of fair wages, can bring about at least a partial distribution of wealth.

The good that they can do is enormous, and intelligent working men should see that they are not damaged in the public estimation by foolish fights between brothers.

FAULTY SHOP MANAGEMENT.

Mr. Du Brui Iterates and Explains His Statement
That a Large Percentage of Strikes are the
Fault of the Employer.

The statement made by E. F. Du Brui, commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association, before the National Association of Manufacturers, that "eighty per cent. of the strikes in this country are the fault of the employer" is repeated by him, together with the following explanation, in the "Boston Transcript":

"Strikes and labor troubles are the fault of the employer to a very large extent because the employers, whom one would naturally expect to be more intelligent than their workmen and therefore more familiar with industrial conditions, have not studied questions of labor. They are too busy to read things about labor, and too busy to bother about many things that go on in their own shops. It is the employer's fault if he has a foreman or superintendent who treats the men unfairly, thereby giving an excuse for the agitator to come in and work on the prejudices of the workmen, drawing away their loyalty from the employer to the organization. His fault is probably one of omission rather than of commission.

"Many strikes in their last analysis are demands for better shop management, and it is a fact that shop management is being reduced to a science; the abuses where they have existed in the piece-work system are caused by a lack of definite knowledge on the part of both employers and employees as to

how long a job should take, and so, too, with many other things. It is the employer's fault that employers' associations were not formed long ago to control strikes."

PUBLIC SENTIMENT THE ARBITER.

The President of the Employers' Association Points
the Way to Peace with Unionism on the Basis
of Justice.

In a recent communication to the National Civic Federation, in relation to a contemplated meeting, Mr. Phil. R. Toll, President of the Kansas City Employers' Association, expressed the following sentiments:

"We believe unionism and contra-association of employers are products of necessity; that both parties are right; that the tendency of the employers' association will be to educate unionism, and aggressiveness on the part of the unions will tend to eliminate selfishness and injustice on the part of the employer; and that the product derived will be happiness, prosperity and peace; that the American people can be depended upon to act as arbiter between the two, and that public sentiment, to which both appeal for a verdict, will decide in favor of justice.

"Unionism was born from necessity, that necessity being the selfishness of humanity in the guise of the employer. Employers' associations were born from a necessity, that necessity being arbitrary restrictions, unjust demands and violations of law on the part of unionism. Employers must recognize the justice and demands of employees, and employees must not make unreasonable nor restrictive demands upon the employer. Both sides must recognize justice, and neither must attempt to cast the mote out of the other's eye until they have removed the beam that is within their own.

"On both sides of the question we have too many who will not recognize the justice of the other's position, and until this condition is remedied, we may expect industrial disturbances."

The London Society of Compositors, with 11,270 members, has a reserve fund of \$361,000. Nearly \$80,000 was paid to the unemployed last year. The society maintains 330 superannuated members, who received for the year \$33,000 from the general treasury. The funeral benefits for the twelve months totaled \$11,740.

When violation of contracts through sympathetic strikes is declared by the official representative or agent of labor organization to be harmful, dishonorable, and not to be tolerated, obedience must be rendered by the local unions which compose its membership, or discipline is lost.—Tampa "Union Label."

National Civic Federation

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A SIGNAL VICTORY FOR FACE-TO-FACE CONFERENCE.

A STRIKE ON THE GREAT INTERBOROUGH SYSTEM AVERTED THROUGH MEETINGS BETWEEN CORPORATION OFFICERS AND LABOR REPRESENTATIVES.

The partisans of organized capital, the adherents of organized labor and the interested general public may all rejoice in the establishment of peace between a great corporation and its army of employees.

The significance and the consequences of the contract just signed between the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and its organized employees cannot be exaggerated. The attainment of that contract meant the avoidance of a strike whose enormous inconvenience to the public was in the mind of every one, while its extension to all the railroads centering in New York, through the action of the railway brotherhoods, was only the beginning of a chain of possibilities that would have agitated the whole country.

But these dangers, now happily banished, were physical. It is the moral effect of the success of the candid conferences between employer and employed that invites emphasis and the earnest attention of all students of the ever-present labor question. The Interborough is the largest public service corporation upon this continent, if not in the world. Its business of urban transportation employs thousands of wage-earners, whose number is to receive a large addition through the operation of the new subway. That corporation found itself confronted by certain demands backed by three national organizations of labor and their local branches,—the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, and the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

This largest employer in its line of business in the United States did not reply to these demands with the old-fashioned answers that it would "manage its affairs in its own way"; that it would not brook the "interference of outsiders"; that it would

"meet only the men in its employ"; that there was "nothing to confer about"; that there was "nothing to arbitrate." Instead, it accepted, through an enlightened directorate and its president, August Belmont,

The consequences of this agreement, it is hoped, will be far-reaching. Thousands of other employers will be impressed with this object lesson of the effectiveness of the plan of having representatives of two

clashing interests meet face to face, and through verbal interchange, make each thoroughly acquainted with the claims, the beliefs and the desires of the other. By this method a middle ground, perhaps of compromise, perhaps of mutual conviction of what is fair and just to both capital and labor, can be reached. This method receives the force of influential example from the list of directors who stood behind Mr. Belmont in its adoption. Their well-known names are: E. P. Bryan, Andrew Freedman, James Jourdan, Gardiner M. Lane, John B. McDonald, Walter G. Oakman, John Pierce, Morton F. Plant, William A. Read, Alfred Skitt, Cornelius Vanderbilt, George W. Young.

The adjustment of the difficulty between the Interborough and its employees is of great and general importance to both the capital and labor employed in all parts of the country, particularly in and near the centres of population. The change on the Elevated from steam to electric power was a visible forerunner of the predicted similar change on all railways carrying suburban traffic, as well as for local trains along their systems. This meant much to members of the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, whose occupation would become that of motorman, still ranking as skilled labor but not requiring much of the technical training necessary to run and

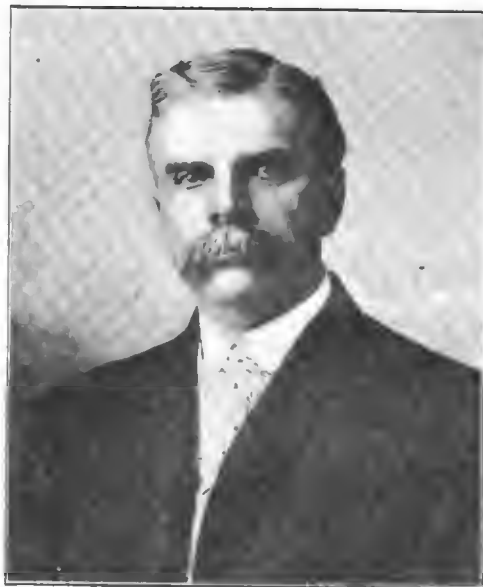
manage a steam locomotive. In this change labor was naturally anxious to protect itself against a reduction of wages; while capital perceived an opportunity to urge that less exacting ser-



AUGUST BELMONT,
President Interborough Co.



WILLIAM D. MAHON,
President Amalgamated Association.



WARREN S. STONE,
Grand Chief Brotherhood of Engineers.



CHARLES A. WILSON,
Vice-Grand Chief Brotherhood of Firemen.

that method of round-the-table conference whose efficacy in securing industrial peace has been practically demonstrated elsewhere, and whose promotion is the main object of the National Civic Federation.

vice should accept lower wages, and perhaps longer hours.

Without doubt, the use of the method of conference was made easier in the case of the threatened strike on the Elevated by the fact that contractual relations already had been established last year between the company and the men, through conferences brought about by the New York Civic Federation. When the Elevated passed into the control of the Interborough company at that time, a union including practically all of its employees had been formed. This branch of the Amalgamated Association made demands upon the Interborough which were put into the form of an ultimatum. That would have meant a strike, or surrender. But the Conciliation Committee of the Civic Federation persuaded the executive committee of the union to delay, brought the International President of the Amalgamated Association into conference with the new management of the road, and thus effected a settlement without a strike.

The existence of this contract, between the Interborough company and its employees, was a substantial precedent for the negotiations as to the terms and conditions of employment upon the subway. The reader is freshly familiar with the series of conferences between the president and executive officers of the Interborough company and the representatives, national and local, of the three labor organizations concerned, at Mr. Belmont's residence, his private office and the office of the company. That series of conferences culminated in the now famous conference between the representatives of the company and of the employees in August Belmont's office at 23 Nassau street on September 6.

Both sides felt that this conference was crucial. While hopeful of its success, each side had made grim preparations for its failure. The labor leaders had arranged for the men to quit work on the entire Elevated system at a moment's notice. The company had fitted its car horns with cots and cooking utensils, and had garrisoned them with a small army of strike breakers. With the diplomats of both sides striving for peace, they were ready for war. The entire police force had been ordered on full time duty, sleeping in the station houses, ready at an instant's warning to preserve public order. The city was pervaded by a feeling of the keenest anxiety. A large portion of its population went to bed on the night of September 6 not knowing the result of the conference. Not until they saw the reassuring headlines in the morning papers of September 7, did thousands know that their daily journey downtown would not be interrupted.

Thus all the circumstances and conditions whetted and concentrated public attention upon the consecutive phases of the prolonged negotiations. The demands of the men, their justice or extravagance, the attitude of the company and every strategical move by either side were all eagerly and critically discussed.

It was not, however, of general public knowledge that, throughout this time of anxiety, the Conciliation Committee of the National Civic Federation was holding innumerable conferences with both sides of the controversy. The fact that the president of the employing corporation and each of the national labor leaders involved are members of the Executive Committee of the Federation, and the fact that it was that organization that had previously been successful in bringing about the existing contract on the Elevated, rendered its good offices peculiarly acceptable to both parties.

At one stage of the negotiations the entire subject of dispute came near to being submitted to arbitration. The plan proposed and favorably received by all concerned was that Mr. Belmont should select from the labor group of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and E. E. Clarke, Grand Conductor of the International Brotherhood of Railway Conductors; and that Messrs. Mahon, Stone and Wilson select from the employers' group of the same committee Lucius Tuttle, President of the Boston and Maine Railroad, and Frederick B. Underwood, President of the Erie Railroad. In case these four could not agree, they

were to select from the representatives of the general public upon the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation a fifth arbiter, whose decision should be accepted as final. Had the final conference of September 6, between Mr. Belmont and the labor leaders, not been successful, arbitration would have been the only resort to prevent a strike.

It was on the very day of this final conference that members of the National Civic Federation, realizing its grave importance, made a special effort to smooth the way for a successful outcome. At noon of that day, Charles A. Moore, Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, Oscar S. Straus, Emerson McMillin, Louis B. Schram, Ralph M. Easley and S. B. Donnelly, met the interested parties at luncheon. This social gathering was devoted to a final analytical review of the progress of the negotiations up to that hour and a critical examination of every demand on the part of the men. In fact, there was a general and thorough threshing out, around the luncheon table, of every question involved. The result was that all those directly concerned went to the formal conference of that afternoon in a conciliatory and judicial frame of mind, calculated to go far towards bringing about an agreement which, if not wholly satisfactory to either side, would ensure harmonious relations between the company and the employees.

It is notable that at the time when the question of the "closed shop" was the crux of almost every other labor difficulty, in this case it was never mentioned.

Summarized, the demand of the men was that preference be given to Elevated employees in manning the subway; that the hours and wages in force on the Elevated be extended to the subway; that seniority of service on the Elevated be counted in making promotions in the subway; that the medical examination of applicants for work be not what is known as the "standard railway" test, but one called the "practical" test, which is much less severe. The demand as to wages would have meant \$3.50 and a nine-hours' day for motormen in the subway, the same as is paid under the existing contract on the Elevated. When these demands were first made publicly known, on August 20, President Pepper of the local branch of the Amalgamated Association claimed that the extension of the Elevated contract to the subway and the preference to Elevated men in appointments to subway positions were part of an oral agreement made sixteen months ago between his organization and officers of the Interborough company. The company's officials denied knowledge of such an understanding. But from the outset Mr. Belmont expressed his belief that all the differences between the employees and the company would be satisfactorily adjusted.

In fact, Mr. Belmont made epigrammatic expression of his confidence in the method of conference, when he replied at a critical stage of the negotiations to a query whether he would grant yet another hearing to the representatives of the employees:

"Certainly! I will attend a hundred conferences if necessary, if only they will bring about a peaceful solution."

But this faith in the ultimate peaceful solution of the difficulty did not make the company's officials unmindful of the company's obligation to the public convenience. Their precautions, in the contingency of a strike, against a tie-up of the Elevated system, were both prompt and energetic. Knowledge of these precautions did not lessen the determination of the labor leaders to stick to their demand. At the same time it impressed them with the importance of exhausting every possible means of settlement, before resorting to a strike.

An alliance between the Amalgamated Association and the two railway Brotherhoods brought into the field three national labor leaders,—President W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated, and Grand Chief Warren S. Stone of the Engineers' and Vice-Grand Chief Charles A. Wilson of the Firemen's Brotherhoods. Before their arrival there had been conferences between General Manager E. P. Bryan and Superintendent Frank Hedley of the Interborough, and Presidents George Pepper of the local branch of the Amalgamated and William L. Jencks of the local division of the Engineers' Brotherhood. These local

leaders, with their executive committees, also participated in the conferences that followed directly with President Belmont, the General Manager and the Superintendent of the Elevated.

The direct conferences with Mr. Belmont began on August 31 and continued until the final meeting of September 6, and the subsequent formulation of details of the agreement on September 7, and its signature on September 9. The conference of August 31 was inconclusive. It looked as though the company and the men were dead-locked on the question of wages and hours. But the arrival at this juncture of President Mahon and of Vice-Grand Chief Wilson opened the way for the conference of September 3.

At that conference a proposition was formulated which was acceptable to the company, as it provided for a wage of \$3 for a ten-hours' day in the subway, while it embodied various concessions to the Elevated employees, including retention of seniority.

But this proposition was rejected by all the local committees of the men. Not only was it rejected, but new demands were made, including that for a modified medical examination, to which reference has been made. Rumors of a strike were rife. President Mahon demonstrated, however, that the local radical spirits in the Amalgamated Association could be held in check by the national organization and he was able to hold together also, for still further conference, the grand chiefs of the Brotherhoods. It was this spirit on the part of the labor leaders that resulted in the final and successful conference of September 6. In a letter agreeing to this conference, Mr. Belmont had excluded from its discussion the question of wages and hours. But although they knew that this question absolutely could not be excluded if a strike was to be prevented, the labor leaders accepted the terms of Mr. Belmont's letter, having faith that when once more face to face with the officers of the company, the question of wages and hours would naturally come up. As one of them said: "These interchanges of letters may be very well for international diplomats, but I believe in talking face to face." The outcome proved the wisdom of this counsel, since the final conference did adjust hours and wages. The agreement was for \$3.50 for a ten-hour day. Its other conclusions, relating to the modified seniority and minor details, retained the standard railway examination.

After the final conference, Mr. Belmont said: "I am glad that all of our long, hard tedious work has not been in vain. I am more than ever convinced of the soundness of the policy advocated by the National Civic Federation. We ought to be too civilized in this day and age for capital to refuse to meet or organized labor in conference. This present experience confirms my belief in meeting the representatives of employees face to face."

In speaking of the adjustment of the difficulty, Mr. Mahon said: "This conference, with its successful outcome, reflects vividly the wisdom of the policy of conciliation of the National Civic Federation. It was through the intervention of the Civic Federation more than a year ago, that the national and local representatives of the Amalgamated Association and the officers of the Interborough company were brought together and made acquainted. That was the beginning of a candid interchange of views that has been uninterrupted ever since. There never has arisen an occasion when both President Belmont and General Manager Bryan have not been as willing as ourselves to meet and discuss any subject of controversy."

"The great value of these conferences is that they bring the men of two sides face to face, when they can talk over, informally, all the features of a case in dispute. That is a far better method than the exchange of formal, written communications, or the making of demands and counterdemands through the press. When one side draws up a letter, its effort is to present as strong a case as possible, without any suggestion of compromise. In preparing a reply to any proposition made in that manner, the opposing side will also, naturally, try to frame as strong a document as possible. Each side is afraid to concede anything whatever in writing. So the two parties in negotiation, instead of getting together, may get farther and farther apart."

"But in a personal conference, where men sit together in one room, it is possible to create a mutual belief in a common purpose to arrive at a satisfactory settlement. In spoken conversation, misunderstandings are cleared away and each side begins to see the way open to reach ground on which both can stand. The officers of the Interborough never have raised any question of 'recognizing' the union, and as a result all fear and suspicion in dealing with them have been removed from the minds of the leaders of our labor organization. As to the agreement we have reached, I have only to say that it is satisfactory to us, as was shown by its unanimous ratification by the members of the New York Division of the Amalgamated Association."

Mr. Stone said of the conferences: "This is my first contact with the National Civic Federation, as I

have only just become a member of that body. I am certainly pleased with its method of operation. I commend highly the spirit shown by Mr. Belmont and the officers of the Interborough throughout the conferences, and I am highly gratified at their successful conclusion. Without a doubt, there is great advantage to be gained by having representatives of the two sides, in any controversy about labor, meet and talk over every phase of the difficulty. That prevents misunderstandings and brings out the facts. Misunderstandings are the frequent cause of keeping apart interests that should be harmonious. The success of our conferences illustrates these statements."

Mr. Wilson said: "The officers of the three labor organizations involved in the controversy worked hard to hold the men back from striking. A strike would have been a public calamity, but when we

arrived here it needed only a match to fire a strike. The officers of the unions are to be congratulated for their conservatism and deportment through many long and trying hours. So are the officers of the company, who met us squarely and courteously on every issue. We all deplore strikes, and believe in exhausting every resource before striking. The present is an impressive example of the value of getting together and talking things over. If we had conducted negotiations at a distance, our differences could not have been adjusted so rapidly, if at all. The agreement is the best that I ever helped to frame. It will form the basis for dealing with all future developments in the subway. It is unprecedented in that it is an agreement for wages, hours and conditions of labor on a railroad not yet in operation."

THE COUNTRY ESCAPES ANOTHER ANTHRACITE STRIKE.

THE MOST NOTABLE SYSTEM OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION SAVED FROM A BREAK-DOWN, THROUGH REFERENCE OF A DISPUTE TO JUDGE GRAY.

"I regard this reference as preventing a repetition of the anthracite strike, with all its resultant disaster to the country."

That was the comment of Carroll D. Wright upon the reference to Judge George Gray, by the Anthracite Conciliation Board, of a deadlock in the Board which, if not relieved, would have set aside an award of the Anthracite Strike Commission, would have smashed the machinery of arbitration which it had created, and would have plunged the country, at the end of summer, into the woes of another strike throughout the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. It would have been a moral disaster as well, for it would have shattered the confidence of the industrial world in the principle of arbitration of which this Anthracite Board is the most conspicuous example in history.

This is an event the more impressive because of the magnitude of the interests thus retained in harmony, in contrast to a period when labor troubles were unusually frequent. All of these troubles were made conspicuous in the daily press, while comparatively little attention was paid to the prevention of a threatened rupture more serious than all the existing strikes combined. This avoidance of a repetition of the disastrous anthracite strike of 1902 was made possible by the willingness of the miners' representatives in the board to acquiesce in the manner of reference of the question at issue to Judge Gray. The representatives of both interests in the board have expressed their determination in advance to abide by the decision of Judge Gray, so that the prevention of a strike upon this question is not temporary, but probably permanent. The expectation is that this action will result in eliminating entirely from the anthracite industry a knotty problem that has been fraught with danger,—that of the payment of check weighmen and check docking bosses.

The existence of this Board of Conciliation, it will be recalled, grows out of the award of the Anthracite Strike Commission, appointed by the President of the United States, October 16, 1902, at the request of both the operators and the miners. The report of this commission, made March 18, 1903, included the following award:

That any difficulty or disagreement arising under this award, either as to its interpretation or application, or in any way growing out of the relations of the employers and employed, which cannot be settled or adjusted by consultation between the superintendent or manager of the mine or mines, and the miner or miners directly interested, or is of a scope too large to be so settled and adjusted, shall be referred to a permanent joint committee, to be called a Board of Conciliation, to consist of six persons, appointed as hereinafter provided. That is to

on the part of the operators: W. L. Connell, chairman, of Scranton; S. D. Warriner, of Wilkes-Barre; R. C. Luther, of Pottsville. On the part of the miners: T. D. Nichols, secretary, of Scranton; W. H. Dettrey, of Hazleton; and John Fahy, of Pottsville. The accompanying cut is reproduced from a photograph of the board in session at the time of the reference to Judge Gray, Mr. Luther being absent.



W. L. CONNELL, Ch'man
Scranton

W. H. DETTREY
Hazleton

JOHN FAHY
Pottsville

S. D. WARRINER
Wilkes-Barre

T. D. NICHOLS, Sec'y
Scranton

THE ANTHRACITE BOARD OF CONCILIATION

say, If there shall be a division of a whole region into three districts, in each of which there shall exist an organization representing a majority of the mine workers of such district, one of said Board of Conciliation shall be appointed by each of said organizations, and three other persons shall be appointed by the operators, the operators in each of said districts appointing one person.

The Board of Conciliation thus constituted shall take up and consider any question referred to it as aforesaid, hearing both parties to the controversy, and such evidence as may be laid before it by either party; and any award made by a majority of such Board of Conciliation shall be final and binding on all parties. If, however, the said board is unable to decide any question submitted, or point related thereto, that question or point shall be referred to an umpire, to be appointed at the request of said board, by one of the Circuit Judges of the Third Judicial Circuit of the United States, whose decision shall be final and binding in the premises.

The members of the Board of Conciliation are,

tion of the subject of check weighers and dock bosses (involved, as will be explained, in the fifth award of the Strike Commission) to Judge Gray. The operators' half of the Board would not agree to this unrestricted reference. Instead, they insisted upon the following form of reference, to which the miners on the Board finally assented:

The question at issue is whether the resolution of the Conciliation Board of July 9, 1903, conflicts with Mr. Wright's findings in the case of grievance No. 106, concerning this question, and if the resolution still remains effective; or whether it was annulled by the declaration of Mr. Wright in the case of grievance No. 106, and in order to settle this question, and to avoid any further delay or friction, the operators' and miners' representatives now propose to refer the question at issue to Judge Gray.

If, after a proper presentation of the facts to him, he will find that the resolution of the Conciliation Board of July 9, 1903, is still effective, then, in order

that the whole text of the Anthracite Strike Commission's 5th award relating to check weighmen and check docking bosses shall receive a proper interpretation, the operators and miners agree that the said 5th award shall be submitted to Judge Gray, and if his interpretation shall be at variance with that given by the Board of Conciliation, in its unanimously adopted resolution of July 9, 1903, the operators and miners agree that the said resolution shall be formally withdrawn and that a new resolution of the Board of Conciliation will be adopted in conformity with Judge Gray's finding.

There was an interesting colloquy at the meeting of the Board next following this reference. Col. Wright, the umpire, was present, and at the conclusion of hearing several cases submitted to him for decision, remarked informally: "I am highly gratified by the action of the Board in referring the check-weighing matter to Judge Gray. I do not regard that action as reflecting upon my decision in the premises. I still hold that for me to have decided otherwise would have vacated the award of the Commission, and that I could not bring myself to do. I regard this reference as preventing a repetition of the anthracite strike, with all its resultant disaster to the country."

"Oh, our objection to your decision," exclaimed Mr. Warriner, a representative of the operators on the Board, "was not as to its merits, but as to its application. The operators would not impugn your opinion. We shall abide by the decision of Judge Gray, whatever it may be."

"Yes, we also shall abide by his decision, whatever it may be," responded Mr. Nichols, of the miners; "but I do not hesitate to say in the presence of Mr. Warriner, now that the reference to Judge Gray has been made, what I would not say before, lest it be construed as a threat, and that is that the situation was very serious—far more serious than Mr. Warriner apprehended."

The following is the text of the Commission's fifth award, whose disputed interpretation and application caused the danger of another anthracite strike.

That whenever requested by a majority of the

contract miners of any colliery, check weighmen or check docking bosses, or both, shall be employed. The wages of said check weighmen and check docking bosses shall be fixed, collected, and paid by the miners, in such manner as the said miners shall by a majority vote elect; and when requested by a majority of said miners, the operators shall pay the wages fixed for check weighmen and check docking bosses, out of deductions made proportionately from the earnings of the said miners on such basis as the majority of said miners shall determine.

The difficulty arises out of the method of paying the wages of check weighers and check docking bosses. As they are employed in the interests of the miners, it is conceded that the miners should pay their wages. But should the minority of the miners in a colliery, who do not care for this protection, be forced to pay for it? And how shall the money be collected? If all the miners are to pay, can a proportionate assessment be legally withheld from the wages of the minority without their assent? If the minority refuse to make an assignment to the company for this purpose, should they be protected in their refusal by the operators? Or should they be required to make an assignment as a condition of employment? Would such a requirement be legal? If not, could the assent of the miners to the award of the Commission be regarded as waiving their constitutional rights to the extent of its terms?

The operators' side of the case that has been referred to Judge Gray is stated by Mr. Warriner, of the Conciliation Board, and superintendent of the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, to be based upon two facts, viz.:

First—The Board of Conciliation at one time passed upon the check weighmen question, and its action gave sanction to a plan which was then and is now pleasing to the operators. That plan was to collect the wages for a check weighman from the men employed at a colliery who requested the appointment of said check weighman.

Second—The operators object to the opinion of Umpire Wright, which reverses the above plan and sustains the contention of the United Mine Workers that the wages for the check weighman should be collected proportionately from all the men at any colliery where the majority of the men request it

The objection of the operators is that in the first place the check weighman question has been dealt with, decided, and is therefore dismissed by the Board of Conciliation, and secondly, that the opinion furnished Mr. Nichols by Umpire Wright was a personal one at the solicitation of Mr. Nichols, and was not asked for by the Board, and hence is not to be considered binding.

The resolution adopted by the Board of Conciliation on July 9, 1903, to which Mr. Warriner refers, provided that the person elected by the miners as check docking boss should be accepted by the operator, and that his wages "shall be paid by the miners requesting such appointment"; and that for this purpose the employer "will make the deduction from the earnings of such miners as make a legal assignment."

Mr. Nichols, of the miners' representatives in the Board, claims that the position of the operators would in effect vacate the award of the Strike Commission. He submits that the Board is itself in the nature of an umpire; that the Board had not limited its action to a technical detail in another case, that of Coes Bros. & Co., but had passed upon points not submitted to it, so that it was inconsistent for the operators to object to Umpire Wright's decision on the ground that it went beyond the specific point submitted to him. Mr. Nichols argued that the entire interpretation of the fifth award of the Commission should be referred to an umpire, and that it should not be restricted to the technical form presented on behalf of the operators. He held that the question at issue was the observance of that award; that the agreement of the miners to abide by the decision of the Commission would absolve the operators from legal responsibility for making a deduction from the wages of all miners to pay check weighers elected by the miners. In conclusion, Mr. Nichols says: "We believe that we have done all that we can, consistent with the responsibility of taking care of the interests of the miners, to bring harmony out of disagreement."

With these arguments, the case went to Judge Gray.

WILL LABOR MAKE CONCESSIONS FOR A SHORTER WORK-DAY?

ITS LEADERS AND EDITORS DISCUSS GRANTING TEMPORARILY LOWER WAGES OR UNRESTRICTED OUTPUT FOR FEWER HOURS OF TOIL.

The voice of organized labor, in answer to questions relating to the proposed shorter work-day, is heard in a collection of opinions, here presented, of its leaders and of editors of labor periodicals. These opinions are a response by wage-earners to the symposium of employers upon the same subject, which appeared in the August number of *The Monthly Review*. That symposium revealed a prevalence of assent among employers to the desirability of a shorter work-day as an abstract proposition. Most of their qualifications or objections were based upon the assumption that fewer hours of labor would increase the cost of production. Many employers urged that workers, as a consideration for fewer hours, should reduce this assumed increase in cost of production either by accepting temporary lower wages during an adjustment of trade and prices to the new condition, or by removing what the employers claimed to be arbitrary restrictions upon the quantity of production.

Labor's response to the employers was obtained by asking its prominent leaders and guides the following questions:

"Do you believe that organized labor should be willing to make a concession, either of temporarily lower wages or unrestricted output, in return for a shorter work-day?"

"Do you believe that a shorter work-day lessens production, or increases the labor cost of production?"

The collection of opinions thus gathered is of great value and interest. The symposium reveals a high order of thought and a widely diffused understanding of the philosophy of the shorter work-day in its relation to production, consumption, domestic and foreign markets, wages, prices,

legislation, trade agreements and the standard of American citizenship. It is a valuable contribution to the current discussion of the desirability and practicability of the shorter work-day which, at first centering about the eight-hour bill for government contracts, now under consideration by the Department of Commerce and Labor, has extended to the social and economic aspects of fewer hours of daily work and has developed the existence of a demand on the part of employees for fewer hours that cannot be denied recognition.

Out of the replies received, some fifty have been collated, representing many distinct national industries and, of course, a far greater number of crafts and a vast multitude of wage-earners. The editorial expressions range from New England to the Pacific. The representative character of these replies will be perceived by a mere glance at the titles in labor organizations and the callings of the writers. A perusal of the text of the replies will be necessary to appreciate their pertinence and acumen and, with few exceptions, the spirit of amity and the desire to attain the highest good of the community at large that animates them all. They are a notable evidence of the absence of enmity toward capital or of class hatred among the leaders of labor.

An analysis of the replies indicates that approximately 36 per cent. of their writers are willing to return for a shorter work-day, the concession of temporarily lower wages or of unrestricted output. Only ten replies would refuse any concession whatever. It is to be noted that this result is to some extent affected by a misunderstanding of some of the writers as to the purpose of the suggestion of temporary lower wages. That purpose was intended to be understood as purely tactical,

with the idea that the concession, at least in some industries, might increase the willingness of employers to grant the shorter day, and with the further idea that existing wages would be restored as soon as the industry had adjusted itself to the new condition.

To confusion upon this point may be attributed the fact that about half of the replies oppose, and a few of them bitterly, any reduction of wages whatever. For this denial, a variety of reasons is advanced. Several writers assert that the present rate of wages is barely sufficient for existence; that even now many wage-earners are forced to deny themselves a full allowance of the necessities of life; that lower wages would lower the standard of living below the physical welfare and self-respect of the American working-man. Others assert, more moderately, that the present wage for a day of nine or ten hours would be only a fair equivalent for eight hours' work. An allied opinion is that the present margin of profit upon production is so large that the employer should rightly bear the entire additional labor cost, if any. Others argue, from experience in industries where the eight-hour day already prevails, that the shorter day increases production and lessens its cost, so that there would be no reason for lower wages. Another argument offered is that lower wages would lessen consumption, wage-earners constituting 98 per cent. of the consumers; and that this would result in over-production and injury to the employers. Coupled with this is the theory that lower wages, through diminishing the home market, would force manufacturers more than ever to enter into competition in foreign markets.

About a score of writers favor temporary reduction, all insisting that it must be only temporary.

Several would make the concession only where lower wages would not reduce the earnings of the worker below the comfort line. Others regard this as a proposition to be answered according to the conditions in each industry. Several regard the permanent benefit of a shorter day as worth a temporary sacrifice, which would forward the movement. One writer esteems leisure as an asset; and another declares that where eight hours now prevail, the workers would prefer a reduction of wages to a return to the longer day for the same pay.

The other suggested concession, that of removal of arbitrary restrictions of output, evoked at least a dozen denials, several of them very emphatic, that such restrictions exist in the writers' crafts, together with declarations that it is the sincere policy of unionism to place no limit upon the amount to be done by any worker in a given time.

But nearly a score of replies declare that restrictions (thus assuming them to exist) should be removed for economic reasons. They pronounce restriction short-sighted, because increased productivity is essential to higher wages. One writer remarks that only ordinary "gumption" is needed to perceive that union workers should strive "to produce the most in the least time possible." "The only limit should be the normal capacity" of the worker, remarks another. But these advocates of unrestrained energy protest against the "pace-maker" among workers, that is, against pitting workers against those of exceptional skill, strength or swiftness. Others believe that restriction will voluntarily disappear, because of the greater energy and willingness of workers. Only one writer advances the theory that restriction is necessary to prevent throwing large numbers out of work through over-production.

About three-fifths of the replies declare that the shorter work-day will not increase the labor cost of production. In support of this claim, the most important argument is that which cites the proof of experience in industries where the eight-hour day prevails, notably in the building trades. The replies from these trades have been grouped, and the especial consideration which they merit is given them further on.

Other reasons urged why the cost of production would not be increased are because of the greater zest of the short-day worker; because (in some industries) machinery would be run longer hours, by more shifts, thus lessening fixed charges on plant; because the total output would be greater; because the refreshed workers will welcome the sound of the morning whistle; because the manhood of the worker would spur him to do his utmost for the employer who had granted a boon. The writers who urge that the shorter work-day would increase the number employed, thus creating the same output as in the longer day, of course contradict those who assert that the same number of workers will produce in eight hours a result equal to their output in ten.

Only ten replies admit, more or less distinctly, that the shorter day would increase the labor cost of production. One reason adduced is that machinery is already speeded to the limit, and fewer hours would necessarily mean less product per worker. Against this is the claim that the output would be greater but that its cost would at first be higher, pending adjustment of the industry. One writer declares that the higher cost of production would be offset by increased purchasing power of the home market. Another avers that decreased output would remedy present over-production and cause steadier employment.

A few writers volunteer the opinion that a uniform eight-hour day can be accomplished only by legislation. One writer favors legislation because the shorter work-day is of the same public policy as the public schools and the statutory regulation of child labor. Another believes that unions should debate political questions and vote for candidates who favor an eight-hour law. Several advocate national voluntary trade agreements, so that the shorter day would be uniform, and to that end favor more thorough organization of both employers and employed. One writer discusses at length the history of the battle for the prevalent eight-hour day in the building

trades and its effect upon wages, output, cost and morale.

With notable enthusiasm, several dwell upon the social and moral effect of fewer hours of toil. They point to better, brighter, more attractive homes, an uplifted citizenship and consequent national prosperity. Several of them take pains to contradict the notion that workers would abuse added leisure, and declare that long hours mean ignorance, poverty, drunkenness and a degraded citizenship.

BEST SERVICE, NO LOWER WAGES.

W. R. Fairley, Member National Executive Board, United Mine workers of America:—I am glad to notice that the prevailing opinion among employers of labor is in favor of a shorter work-day as an abstract proposition. But they claim that it will increase the cost of production and urge that workers as a consideration for fewer hours should reduce this increased cost of production either by accepting lower wages or by removing what the employers claim to be arbitrary restrictions upon the quantity of production.

I believe that organized labor should be willing to remove any arbitrary restrictions on outputs to secure the shorter work-day, that they ought to render the best service of which they are capable, so that outputs would not be decreased and thereby increase the cost of production. I am not in favor of lower wages, even temporarily, to secure a shorter work-day.

After years of close observation and experience, I do not believe that shorter hours lessens production. If it does, it is only temporarily until the system adapts itself to the changed condition created, and therefore does not increase the labor cost of production.

RESTRICTIONS MUTUALLY INJURIOUS.

John D. Pringle, Editor of The Labor World, Pittsburgh:—In answer to the first of the two questions you forward me, I beg to state that I certainly deem it right that organized labor should grant unrestricted output in return for a shorter work-day. This concession would apply more to time workers than to piece workers. Under present industrial conditions, restrictions that are put upon production by some of our labor unions are injurious to trade and react disastrously to both employer and employed. Experience has led me to believe that a reduction in wage is not necessarily requisite for a shortening of the work-day.

Your second question is comprehensive, and brief statements must suffice for arguments. I do not think that a shorter work-day "lessens production," and therefore does not increase the cost of production. The natural course of industrial evolution has proven this to be true. Except in rare cases shorter hours of work have actually resulted in increased production, increased profits and wages and cheaper commodities. The history of various trades proves this.

In the mining industry, even before machinery was introduced, the highest per capita output of the English miner was when his work-day was shortest. The same holds good, as a rule, in this country. A shorter work-day without any artificial restrictions on the output tends to supply the workman with a motive to do his best, and particularly when he works "by the piece." It is the motive that maintains the standard and keeps down cost of production.

AN ARGUMENT FROM EXPERIENCE.

William S. Carter, Grand Secretary-Treasurer Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen:—I believe that with the introduction of improved methods, a shorter work-day does not lessen production or increase the labor cost of production. If a like cause will produce a like effect, we may reasonably expect the reduction from a ten-hour day to an eight-hour day to produce the same result that the reduction from a twelve-hour to a ten-hour day produced. Then, why not simplify an intricate problem by reducing an unknown quantity to a known quantity, and ask: "Do you believe a shorter work-day did lessen production or did increase the labor cost of production?" I believe that with a shorter work-day, increased production and decreased labor cost.

You also ask, "Do you believe that organized labor should be willing to make the concession, either of temporarily lower wages or of unrestricted output, in return for a shorter work-day?" I have said that the shorter work-day neither lessened production nor increased the labor cost of production. Then why should have organized labor accepted lower

wages? Wages are not lower with the present ten hour day than they were with the former twelve-hour day. Then, why should wages be lower with the coming eight-hour day than with the present ten-hour day?

Now, what is meant by "unrestricted output"? If it is meant that a locomotive engineer should be permitted to operate his engine until, exhausted by continuous labor, he falls asleep and hurls to destruction a train laden with passengers or with fellow-employees, I do not believe that organized labor should make the concession.

If it is meant by "unrestricted output" that a task shall be set by an employer for a hundred employees to perform, which task is fixed by the ability, strength and endurance of the ablest and strongest of that hundred, I do not believe that organized labor should make the concession.

If it is meant by "unrestricted output" that employees should not place a maximum limit to the amount of work performed in a given time, I believe that organized labor should not only make the concession, but prohibit such practice, should it exist, among members of labor unions.

Continuous improvements in "labor-saving" machinery have reduced the labor cost of production until a comparatively small number of shoemakers can produce more shoes than our eighty millions of people can consume. There can be no doubting that modern machines have "saved labor"—but for whom? For the laborer himself only as the work-day has been shortened. For the employer, as he has added to his wealth. For the consumer, as he has obtained the product cheaper.

Since labor-saving machinery has performed its part in the development of this country, the employing class has profited so greatly that the world now stands amazed at the accumulated wealth of the "American Trusts." Since labor-saving machinery has performed its part in the development of this country, the American consumer has learned to class former luxuries as every-day necessities. Since labor-saving machinery has performed its part in the development of this country, the American workman finds that his labor has been "saved," that his work-day has been shortened only as his trade union has possessed the power to extort from the employing class.

The working-man has now turned to the law-making body of the nation for some of the good things which that body has so lavishly bestowed upon others. They have asked that the United States Government stipulate in all contracts entered into with manufacturers that working-men shall be employed only eight hours per day in prosecuting those contracts. So far, the law-making body of the nation has denied working-men this request.

FAIR EMPLOYERS DESERVE NON-RESTRICTION.

W. C. Plateil, National Vice-President Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass Molders, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of N. A.:—In reply to Question 1, I will say that this is a very broad question, and a great deal depends upon the fairness which may be displayed by both sides in the controversy. I honestly believe that where the employer shows a disposition to be fair in the matter, organized labor should not restrict the output in any shape. But it has been my sad experience in a number of cases that where the output was restricted it was in cases where the men worked by the piece.

I would therefore frankly say that where any employer is fair enough to establish a shorter work-day without any reduction in wages, the employees should in turn do all they can in the way of getting out as much work for such an employer without killing themselves, and thus show to him that they are at least willing to play fair.

In reply to Question 2, I will say that I do not believe that the shorter work-day lessens the production, and I do not believe that in the end the cost of labor is increased. Here again it depends upon the fairness and spirit of good will shown on both sides, for it has been my personal experience—and I have enjoyed the shorter work-day for over three years—that where men work short hours, and they are treated fairly and like human beings, that before the end of the first year they will produce as much or nearly as much as they did under the ten-hour system. Men who are or are required to work eight or nine hours per day without having their pay reduced will, if they have a manhood in them at all, work for the interests of the employer granting them the shorter work-day, and show to him in many ways that the concessions he has granted his employees are not thrown to the winds. A man working shorter hours feels more like working when the whistle blows in the morning than the ones who do not enjoy the shorter hours, and when the whistle blows at night he is happy in the thought, knowing that he has dealt fairly and honestly by his employer, and he hastens home to spend a couple of hours of daylight at least with his wife, sweetheart or family. As one who enjoys the shorter work-day, I find that instead of production being lessened, in the end it will almost be as much as it was before the hours were reduced, and the cost of labor will be no more

considering the amount produced in less hours of labor. Hasten the shorter work-day, give us fair and humane employers, and the organized employees will in more ways than one show their appreciation.

NO RESTRICTION, IF NO PACE-MAKER.

Edgar A. Agard, Member Executive Board, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada:—I believe in the highest possible standard of life for the workers. To secure and maintain this standard, a shorter work-day is necessary. If it is impossible to reduce the hours of labor in any given industry and still leave the employer a fair profit, without corresponding reduction in wages, then I believe that labor should concede a lower wage scale in return for a shorter work-day. Provided, however, that the lower wage does not fall below the comfort line. Any enterprise which demands the entire time of those employed therein, at a wage so low as to make it impossible for them to save something for a time of future idleness, without denying themselves present comforts, is a curse to organized society and has no right to live.

I would also favor an unrestricted output, not only as a means toward the securing of a reduction in the hours of labor, but at all other times, if manufacturers will cease their pitting of the man of exceptional strength, skill and swiftness, like a gladiator, against the willing worker who is simply the average man.

Where the hours of labor are destructively long, that is, of such length that human endurance goes to the limit each day, I do not believe that shortening the work-day will decrease production or add to the labor cost thereof. Upon the other hand, if the hours are more humane, I certainly am of the opinion that a shorter work-day means an increased labor cost, because of a decrease in production.

I further believe that ultimately a shorter work-day will be more greatly to the advantage of the employer than to the employee. That it seems to be a vexed question I will admit, but if the parties who are primarily interested will get together for the purpose of agreeing upon some plan to bring about its consummation, and not for the purpose of proving that it cannot be done, or that the other side is illogical and unfair, I am sure that a plan could be agreed upon without any great difficulty, which would be injurious to none, but fair and beneficial to all.

LEISURE AN ASSET.

John A. Dyche, General Secretary-Treasurer International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:—I believe that organized labor should be willing to accept lower wages in return for a shorter work-day. Leisure, even if it possesses no exchange value and one cannot deposit it with the banker, is yet as useful as any other form of wealth. A demand for a shorter work-day at the same rate of pay means not only a demand for increased pay per hour, but such a demand may also involve a rearrangement in the factory which may cause more inconvenience to the employer than an increase of pay. The resistance on the part of the employer may be such that the game may not be worth the candle. Wherever a shorter work-day will increase the cost of production—and this will probably be the case in a good many instances—the increase will only be temporary.

The restriction on production practised by some unions is to my mind quite unjustifiable. It is the result of a short-sighted policy on the part of the organizations pursuing it. Some of our unions seem to forget that the increase of the productivity of labor is the most important factor in a permanent increase of wages. I believe, however, that the restriction of the hours of labor by legal enactment to be more economically advantageous and socially useful than by voluntary agreement between manufacturers and employers. Voluntary restrictions of the hours of labor will give an opportunity to the sweater and tenement-house employer to compete with the regular manufacturer by working his hands abnormally long hours; while under legal restrictions competition can only be carried on by adopting better methods of production and by introducing new machinery which must lead to the concentration of capital and the elimination of the sweater and tenement-house worker as a factor in production.

INDIVIDUAL CAPACITY GAUGES OUTPUT.

J. E. Mulkey, Editor of The Advance Advocate, Official Organ of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance-of-Way Employees:—Where the wages of labor are sufficient to enable the worker to submit to a temporary reduction of wages without depriving his family of the ordinary comforts of life, if the hours of labor are such that the worker does not have reasonable time for rest and recreation, it would be proper and beneficial for him to submit to a reasonable reduction of wages in return for a proportionate reduction of hours.

In regard to output, that should be limited only to the normal capacity of the worker, and one worker's capacity should never be gauged by that of another.

Where a man is required to work longer hours

than his physical nature will stand, a reduction of hours would tend to increase his output per hour until his normal capacity for endurance is reached. To assert in a general way that shortening the working-day would increase the output of labor would be equivalent to saying that the greatest output would result from no labor at all. This applies also to the labor cost of production.

NO LIMIT TO AMBITION.

John F. McNamee, Editor Locomotive Firemen's Magazine:—In reply to your two questions would say: First—It is a question of considerable importance to determine to what extent laboring men could sustain a reduction in their earnings, and yet provide themselves with the necessities of life at the present prices of those articles which they require for their subsistence, and this is a question that should call forth the best thoughts of our political and industrial economists. While it might be politic on the part of organized labor in order to secure the benefits of a shorter work-day to temporarily endure a reduction of earnings and run chances for securing subsequent restorations to the former standard, it is an indisputable fact that such a course would work a decided hardship upon a large majority of wage-earners. In view of the immense fortunes that are being built up all about us as the joint result of the investment of capital and the expenditure of labor, it would seem that the public welfare could best be subserved by the burden of this change being sustained by the employing classes.

As to the subject of unrestricted output, I will state it as my belief that the welfare of organized labor would be best furthered by unrestricted output under any and all conditions. There may be reasons for restricting the capacity of the laborer in certain trades of which I have no knowledge, but it would seem to me to be contrary to the ultimate well-being of any organized craft to place restrictions upon the ambitions, skill and attainments of its individual members.

Second—It is my opinion that a reduction in the number of hours of daily labor would have but a temporary effect upon the volume of production, if it would have any. Perhaps it might partially disorganize some branches of industry until the new conditions could be so systematized as to produce the maximum results with the amount of effort expended. The individual laborer with more time at his disposal occasioned by the shorter work-day would undoubtedly have greater opportunity to give thought and attention to the development of his skill and ability, and as a natural consequence invest greater vigor and productive effort in his work during the shorter day than when the hours are long and wearisome.

PRODUCE MOST, IN LEAST POSSIBLE TIME.

John L. Britton, Member National Board, United Mine Workers of America:—Do you believe that organized labor should be willing to make the concession, either of temporarily lower wages or of unrestricted output, in return for a shorter work-day? Answer: No, to temporarily lowering the wages. The wages are too low already in lots of trades and callings, and to bring them lower temporarily would not help matters or bring the results that organized labor is aiming at, viz., a living wage.

There should be no restrictions on output, because, if intelligence or gunption rules—and it ought to rule,—we as progressive trade-unionists must aim to produce the most in the least time possible.

Do you believe that a shorter work-day lessens production or increases the labor cost of production? Answer: No to first paragraph of this question, because, with the advancement made by machinery, there is specializing in most every branch and up-to-date methods in most every calling or trade. I believe it can be shown that these increase production, and if it can be shown it answers the second paragraph, for if we can produce more in a given time, it must necessarily lower the cost of production.

UNIONS DO NOT RESTRICT OUTPUT.

W. D. Mahon, International President Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:—No, the shorter work-day does not increase the cost of production at all. As to the restriction of output, there is no such a thing practised by the trade-union movement. The trade-union seeks the reduction of the hours of toil, but in no way does that interfere with or restrict the output. We say at the present time, eight hours should be the work-day. This does not in any way interfere with the shop, factory, or any other business, so far as the output is concerned.

We represent street and electrical railway workers. Some years ago we labored fourteen and sixteen hours per day. We have brought the work-day down in many cases to a nine-hour work-day, but the shorter work-day does not interfere or restrict in any way the operation of the roads. When a man has completed his nine-hour work-day, the car goes

right on and is operated by another. It is true that during these past years wages have from time to time increased, but that does not affect your question. That has been due to the increased cost of living and other environments and conditions that surrounded us. The charge that the trade-union interferes and restricts the output is a proposition raised by those who are either ignorant of the subject or else by those who are seeking some pretext to destroy the trade-union movement.

THE CHEER OF SHORT HOURS.

S. M. Sexton, Editor Mine Workers' Journal, Indianapolis:—In reply to both questions would answer, No. The questions are so entwined that it is hard to disintegrate them so as to answer clearly. For instance, Question 2 implies a doubt as to the proposition in the latter part of Question 1. I state with all confidence that shorter hours do not lessen production; therefore, to accept lower wages for the same or larger output is giving something for nothing, a proposition not based upon equity.

When the coal miners worked twelve or fifteen hours per day the average tonnage for the days worked was a little over three tons. To-day, in the same mine, same height of coal with the same tools, the same men average over four tons.

Under the long-hour system the miner had to take his small sons to help him. Under the shorter hours he does the work himself and sends his sons to school.

I do not pretend to analyze the mental process which makes a man readier to attack a large and difficult piece of work when he knows that he will not have to toil from sun to sun, and the hesitation and disinclination the same man exhibits when he attacks similar tasks when he knows that he must toil from the "rising of the sun until the going down of the same." But the fact exists, and the cheerful and hearty manner in which the short-hour man sets himself to work and keeps to work more than overbalances the advantages he gains from the same pay.

The short-hour man is rested; his muscles and brain have become refreshed; he is eager to begin his task; gives it better attention and is able, from physiological reasons, to give it better attention. The long-hour man has not recovered from the toils of the previous day. He is stiff and sleepy, unconsciously careless. His body has not fully recuperated from the exhaustion of the previous day's toil; therefore, he is not as fit to render the same services as the short-hour man.

The overwhelming fact in favor of the shorter hour, the one that clears away all doubt as to whether hours lessen production, is the fact that the piece workers, like pick miners, printers, machinists, and bricklayers are the most urgent in the demand for shorter days.

If these men were not fully convinced they could earn more under the short-hour system they would not advocate it. If a printer could set 10,000 ems during a ten-hour day, the natural deduction is that he would set but 9,000 ems during nine hours. But the fact remains that since the nine-hour system has been adopted he sets nearer 11,000 ems.

Again, when the pick miner with the aid of his son could dig and load a little over three tons per day during the twelve hours, it seems a mathematical fact that he would mine and load a little over two tons with the hours reduced to eight. Yet the fact remains, impregnable to successful assault, that a reduction of hours increased his output.

Were a man a machine capable of being geared up to a certain number of revolutions per hour, of course the less number of hours he ran the less revolutions he would perform. But a man is not a machine, but a living, breathing, thinking, sentient being, and improves in health, morals, citizenship, manhood, when he is not used as a dumb, driven brute.

FEWER HOURS FOR EMPLOYER'S BENEFIT.

Thomas Taylor, Secretary Fall River Loom Fixers' Association:—In answer to your first question, I would say that where it was proved to the employer that such change was causing financial loss to his employer, so far as to make his business unprofitable, a mutual arrangement might be made where wages could be adjusted for the time being, until the normal balance of business that might be disturbed by the change could be restored.

If such an arrangement as the above could be carried out with regard to shorter hours, I believe the question of restricted output would settle itself, inasmuch as the working-man would then be an interested party as well as the manufacturer, and would naturally give his best service to secure the higher rate of wages.

With regard to your second question, I would say that I thoroughly believe in the shorter working-day as ultimately being to the advantage of the employer and employed. It would be conducive to the working-man's benefit, morally, socially and physically, and in my opinion the employers would eventually reap the benefit in a larger output and of better quality.

CONCESSION CONSIDERED FAIR.

C. E. Layman, Member Board of Directors, Order of Railroad Telegraphers:—I believe that organized labor should be willing to make the concession, either of temporarily lowering wages or unrestricted output, in return for a shorter work-day.

I do not believe that a shorter work-day lessens production or increases the labor cost of production.

EIGHT HOURS NEAR AT HAND.

J. L. Feeney, Editor "The International Book-binder," Washington:—I believe that the eight-hour day will be the universal work-day in all branches of skilled labor before many years have passed away. In our branch of trade, bookbinding, our craft has received the eight-hour day in several cities, and it is expected that a general demand will be made for same on or before January 1, 1906.

I do not believe that any local union of our International Brotherhood will be allowed to concede a decrease in wages for the shorter day. It cannot be denied that the eight-hour day will lessen production, but not to the great extent that some manufacturers believe it will. A slight increase in the price of a manufactured article where there is a minimum profit will more than compensate the manufacturer for granting the shorter day to his workers.

There are but very few trade organizations that limit the output of its members, and such trades, we believe, are now enjoying the eight-hour day, but where there is a restriction upon the quantity of production in any branch of trade where the workers are now under the ten or nine-hour schedule, we believe a slight increase in the output should be conceded, but no decrease whatever in wages.

TEMPORARY REDUCTION; NO RESTRICTION.

John B. Lennon, General Secretary Journeymen Tailors' Union of America:—In reply to Question 1, I deny positively and without reservation that the trade-unions restrict output. It may have been true to some extent a number of years ago, and there may even be isolated unions where it is still practised to some extent, but as a rule the trade-union movement does not stand for the restriction of output by its members. I believe that where the hours of labor are reduced that there should be a temporary reduction in the wage until such time as the industry can adjust itself to the new conditions that come with the establishment of an eight-hour work-day.

In reply to Question 2, I believe unquestionably that, as applied to industries in general, the reduction of the hours of labor to eight means less product by the same number of employees as were previously employed ten hours a day. Were this not true, one of the greatest of all the reasons for the demand for the eight-hour work-day would disappear, to wit, an opportunity for the unemployed to secure work.

As to whether the cost of production is increased or not under the eight-hour work-day, I am not prepared to answer specifically. Some employers with whom I have talked, who should be experts on this phase of the matter, have stated that it did not increase the cost; others have held to the contrary. A careful investigation would probably demonstrate the truth as to this phase of the question.

LESS HOURS, GREATER SPEED.

Albert Hibbert, General Secretary United Textile Workers of America:—So far as the textile workers are concerned, the cost of labor would not enter the question so much as in other industries, because of the fact that a very large percentage work by the piece. I believe in a shorter work-day, and am of the opinion that in a day of eight hours, if in universal practice, no industry would suffer.

I do not believe that a shorter work-day, unless carried to extremes, decreases production. In 1892 the hours of labor were reduced in the State of Massachusetts from 60 to 58 per week, and the production is greater to-day than when the operatives worked 60 hours. Of course, the difference is accounted for by the extra speed put on the machine.

PAY WORK FOR ITS QUALITY.

J. E. Schwarz, Vice-President Retail Clerks' International Protective Association:—I do not think it is necessary for labor to reduce wages on the unrestricted output, for I feel that good workmen should be paid according to their work, and if they can produce more than the poor men, they should naturally be paid accordingly. I feel that the manufacturers in co-operation can readily regulate the matter of higher salary being put in the product manufactured even if he has to pay more, and at the same time get more for his goods.

It naturally would appear that a shorter work-day would mean an increased cost of production; but if labor is unrestricted, I think the difference could be made up.

LESS HOURS FOR MEN, MORE FOR MILLS.

James F. Fitzgerald, International Representative, Brotherhood Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:—I do not believe that organized labor could accept a reduction in wages as a return for the eight-hour day, and I do not see why it should be asked when it has been clearly demonstrated by several manufacturers of paper that the eight-hour work-day ensures better dividends to them. For example, in our line, pulp and paper-making, the working days per week are from Monday, 7 o'clock A. M., till Saturday, 6 o'clock P. M., there being no work done Saturday night, Sunday or Sunday night, and the working hours for the mills giving the eight-hour work-day are from 7 o'clock P. M. Sunday night till 7 o'clock A. M. Sunday. In other words, the manufacturer giving his employees the eight-hour work-day is able to run his mill 24 hours more per week than on the long day, thereby lessening to a great extent the fixed charges on his plant. While I do not believe that the employees could accept a reduction in wages, I am in favor of running the pulp and paper mills more hours per week for the manufacturer giving his employees the eight-hour work-day. I have found that where the employees work the eight-hour day, the manufacturers generally agree that he is able to do enough extra and better work to offset the hours reduced from his day, and I have found the management of mills operated on the eight-hour day so well pleased with the results, both financially and in workmanship, that they could not be induced to return to the long hours per day.

I believe that the eight-hour day increases production, and decreases the cost of production, and I also believe in our line of business that we should increase the working days per week for the eight-hour manufacturers, over the long-hour-day manufacturers, which we are ready and willing to do.

TEMPORARY INCREASE OF COST.

George Preston, General Secretary-Treasurer, International Association of Machinists:—Replying to question No. 1, I beg to reply in the affirmative. Wherever it can be shown that the reduction of hours will increase the cost of the production I believe it would be good policy for the organized employees to accept a corresponding reduction of wages, believing as I do that said reduction of wages would only be temporary and would show a tendency to rise as the market became adjusted to the new conditions. As to the restricted output, this is not a feature in our organization, no man being limited to the amount of work he can perform in any one day.

Question No. 2. Do I believe that a shorter work-day lessens production or increases the labor of production? My answer to the first part of this question is No. In fact, I believe that the shorter work-day will have a tendency to increase production; first, because the workers, having more time for recuperation, will be handled more energetically while employed, and they will be apt to perform more effective labor than under the reduced hours. In reply to the second part of the question I would like to say that I believe reduction of the hours of labor will in a majority of instances increase the labor cost of production. The effect, however, would be only temporary, inasmuch as new methods and improved devices in productive work are more apt to be introduced under the shorter work-day than they are in the longer hour day.

FEWER HOURS, GREATER EFFICIENCY.

Thomas M. Nolan, Editor of The Union Label Magazine, Boston:—While answers to your questions must in some cases be governed by local conditions, I believe an eight-hour day would prove satisfactory to employer and employee.

It has been stated in trade and other papers that in some unions there is a rule for the restriction of output per hour or day. I do not know of such an arrangement in any industry in New England. It does not prevail in the printing or publishing trades.

As to what arrangement or concession might be made by members of different crafts in return for a shorter work-day, it would be based, as suggested, upon peculiar conditions applying to each trade which it would be difficult to cover in general terms. In securing the nine-hour day in the book and job branch of the printing trades there was no general curtailment of wages, in the greater number of cases the same wages being paid for nine and a half and nine hours as formerly prevailed for ten hours, and since the adoption of the shorter work-day (nine hours) there are cases in which wages are paid greater than those prevailing under a ten-hour day. While some employing printers have taken position against further shortening of the work-day, the time is not far distant when they will adopt the eight-hour day.

Another important point is that the general morale of the craft has advanced as the hours have decreased. Temperance, morality and a general uplifting tendency has been observed to a greater extent among the rank and file of the printing crafts

This is referred to, because of criticism expressed by certain employers, and their solicitude whether it would be dangerous to reduce the hours, as the men would then be inclined to spend the time in saloons. This has been disproven so many times it seems those using it are at desperate straits for arguments against the shorter work-day.

Where agreements cannot be made between employer and employee upon a national basis—this by far being the better way, as is obvious—it would be well for both parties to arrange conferences providing for a gradual reduction in the hours to eight per day, and if the shorter work-day can be secured in no other way employees might accept a reduction for a certain time to be mutually agreed upon, pending its universal adoption that is, providing wages already were not below a living rate. The shorter work-day is the "ultima thule"—given that, the question of wages will adjust itself.

So far as I have observed in my own and other trades decreasing the hours has not lessened production nor increased the labor cost to the employer.

GREATER ACTIVITY, EQUAL OUTPUT.

B. A. McCormick, Correspondent Div. 332, Amalgamated Association Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:—In my experience, both as an employer and employee, better results can be obtained by the granting of shorter hours than ten per day, and the paying of such wages that will permit men to live comfortably and so conduct themselves as to gain the respect of the community. While often money is the root of evil, it is also the source of much good, and the good wife of a man earning fairly good wages will make his home so attractive that he will shun places to which the poor man frequently resorts for an extremely unhealthy change of scene.

With an eight-hour work-day the employee feels that his efforts in his employer's behalf are appreciated, and this will produce harmony and good-fellowship between what I may call (apologetically) the two classes, and certainly lengthen the life of a piece of machinery which has become a valuable adjunct in the shop or mill.

NO LESS PRODUCTION, NO GREATER COST.

Philip Christ, Member Executive Board, National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers:—In reply to your first question, I would like to say, Yes. In our business the employees have worked under the eight-hour system for nearly five years, and I am firmly convinced that should the time come when they should be compelled to choose between longer hours for the present wages or a reduction in wages but the shorter hours, they would certainly accept the reduction in wages.

In reply to the second question, I beg to say that in my personal experience the shorter day did not lessen the production, nor do I think that it has increased the cost of production. We are producing more under this eight-hour system than we did under the ten or twelve-hour system. We who have had a chance to try both systems do not agree that ten hours' work is as good as eight for an employee. There is no more drunkenness now than prior to the change; less, I think.

STEADIER EMPLOYMENT, EQUAL OUTPUT.

C. E. James, Member General Executive Board, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:—I am very much interested in the work of the Civic Federation, and believe that much benefit will result to both employers and employees through its efforts. I read with much interest the views expressed by various large employers of labor in your last issue as to the desirability of a shorter work-day, and am not surprised that most of them are favorable to a shorter work-day as an abstract proposition. This method of ascertaining the views of both employers and employees seem to me to be the very best means of starting a crusade for a shorter work-day.

As to your first question, I have no hesitancy in saying, that I believe that the most practical way of bringing about a shorter work-day (under the existing conditions) would be for organized labor to make the concession of temporarily lower wages, excepting of course, in those industries working under the piece price plan.

If both employers and employees were so well organized that a general eight-hour day could be arranged, so that the same condition would prevail in all industries, and no employer would be placed at a disadvantage because of his competitor being able to work his employees for a longer period, this would not be necessary. But under the prevailing condition I believe there are many employers who would be willing to grant a shorter work-day providing they could do so without their labor cost being greater than their competitors. In those industries where the piece price plan prevails this is not necessary, as whether the work-day is eight hours or twelve, the labor cost is equal.

(Continued on pages 9, 10, 11 and 12.)

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THE SHORTER WORK-DAY.

The attitude of organized labor toward the proposition to grant some concession in consideration of a shorter work-day, and the consensus of opinion of organized labor as to the economic and social effect of fewer hours of toil, are disclosed by the symposium presented in this issue. In the August number, the opinions of many large employers upon the same subject were published. It was shown that there is a general disposition among employers to assent to the desirability of the shorter work-day as an abstract proposition. Their objections were in the main based upon their belief that production would be lessened or its cost increased.

The desire of organized labor for the shorter work-day has no exceptions. That universal desire, it is now shown, is accompanied by a considerable willingness to quicken its realization by a temporary reduction of wages, or by the pledge of unrestricted output, when restriction is admitted. The belief is held by the majority of wage-earners that fewer hours of work would neither lessen production nor increase its cost. The experience of the building trades, where the eight-hour day has prevailed almost universally for several years, is cited as proof positive of this assertion.

The history of the eight-hour movement in the building trades shows that its initiation and progress have been the result of strikes. The import of the views of labor leaders and editors now is that the time is at hand when the movement can be extended in other trades through negotiation, without the use of the strike. They find apparent basis for this hope in the general recognition among employers of the economic benefit of the shorter work-day, if only it can be brought about gradually, so as not to disturb violently production and trade; uniformly, so that the innovation shall bear equally upon all; and upon such terms as shall not impair seriously the present margin of profit. The response of labor shows a disposition to meet these demands, where their necessity to business prosperity can be demonstrated.

Economists, leading publicists and journalists will next be invited to elucidate the general principles involved in the movement for fewer hours of toil. The purpose is to gather their well-considered thought upon the philosophy of the shorter work-day and its relation to industry, production, consumption, wages, and the cost and standard of living. Their disinterested judgment, following the expressions of both capital and labor, may be received as representing the attitude of the general public toward this subject.

STATISTICS THAT DO NOT APPLY.

Widespread comment and some criticism have been stirred by the bulletin of the Bureau of Labor at Washington, analyzing data of retail prices of food, wages and hours of labor, from 1890 to 1903. Partisan motives, sharply accentuated by a Presidential campaign, have caused both attack and defense of these data. From their economic consideration, these motives may be wholly excluded. The welfare of the individual wage-earner and its relation to the prosperity of the country at large may be considered quite apart from these arguments for or against the legislative and administrative policies of any political party.

What should interest labor and capital alike

upon scientific ground, is the patent fact that this report of the Labor Bureau has no pertinent bearing upon the present capacity of wage earning, or upon the present cost of living; nor does its compiler claim that it has. Its figures, in that view, are properly subject only to such criticism or defense as professional statisticians may make of the method of their collection and classification. They share the fault, perhaps inevitable, of all governmental statistics. They may enlighten retrospect, but as to the immediate present they are out of date. Even more disappointing examples of delay are reports of Stat. Commissioners of Labor. A report upon the "Growth of Industry in New York" has just made its appearance; yet this document is a part of the report of the Commissioner for 1902, and its statistics are no later than the year 1900.

The national labor bureau was confronted, while carrying forward its compilation, by an exceptional and sudden change in commercial and industrial conditions. It was as if the smooth pathway of its calculations had encountered an abrupt downward curve in prices and business activity that left its figures in the air.

The sharp midsummer panic of 1903, known as the "Wall Street panic," or "The millionaires' panic," had the wholesome effect of squeezing the water out of securities. To such dimensions had grown the rush to organize and reorganize industrial enterprises that their capitalization at that time was estimated at \$6,000,000,000. The collapse of some, such as the shipbuilding trust, and the disclosure of the limitations of others, such as the steel trust, caused a shrinkage of prices that extended throughout almost the entire list of securities. These financial phenomena were not alone distressing to over-confident investors. They checked the activity of capital in many industries.

Of these, the most familiar is that of transportation. Railroad companies that a year ago regarded large additional facilities as necessary to their traffic suspended new construction, throwing into idleness many thousands of workers. Iron, steel and coal were affected along with transportation. The trade year began with the acceptance by the bituminous miners of a cut in wages of 7½ per cent. Among steel workers there was a cut of from 15 to 30 per cent. in the wage scale, while at the present time there is a strike in this industry against a cut of from 25 to 60 per cent. The longshoremen on the Great Lakes accepted a reduction of 10 per cent. in their wages. Almost simultaneously the textile industry encountered speculative values for raw material and a shrinking market for its product. The consequent effort to reduce wages closed New England cotton mills. The metal trade industries, employing molders, machinists, boiler-makers, blacksmiths, etc., because of reduced orders began laying off men. Officers of the international unions of these trades became alarmed, and sent circular letters warning against demands for higher wages and expressing the hope that workers would be satisfied if they were able to maintain existing wages.

These are but the more conspicuous events directly affecting wages. But as it is a rule that in hard times lower wages are the economy of last resort, it is not surprising that the official figures for 1903 fail to disclose the lower earn-

ings which did not become prevalent until about January, 1904.

The danger of a misapprehension of statistics that do not apply to the present lies in its possible encouragement of mistaken tactics on the part of labor. For a series of years previous to 1903 there had been great business activity and large profits. Public opinion had strongly sympathized with the demand of organized labor that it share with capital the prosperity of the boom. Thus the captains of the wage-earners had been able to wrest many concessions from the captains of industry. When the period of shrinkage and depression arrived there was danger that the captains of wage-earners might not appreciate the changed conditions confronting them. The deciding factor in the ceaseless adjustment of the relations between capital and labor, public opinion, now recognized the fairness of a reasonable revision of wage scales. To continue demands for higher wages, which two years ago might have been warranted, was to fly in the face of forbidding circumstance. To strike against moderate reductions, as in the case of the meat strike, was to invite defeat in a contest most inopportune.

Conversely, there was danger that capital, with the opportunity to urge business necessity as a reason for economies, might push its reduction of wage scales to an unreasonable degree.

These are the reasons why both sides have been urged to moderation and to mutual forbearance, which would go far to secure the respect and future good-will of both. The belated official statistics of the labor bureau do not impair this counsel and should not change the policy of caution adopted generally last winter by leaders of labor and considerate employers.

UNIONS AND THE MILITIA.

An incident occurred during the recent convention of the International Typographical Union at St. Louis that has entirely escaped the notice of the daily press. Great prominence has been given to the isolated case at Schenectady, where a worker was expelled from a radical local union, because he was a member of a militia company. A committee reported adversely to the convention a resolution that "no member of the Typographical Union shall enlist in the service of any state in the United States as state guard, militiaman or ranger, under the penalty of expulsion and being barred from reinstatement."

A few advocates of this resolution tried to have the convention reverse the action of the committee and adopt the resolution. The chairman of the committee, Delegate Anderson, of Macon, Ga., defended its report. In the course of his remarks he quoted the lines of Sir Walter Scott. "Breathes there a man with soul so dead, Who never to himself hath said, This is my own, my native land." The quotation threw the convention into a tumult of enthusiasm and the resolution was rejected, amid cheers, by an overwhelming majority.

Surely this is an act by an international body of organized labor that merited as prominent publicity as was accorded to the lamented and local art of stupidity at Schenectady. It is in accordance with the opinion expressed by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who made the following reply to an inquiry:

Yes, a member of the State militia can be seated in a trade council. In fact the matter is so obvious that it ought not be open for discussion at all.

A man who is a wage earner and honorably working at his trade or calling to support himself and those dependent upon him has not only the right to become a citizen soldier, but that right must be unquestioned.

The militia, i. e., the citizen soldiery of the several States in our country, supplies what otherwise might take its place—a large standing army.

The difference between the citizen soldiery of the United States and the large standing armies of many European countries is the difference between a republic and a monarchy—it is the difference between the conceptions of liberty and tyranny.

Practically no mention was made in newspapers of the overwhelming rejection by the annual convention of the United Garment Workers of America of an anti-militia resolution. Had these events been more widely published, the prevalent but erroneous impression that unionism is opposed to the militia might, in a measure, be corrected.

INFORMATION FOR EMPLOYERS.

The Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation is prepared to furnish, upon request, a consulting agent to study the especial needs of employees in a given plant, advise the best methods of introducing such features of welfare work as may be deemed most essential, direct their installation, and, when required, recommend a permanent agent or "welfare manager" to administer the work.

A central bureau is maintained at the headquarters of the Welfare Department for the exchange of experiences by employers. Information with reference to the latest efforts by employers to give especial consideration to the physical or mental welfare of their employees may there be obtained. Some of the subjects covered are:

- Sanitary Work Rooms;
- Wash Rooms and Baths;
- Hospital Service;
- The Luncheon Room;
- Recreation;
- Educational Efforts;
- Housing of Labor;
- Pensions;
- Insurance Associations.

AGAINST SYMPATHETIC STRIKES.

The International Miners' Congress Side-Trackd a Perilous Proposition.

Suppose that a strike occurred in Austria, Belgium or Wales, what justification would that be for the miners of the United States to break their contracts? It would, as urged, "show that the miners were a world power," and it would also show that reason had been debased and folly had usurped its place. It would have been more to the point to have entered upon a scheme to render mutual financial aid. It was due to the eloquence and sound reasons advanced by Messrs. Mitchell and Dodds that the chimera was side-tracked.—"United Mine Workers' Journal."

A DRASTIC LABOR LAW.

An old labor law of England, in force 121 years ago, would satisfy the most radical member of the Manufacturers' Association. It contained the following six clauses:

1. Any tailor who joined a union was to be sent to jail for two months.
2. Tailors must work from 6 in the morning until 8 at night.
3. Wages were not to be higher than 48 cents a day.
4. Each tailor was to be allowed 3 cents for breakfast.
5. Any tailor who refuses to work was to be imprisoned for not more than two months.
6. If any employer paid bigger wages he was to be fined \$25, and the workmen who took the increase were to be sent to jail for two months.

Intelligent workers the world over favor voluntary arbitration for the settlement of trade difficulties, rather than being forced to submit their grievances to professional arbitrators.—"International Wood-Worker."

CONCESSIONS FOR SHORTER DAY.

(Continued from page 7)

As to granting concessions as to unrestricted output possibly my experience in the labor movement has not been extended enough to answer that question intelligently. However, I do not know of any organizations who sanction the restriction of the output. Certainly they do not in my organization, and I am sure that as a general proposition organized labor does not attempt to restrict the output.

As to your second question, I do not believe a short work-day would lessen production. Undoubtedly the individual would not be able to turn out as much work as under a longer work-day (although the difference would not be as much less in proportion to the number of hours worked), but there would be less idle people. The opportunity of obtaining employment would be greater, and in most industries there is a long period of idleness, and I believe a shorter work-day would result in more steady employment, and the same amount of output would result.

WAGES SOON RESTORED.

Thomas O'Donnell, Secretary Fall River Cotton Mule Spinners' Association:—My people would be willing to work less hours with a corresponding reduction in wages, as it would only be a short time when the wages would be restored to their former rate.

WORK UP TO THE LIMIT.

J. L. Sullivan, General Secretary Bartenders' International League:—In my opinion, organized labor should, in the first place do all in its power to attain the eight-hour day, and it should be willing to sacrifice the wage to obtain the effect; for in obtaining the eight-hour day, the dawn of a new era will be a fact instead of a fancy, and it will be but a short time when the employers will begin to realize that more can be accomplished by the eight-hour day than could be by the former long day. When the laborer can feel like working right up to the limit, he will be able to accomplish more, and do it better. This will be the result of the new order of things,—eight hours to work, eight hours of rest, and eight hours to play.

As for the other question, No, for I believe that any working-man can do as much work in eight hours as he can in ten.

GREATER VIGOR WILL MEET LABOR COST.

H. J. L. Atwood, Editor Union Labor News, Los Angeles, Cal.:—Organized labor should not, in my opinion, be asked to make a concession in wages for the reason that they, in no case, receive now more than a fair day's wage for an eight-hour day. The cost of a manufactured article should be fixed after allowing for all necessary cost of production. Not as is now done, i. e., making a price and then forcing the cost down so as to meet it.

As to the unrestricted output, will say frankly, that I know of no union regulation in any organization that restricts the output.

I am of the belief that a shorter work-day will not materially decrease the amount of production nor will it increase the labor cost after a short period when the workman has begun to get the full benefit of a more vigorous body and mind made possible by longer hours in which to rest and recuperate.

THE MUSICIANS' TENDENCY.

Owen Miller, Secretary American Federation of Musicians:—I am a representative of a business that cannot be classed as productive, but will say that in our business, since we have been organized, the tendency has been to reduce the hours of labor without reducing the price, as for instance: Formerly, we played from eight o'clock until five o'clock in the morning for \$5.00. That was reduced to 4 a. m. for the same price. Now, most of the musical unions in the country have adopted a system of charging \$4.00 for a ball until 2 a. m. and \$1.00 per man per hour for each hour thereafter. This would make a ball until 5 a. m., pay \$7, \$2 more than formerly for the same time, and until 3 a. m., the price would be \$5. Therefore we receive just as much now for seven hours' work, as we formerly did for nine hours' work, but of course we cannot apply the manner in which the musicians do business to any other class of labor.

WORKERS SHOULD AID EMPLOYERS.

Homer D. Call, Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of N. A.:—When an employer is willing to grant the eight-hour day, I believe that organized labor should be willing to assist him in his efforts to adjust his business to those conditions, even if it does in some instances necessitate a slight reduction in wages. We all fully understand that the large industries of the

country are operated under certain systems, which are based upon the ten-hour day and that they can not be successfully changed without some injury to the employer in some cases, and where those contingencies arise, I believe that organized labor should use judgment and be willing to meet the employer half way in his efforts to conform to the eight-hour day.

I do not believe that in the long run the shorter work-day would lessen the production or increase the labor cost. It might possibly temporarily, but I feel confident that a body of workmen after having become familiar with the workings of the eight-hour system would make an extra effort and be successful in producing fully as much in eight hours as they do under the present economic system in ten.

WAGES AND RESTRICTIONS MAY VARY.

Bert H. Beadle, President Watch Case Engravers' International Association:—I am heartily in favor of the eight-hour day. While of the opinion that this point cannot be gained all at once, I think that it is only a question of time until it will be granted. It is a question that cannot be taken up by one here and there, but one that will require the combined efforts of all manufacturers. Let them all agree to the eight-hour day, and you may be sure that when it comes to the workman he will not be lacking in his efforts to do his part. As to a reduction of the wage, that is a question that would require the consideration of those to whom it would apply directly; that is, to unions as unions, and is therefore a question that would be very hard to answer. It would be the same in regard to the restriction of output.

As to the increasing the cost of production, I do not think it would. The average man of to-day would, I think, if he be given an eight-hour day, more than do his share toward the betterment of himself and his employer, and would in no way throw stumbling blocks in the way of those who through this means had at least tried to aid him in bettering his condition.

A UNIVERSAL DATE SUGGESTED.

John F. Ream, Member National Executive Board, United Mine Workers of America:—To your first question, will say that as a matter of justice the wage-earners should be required to make no concessions for the purpose of making their work-day shorter. If, however, the work-day cannot be shortened without some concessions from the laborer, he should not hesitate to accept slight reduction in wages which, as your question implies, would not be permanent, for the purpose of shortening his day's labor. But it appears to me that with its strong combinations capital could easily shorten the hours of labor and still maintain the present rate of wages. I say this, because the prices of the manufactured articles would be fixed by the wages paid to workmen, so that if shortening the work-day increased the cost of production the employers would make the loss good by getting increased prices for their goods. The principal difficulty about securing the adoption of this great and much-needed reform is that each corporation employing workmen fears that it will be the first one called upon to make the concession, and will thus be placed at a disadvantage with its competitors. What is wanted to bring about the transition from a long work-day to a short one is for every man who works for wages to enroll himself a member of the union of his trade, have all trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and let that organization meet representatives of the employers of labor and fix a date on which eight hours shall, throughout the country, constitute a day's work.

To your second question, will answer that in many, perhaps in most trades the shorter work-day lessens production, nor do I regard the lessening of production per capita for the workman now employed as an evil.

NO LOSS UNDER NATIONAL AGREEMENTS.

Charles O. Sherman, General Secretary United Metal Workers' International Union:—I am not unmindful of the fact that the various labor organizations are endeavoring as fast as they believe it is feasible to shorten the hours of labor and I am quite familiar with the arguments made against the policy by the employers. In a sense, both sides are correct. There is no doubt but what the argument holds true that by shortening the hours of labor from nine to eight hours it would make an increase in the expense of production, but past experience has demonstrated that the increase in cost is not as high in percentage as quoted by those who object to shorter hours of labor.

In your second paragraph you ask "do I believe that organized labor should be willing to make concessions?" In reply to the same I will say that I have known of specific cases where labor has made concessions in the way of accepting lower wages, which would practically balance the difference when receiving the shorter work-day and feel that it might be necessary for some industries to grant such concessions temporarily.

From my observation of the shorter work-day, I feel that the greatest drawback in securing the same is through the employers who are not willing to have their labor organized. If any industry carried on in the United States is thoroughly organized and in a position to make a national agreement with all of the employers engaged in that industry, I cannot see where any loss could be brought about on any employers, for, if they all employ labor on the same basis of remuneration and the same number of hours work, it leaves them at liberty to go into the competitive market and every individual has an equal opportunity. Where the difficulty comes in and where the good employer is punished or suffers through the shorter work-day, is not through the fault of the union or the members, but it is the fault of the unfair employer who objects to his men being organized and does not permit them to place themselves in a position to move forward with other union men in the same industry.

I am the last one to consent to reduced wages in any trade, as I feel that I am quite well posted on the cost of production of most of our products in the United States and I am quite positive that there is a wide difference between the cost of production and the price placed on the same when put in the market and there are very few goods produced in the United States but what there is not a good, fair and, in some cases, large profit made from them. I am opposed to reduction in wages, as I cannot see what would warrant the same when taking into consideration the cost of everything that is used by the human family.

LOWER WAGES IMPOSSIBLE.

John E. Bruner, President International Union of Steam Engineers:—I give you my views from the standpoint of one who has been in close touch with both employer and employee.

To your first question I will say that under no consideration would I approve of a lower wage. The workmen of to-day, comparatively speaking, are receiving a lower wage than ever. Statisticians may collect a vast amount of data on this question, and attempt to prove by their figures that the workmen of to-day are receiving a better wage than ever before recorded, but the wage-earner himself will tell you that under the existing conditions, he and his family must more than ever deny themselves the actual necessities, to keep body and soul together.

I am of the opinion that every workman should give value received for his wage, and under that condition there will be no restricted output.

To the second question I will say that this question is broad in its scope. In cases where employers are working their men eighty-four hours per week, there is no doubt but that the cost of production will increase if the hours are reduced to fifty-six. But is it not a fact, that it is inhuman to insist that a man spend over one-half of his existence in the shop or factory, so that the margins of the employer may not be reduced? In the shop or factory where the hours were reduced from ten to nine, there has not been a lessened output. Conditions are changing so rapidly, and improved machinery is increasing the output of man to such an extent that the manufacturers' margin is as great, if not greater than ever.

The building trades are an object lesson to the employer as well as the wage-earner. The reduction of hours in these crafts has not lessened the output of the man. The work is more satisfactory and cost of production has not increased.

FOR UNIONS TO WIN.

George H. Taylor, General President International Glove Workers' Union of America:—I do not believe that organized labor should, or would agree to accept a reduction in wages for a shorter work-day. In fact, the very reverse is in the minds of men who toil; the "slogan" of labor for years past, and which is stronger and louder to-day than ever is, "Less hours and more pay."

As regards the apprehension of those employers who pretend to take such an interest in the moral welfare of their employees, as to where they would spend their extra hours of leisure, if such were granted, if they would look around and be willing to be convinced, they would find that long hours means ignorance, poor wages, poverty, drunkenness, and naturally poor citizens.

A shorter work-day would mean, a greater intelligence, a higher standard of manhood, better wages, more time for study and recreation, a chance to enjoy the pure air in the sunshine every day in the week instead of Sunday's only, and an opportunity to become acquainted with one's wife and family.

That the eight-hour day will succeed the ten-hour is certain, but working-men will have to fight and get it for themselves; it is human nature to wish for better conditions, and it's the labor unionist who is fighting for a better future, and a better nation; not only for himself, but also for those unfortunates who seem to have lost faith in mankind, and are willing to drift down with the current of events, a drag on their fellows, yet always willing to share in

any benefits that may be secured without any sacrifice to himself.

The supposition that the union restricts the quantity of production of a member's day's work is fallacious, and in my opinion arises from greed and thoughtlessness on the part of the employer. There appears to be a general impression, that a union man conceals a portion of his vitality, and it seems an impossibility to disabuse the minds of certain employers that such is not the case. As to what constitutes a day's work, a wide different opinion exists. The employer claims there is not enough work being done and the employee declares he is doing too much already. So far as my experience goes, it is the employer, and not the union who sets the task which constitutes a day's work, and in general, the task is based upon the quantity of work which the strongest and most speedy man can turn out; and when the average man is compelled to keep the pace thus set for him, anyone can imagine his physical condition at the end of ten hours' labor.

These, and other evils are created through the helplessness of unorganized labor, and later, when the men form a union, and as a body demand a voice in the matter as to what conditions they shall work under and insist upon different treatment, immediately a protest is raised by the employers against what they term the tyrannical and arbitrary conduct of the union.

CAPITAL INVESTED AT HIGHER INTEREST.

W. Macarthur, Editor "Coast Seamen's Journal," San Francisco:—I do not think it advisable or necessary that organized labor should accept lower wages in return for a reduction in the daily hours of labor. To do so would be to negate the benefit of the shorter work-day and to impose a positive and permanent loss upon the employers; whereas, under the system of maintaining wages at the old figure the loss to the employer, if any, is only relative and temporary. From the purely economic point of view, the purpose of reducing hours is to increase the consuming power of the worker. A reduction of wages would lessen the consuming power. In other words, to reduce the hours and keep up wages is to invest so much capital at an increased rate of interest; to reduce both hours and wages is to withdraw so much capital from the business and leave it entirely idle.

As to the question of conceding unrestricted output in return for shorter hours, I am unable to speak for the reason that I know of no instances of restriction in that regard. Probably such instances exist; in which case I am inclined to believe that they are based upon exceptional circumstances, of which only those personally concerned are competent to speak.

Generally speaking, it may be conceded that the reduction of hours lessens production and, where wages are maintained at the rate paid for the longer work-day, increases the cost of production. But that is merely saying that any improvement in industrial methods increases the initial cost. In the end, however, the most efficient labor, like the most efficient machine, is the cheapest—that is to say, it brings in the largest returns. The shorter work-day may cost more in wages, but it also brings back more in the form of an increased demand for the products of labor. If long hours means profitable production, we should find the American worker outstripped by the coolies of Asia and India. If lower wages is a natural or necessary accompaniment of the shorter work-day, we should find that wages generally are high as hours are long. As a matter of fact, we know that the opposite of these conditions is the universal rule.

"THE MEN BEHIND THE GUNS."

John Bradley, Chairman Executive Board, Iron Molders' Union of North America:—I do not believe in temporarily lowering the wage scale for the following reasons: The history of the wage-earner proves that when once lowered it is a difficult matter to have the employers agree to a restoration of wages to the former scale. Another objection is the increased cost of the necessities of life and a lowering of the present wage scale is likely to lead to untold miseries among the working classes, bringing on discord, strikes and lock-outs. These, I believe, we should avoid.

An unrestricted output in return for a shorter work-day would meet with my approval, providing the men in shops, "the men behind the guns," receive the encouragement given to the superintendents and others higher up, who, at the end of a successful year's business, are called before a board of directors and presented with diamond pins and voted handsome increase of salaries. This rarely occurs to the working-men, no matter how large may be the output.

That a shorter work-day lessens production or increases the labor cost of production, I do not believe, as in all instances coming under my observation where the change has been made to a shorter work-day, the output has not been diminished nor has the cost of production been increased.

A CURE FOR OVER-PRODUCTION.

John Roach, General Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America:—There seems to be a great difference of opinion as to the probable effect of the shortening of labor's work-day. The average laborer will expend as much muscle or brain power in eight hours as he did before in ten. I do not believe that he intends doing it, or that intelligent people who have kept apace with improvements in production expect the worker to work as hard to-day as he did in days of comparatively crude methods of production.

I believe the very idea of the shorter work-day is to lessen the laborer's burden by giving idle hands, unemployed hands vainly seeking employment, a part of his work to do. If as much work is performed in eight hours as was formerly done in ten, manifestly none of the unemployed will gain relief through the shorter work-day. I believe in the philosophy of the shorter work-day if it means a rest for the worker, a lessening of the expenditure of energy. The great evil all the civilized nations suffer from to-day is, not that they do not manufacture enough, but rather they make too much, so that a foreign market must be found for the surplus.

OUTPUT INCREASED WITHOUT CONCESSIONS.

James Cliffe, Secretary Operative Mule Spinners' Association of Rhode Island:—I believe the hours of labor should be reduced in our cotton mills, and favor a universal nine-hour law for cotton operatives. Of course, we could not expect our manufacturers in the North to run their mills nine hours while their competitors in the South are running from ten to twelve.

I do not believe that organized labor should be willing to make concessions of either temporarily lower wages or of unrestricted output. It is an admitted fact that whenever the hours of labor in our mills have been reduced, the output has always increased.

PRODUCTION AND COST UNCHANGED.

Thomas McDowell, Member Executive Board, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada:—I believe that a shorter work-day would result in better social conditions, but no concessions for lower wages. I don't believe in an unrestricted output.

A shorter work-day will not lessen production in this age of machinery, nor will the labor cost of production increase, for this has already been proven by manufacturers who have adopted this system. The manufacturers of glass bottles in connection with their employees have been working this way for twenty years, and would not make a change.

LOWER WAGES WOULD CHECK CONSUMPTION.

John P. Le Point, 3rd Vice-President, International Brotherhood Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphide and Paper Mill Workers:—I do not believe that organized labor should be willing to grant any concession, temporarily of a lower wage, for in my opinion the laboring class are the greater in number, and therefore said class are the greater consumers, and if deprived of the consuming power by accepting a lower wage would certainly flood the markets and consequently the employers would restrict the output of their manufacture in order to retain their prices. Therefore, the laborer must suffer from both sides and in my opinion it would be disastrous both to employer and employee.

I do not believe that a shorter work-day lessens production, because if a man turns out as much work in eight hours by paying close attention to his work as in ten hours, how can it increase the cost of production? I know of instances in the paper industry of shortening the hours from seventy-seven per week to sixty-five hours, and with one machine less, and less help, and said mills are turning out more production than ever before. Therefore, I believe the shorter work-day would lessen the cost of production by causing less wear and tear on machinery, instead of increasing the cost, and in such cases the employers as well as the employees have been satisfied and work to a much better advantage.

HOPE AND VIGOR SAVE MONEY.

Arthur E. Holden, of "Monthly Journal," International Association of Machinists:—I do not like the way this question is put. In the first place, there are two questions, that require a division. In the second place, there is a clumsy invitation to make an admission (concerning restriction of output) which I refuse to acknowledge with the bulk

of the trade-unions in the United States. First, I believe that if organized capital is at all sincere and really desires to know how to obtain a shorter work-day without great loss, they should be willing to meet their organized employees and let each figure the question out scientifically and fairly, and let whatever losses might occur (and I believe they are largely in the imagination) be equitably shared by the employer and the employee. They will soon find out with a fair, honest experiment what they are, and remedies will soon be forthcoming, by the ingenuity of men who are conscientiously trying to accomplish an honorable task.

The restricted output talk is mere hush and bugaboo; it is not general, and never was, only to this extent: when a man has to get up in the morning at 6, rush to work by 7, rush at his mid-day meal like a half-famished wolf, rush for a car at night and hang on by a strap for another hour before he gets a square meal for the day, putting in 13 hours instead of 8, all under a strain and exhausting on nerve,—this makes a natural and unavoidable restriction of output, that all the worrying, and all the driving and nagging of modern industrialism cannot replace. It is positively out of the question; human flesh and blood are not equal to it. It is the most horrible reflection upon the results of several generations of training in the American schools and universities that we have not been able to muster enough intelligence to direct affairs industrially without putting in all the hours of the day, and many that properly belong to the night, in order to be able to make a living for the bone and sinew of the land.

As to your second question, I can draw from an experience which has covered thirty years in some of the largest machine shops in this country and that of England. I have also worked for some of the largest corporations in positions of trust, where mechanical accuracy and production were required of a high grade.

During that time I have found that the shorter work-day lessens production as a total product. The amount that was produced in ten hours is less than what is produced in eight hours. The proportionate amount that is produced in one hour on the ten-hour basis is not as much as that produced in an hour on the eight-hour basis, because of the human fact mentioned in the previous answer, which is this: Men are fresher and brighter; as a consequence they have more vim and vigor, they are better tempered, there is more energy left for work and less required for brooding. This affects the supervising force equally with the underlings. Any business man can therefore see the saving of fixed charges, less coal, less gas, less friction on machinery, less everything which makes the cost of production high.

What is wanted more than anything else at this time is a little more common-sense and less passion. None are exempt: we are practically all alike; but a suggestion to the man with the dollar may not be out of place. Let him exercise a trifle more human thoughtfulness, let him become more confident and less suspicious, let him put more trust in the honor of the toiler who may be only a drudge. He can save many dollars on what now goes to waste by the extraordinary effort to increase the number of non-producers, like clerks and foremen, who make more trouble than what is avoided, and make the path ready for tedious labor fights that are scarcely ever necessary beyond the fact that these meddlers presume it is necessary for them to earn their pay by making trouble.

Friction, worry, suspicion, envy and jealousy are the poorest kind of investments. They injure the worker, spoil the boss, and deteriorate the product. Substitute hope, sunshine, vigor, fairness and honor. They pay. I have had many chances to put them in practice for men who have made millions, and there are millions left to be made by sensible men who will read these few words from a humble worker and get some stock, which cannot be purchased on any stock exchange, but which can be personally manufactured by all.

THE ARGUMENT OF EXPERIENCE.

James P. Archibald, President New York District Council, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers:—Temporary lower wages may in some cases be conceded as a method of getting the shorter work-day. Restriction is already rare. No, the shorter work-day will not increase cost of production nor lessen output.

I have prepared some observations upon the history of the achievement of the shorter day in the building trades and its result.

It is an important fact that the eight-hour day now obtains throughout the building trades in the United States. The history of how this condition was brought about is pertinent. The first practical step was taken in 1866, when the first National Trades Congress, held in Baltimore, adopted a resolution favoring the eight-hour day and appealing to the unions in the several States to agitate the cause

and to obtain official bureaus of statistics to prove its practicability. In the same year the Journeymen Stone Cutters of North America ordered strikes for the eight-hour day. They were successful, and that is the single trade that has maintained the eight-hour day, without interruption, from that time to this.

The movement progressed in other trades with varying success. The agitation was reflected in the introduction of eight-hour bills in Congress, the first of which was presented by Representative George Julian of Indiana in 1867. In 1871, the local organization of painters in New York City struck for the eight-hour day. This strike soon involved nearly every union in the city, the length of the day then prevailing being from ten to eleven hours. Many mass meetings were held and several bloody riots occurred. Year after year saw May Day demonstrations for the shorter day. These kept the subject before the public in all the large cities.

In 1866, the American Federation of Labor formally declared in convention at Cleveland in favor of the universal eight-hour work-day. There was a rivalry among the affiliated national unions for the distinction of leading in the fight. The Cleveland convention selected the Brotherhood of Carpenters to head the movement. That Brotherhood ordered many local strikes, which were so successful that within a year or two many strikes occurred in other building trades. By 1890 the movement had progressed so far that the eight-hour day had become established throughout many building trades, although in some, where the ten-hour or longer day had been the practice, a compromise on nine hours was effected. From 1890 even these exceptions grew more and more rare, until by 1896 it could be said that eight hours had become practically universal throughout the building trades in the United States. There are, it is asserted, not more than a dozen towns of noteworthy size where the old longer day still holds.

"Inferior habits are as much the cause as they are the result of lower wages," wrote John Stuart Mill. "Reducing the hours of labor acts more directly on the habits of the people than any other measure heretofore proposed." How far is the truth of these propositions proved by the actual experience of the building trades in New York City?

The habits and the standards of life among all the 800,000 workers, of all grades, in the building trades in New York City have been visibly and materially elevated since 1886. This is clearly the result of the shorter work-day, which has enabled the heads of families to devote more time to all phases of their education. The consequent elevation of thought causes a more refined home life, improved dwellings and a higher standard of morality.

I wish to emphasize the fact, also, that higher wages have followed the shorter day throughout the building trades. For example, wages of marble-cutters, electrical workers, carpenters, painters, structural iron-workers, varnishers, have doubled or nearly doubled, while the wages of all other building trades have been largely increased. The statement that less hours of labor means less wages is historically untrue and is based upon a false theory of the law governing wages. If wages were regulated by the number of hours of work, then wherever the day's work is longest wages would be highest, and where the day's work is shortest wages would be lowest. Exactly the reverse is true. Civilization follows the line of the shorter work-day, and means the highest purchasing power of a day's labor.

The assertion is frequently made that restricted output prevails in the building trades. I have ascertained that quite as much and in many cases more work is now accomplished in these trades in eight hours as was formerly done in ten. As to arbitrary restrictions, I have made an investigation which shows that there is but one union among the building trades in New York City that fixes a limit to the amount of work that a man may do in a day. That is in the plasterers' union, which has a trade agreement, satisfactory to the employers, limiting the quantity of a day's work for each man. But in that case, the standard is fixed so high that it not infrequently happens that a journeyman fails to reach it; and it is the custom for his faster fellows then to make up his deficiency.

OUTPUT HAS NOT BEEN LESSENE.

J. C. Skemp, General Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:—Organized labor considers the shortening of the hours of labor a matter of the most vital importance, and is prepared to make many sacrifices to secure the shorter work-day. A reduction in wages may appear to be the most practical method of securing the consent of the employers to the desired change, but as the wages paid to 90 per cent. of the wage workers are barely sufficient to enable them to exist, the adjustment of the matter by a reduction of wages is impossible. It would mean the lowering of the standard of life below the point necessary for the maintenance of the physical welfare and self-respect of American working-men. I feel confident that should any employer who advocates this method

of adjustment temporarily confine his expenditure to the income of the average wage worker minus 20 per cent., he would agree with me that a reduction in the wages commensurate with the shortening of the hours of labor is out of the question.

I believe in removing arbitrary restrictions upon the quantity of production, which, if they exist at all in the United States, do so to a very limited extent. In the building trades with which I am most familiar, there are no such restrictions. They have been attempted in one or two instances locally, but have never been enforced or advocated by any national organization of the building trades.

In the building industry the adoption of the eight-hour day has not lessened the amount of work accomplished. Keen competition has resulted in every man upon a building being compelled to perform as much labor as he is physically able to do, and in many instances more work is now performed in the eight-hour day than ever was done when the ten-hour day was in vogue. I believe this same condition prevails in every trade where the labor of the worker is not regulated by the machine he operates. Of course, men who operate machines can not perform as much labor in eight hours as they can in ten hours unless the machinery is operated proportionately faster, but in such industries it is unprofitable to run a machine faster than it can be properly attended to by the man in charge of it, and he is compelled to regulate his work and reserve his strength so that he may be able to complete his day's work. If he has to work ten hours, he will expend his energy so much more slowly than he would if he knew his labors only lasted for eight hours.

Consequently it is my belief that the shorter work-day would lessen production in but few instances, and would not increase to any considerable extent the labor cost of production.

Personally I believe in the regulation of the hours of labor and the fixing of a minimum wage by law. This has been done successfully in the Australian colonies and New Zealand, and although this is denied by many newspapers opposed to governmental regulation of such matters, the fact remains that the people of Australia would not consider for a moment the repeal of the eight-hour laws which have been in effect for a number of years.

This sentiment is not confined to trades-unionists, but is the sentiment of the entire people, and is the best kind of proof that these laws are effective and beneficial.

If, as a matter of public policy, it is wise to maintain public schools, to support which every citizen is taxed, whether he has children to educate or not,—if for the national welfare we are justified in regulating the age at which children shall be employed and the hours and conditions under which women shall work, is it not equally to the national interest to guard the physical welfare of our wage-working citizens, and to ensure to them sufficient wherewith to feed, clothe and educate themselves and their families in a manner befitting the citizens of an enlightened country?

NO REDUCTION, NO RESTRICTION.

Frank Buchanan, President International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:—It is generally conceded that the eight-hour day in labor is productive of the best results to the country, in that it gives the laboring man a chance to have a part of his time to the improvement of his own mind, and takes him out of the category of the draft horse.

The objections upon the part of the employer to the eight-hour day are based upon (1) the increase of the cost of production, (2) that it restricts the output.

To the first of these objections, I would say that the work produced by men working eight hours a day would fully equal the work produced by men working ten hours. Because of the added rest and the renewed zest of the employee, a man working steadily and consistently for eight hours will accomplish more than the man who drags through ten hours, just as the fresh draft horse will draw more than the overworked draft horse.

Aside from this, it is well known that there is an over-production in all industries, and the result is frequent shut-downs. By the eight-hour system the work would be more continuous and the result the same. Again, I would say that while the hours are shortened, the wages should not be reduced, because, as I have stated, the amount of work produced by men working eight hours would equal, or nearly equal, the amount produced by men working ten hours; and moreover, it must be remembered that if the eight-hour system is uniformly adopted by all employers, it eliminates this item of the cost of production from competition and affects all alike, so that if it should be added to the cost of production, as is always the case, it would necessarily come out of the general public, of which the working man goes to make up the bulk, and if any one has cause to complain it would certainly not be the employer.

So far as foreign competition is concerned, the tariff has always seemed to be able to take care of that. Moreover, the increased facilities of machinery and modern labor-saving inventions has in-

creased the working capacity of the men a great many times, so that a man working eight hours today can produce a great many times the amount that a man working ten hours could produce a few years ago, and there is still room for improvement.

In regard to the restriction of the output, no fair-minded union man objects to unlimited production. The vital question affecting the output is the amount of consumption, and necessarily always will be.

In this brief synopsis I have eliminated the moral and humanitarian view of the subject, about which I could write a volume.

NO RESTRICTION IN PRACTICE.

James Duncan, National Secretary-Treasurer Granite Cutters' National Union:—It is a healthy sign of the times that many employers not now using the shorter work-day, or what we call the eight-hour system, are looking with more favor upon it than heretofore, but when they offer new thought on that subject simply as a condition that workers shall consider the removal of restrictions upon the quantity of product, they are dealing with a practical versus a theoretical situation. I have endeavored to set forth in as strong language as I could, that in as far as our trade is concerned and those with which we are closely allied, there is no such thing as a limit to production. It is true that both employers and employees are taking more kindly in recent years to the day work system than to piece-work, but wherever the piece-work system is a practical feature in the output of a manufactured article, employers have the option of hiring either by the day or by the piece, as they see fit. If workers are employed by the day, the trade agreement, which in importance should be considered along the lines of a Magna Charta or our own Declaration of Independence in this country, names a minimum wage rate for the established work-day, and employer and individual workman may agree for as much more than that per day as may be mutually arranged.

If piece-work is followed, the trade agreement is right there with its practical utility. The piece scale suggests the pace, and the workers employed are paid according to the amount they produce. It is not true that at any time the trade-union movement calls upon or requires employers to pay the same price to a slow workman that is paid to a fast workman.

Experience proves beyond question of doubt that the eight-hour work-day is not detrimental to the amount of output, and thereby causing an increase in the cost of production. Practical management and the desire of the workmen to perform a day's work adjusts those matters, so that employers in my own trade, for instance, will promptly aver that granite cutters are doing as much per diem on the eight-hour day as they were previously doing on the nine-hour day. All told, the reduction to eight hours is beneficial both to employer and employee. It gives additional opportunity of social intercourse to both, and the more that is enjoyed, the better both become. I desire, therefore, to be quoted as urging, as far as possible, the fullest introduction of the eight-hour work-day and as giving bona-fide evidence that the shorter work-day does not increase the cost of the finished product.

NO CONCESSIONS AND HIGHER COST.

Alfred See, Vice-President Branch 3, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:—Question 1 implies that there is a reserve of energy not yet put forth by American wage-earners, which certainly does not apply to the building industry, in which eight hours already prevails in the United States. It is equivalent to getting "net" quotations and then expecting discounts. No! I do not believe that organized labor would, or should, be willing to obtain shorter hours by the concession of lower wages or attempting to keep pace with record-breaking specialists, bell-horses, or by whatever term those hacks of the sub-contractor and lumper are known.

Question 2. Messrs. Woods, Jenks & Co., of Cleveland, O., in 1890 conceded the nine-hour work-day, the operatives in planing-mill undertaking to produce the same amount as under the ten-hour day, which condition they were unable to fulfil. The reasons are apparent. Wherever machinery is applied, manual labor is brought into competition with, instead of co-operation with, a social product which should be socially used for the betterment of the largest part of society, not for its demoralization. Therefore, this question, relating as it does to actual practical methods of production, must be answered in the affirmative: Yes! I do believe, and know, that a shorter work-day lessens production in all cases where machinery is running, and time is a more important factor than in the case of mental operations. Will a shorter work-day increase the labor cost? Yes! it would and should, is the opinion of most labor students.

A MATHEMATICAL ILLUSTRATION.

James F. McHugh, General Secretary-Treasurer Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association:—I note that

the shorter work-day has many friends among the larger employers. They appear to dread, though, that the eight-hour day will increase cost of production. I do not see how this could enter into the matter as the men are employed by the hour, and are only paid for the number of hours worked. I do not think the unions should lower their wages in order to secure a shorter work-day, and should not ask for nine hours' pay for eight hours' work.

I do not believe that the short-hour-day lessens production, for if an employer has a piece of work to perform within a limited time, he will increase his force, and that is the real reason that the worker strives for the shorter working day. It furnishes employment to a larger number of men, and at no increase of cost, for if an employer had twenty men working ten hours to complete a job in one week at 50 cents per hour it would cost \$600. At eight hours a day twenty-five men would be employed whose wages would amount to \$600. This same rule would apply whether twenty men were working or 20,000.

PUT HEART INTO WORK.

Lawrence H. Fitzgerald, General President, Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association of North America:—Where the employer has various interests (for instance, the manufacturer who has accepted orders for goods in advance of any knowledge of extra cost of production on the part of the workman), I believe it would be only showing the proper spirit on the part of employees to accept temporary reduction in wages, except in cases where the wage is so small that further reduction would work a hardship on the employee. In such a case I believe it would be not only fair on the part of the employee, and justice to the employer, but that it would redound to the mutual interest of all concerned.

As a general proposition, I have always favored and so advised the organization desiring to secure the eight-hour day to first secure the reduction of the hours of labor, and that in due time the wage question would regulate itself. To illustrate this by a case in point: The stone-cutters of New York City some thirty-five years ago made a demand for an eight-hour day. The employers refused to yield, but made the offer to raise the ten-hour scale from \$4 to \$5. This offer the stone-cutters refused to accept, but agreed to accept \$2.50 as the scale for an eight-hour day. The result was that a year from that date the wage had so regulated itself that the stone-cutters were receiving the ten-hour scale for an eight-hour day.

As to the cost of production: There are certain kinds of labor where the brain and muscle are taxed to produce, where it has been proven that the same amount of work is now produced in eight hours as was produced when the ten-hour day was in vogue. This is a recognized and an acknowledged fact in the building trades.

As a general proposition, better results will accrue to all concerned by recognizing the short-hour work-day. The employee now working the ten-hour day very often becomes so fatigued that he loses heart in his work long before the hour for quitting has arrived. Give him the eight-hour day and he will put his heart in his work. Combined with the energy and force that he sometimes grudgingly spent on his ten-hour task will now be focussed on the one point, with the one end in view, to produce in eight hours what he formerly produced in ten.

WITH CONCESSIONS, OUTPUT NOT LESSENE.

T. E. Burns, 1st Vice-President International Shingle Weavers' Union:—I do believe that organized labor should make some concessions for a shorter work-day, both in reduction of wages on men receiving over 20 cents an hour and in unrestricted output.

I believe that an eight-hour day would not lessen production to a great extent, as many factories and mills would run 16 hours where they only run 10 now and 24 hours where they run 20 now. I believe it will increase the labor cost of production very little.

No doubt agreement evasions, and subterfuges, reward, more or less, those indulging in them, with the self-satisfaction that they got the best of the other fellow, but the practice is invidious and is simply carrying on the strife, in another way, that the agreement aims to get rid of. Whether indulged in by workers or employers, agreement evasion and subterfuges are not only wrong but injurious, and often cost more than the gain expected from them.—"Shoe Workers' Journal."

More than 100 labor unions in Cleveland, Ohio, will be united into one great organization, to be known as the United Trade and Labor Council. A large building will be erected for the organization, to be used exclusively as a labor temple.

TRADE AGREEMENTS APPLIED TO OPERA AND THE DRAMA.

ORGANIZED THEATRICAL MANAGERS, MUSICIANS AND STAGE EMPLOYEES CONVERT "DISCORD" INTO "HARMONY," PREVENTING "DARK" PLAYHOUSES

Lovers of music and those who enjoy theatrical performances will be interested in the introduction into that field of formal trade agreements between organized labor and organized employers. These agreements are between the musicians' union of New York, known as "Local 310," the Theatrical Protective Union, and the Association of Theatre Managers of Greater New York. In addition to their novelty, these agreements are of interest because of the negotiations which led up to their formation, as they illustrate throughout the value of candid conference between the authorized representatives of opposing interests.



ROLAND PHILLIPS

It is certain that had not the two sides in this controversy been organized and had not these conferences been held, the resulting harmony would not have been attained. Instead, the relations between the orchestras and the managers would have been "jangled and out of tune," millions of habitual theatre-goers would have been deprived of their accustomed entertainment, the business of the managers would have suffered and the employment of thousands of artists, actors, singers, stage hands and others dependent upon the prosperity of public entertainments for their livelihood would have encountered serious and costly interruption, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the United States. For the controversy in its possible developments, had it not been thus converted into an agreement, might have involved every play-house in the country, from the Metropolitan Grand Opera House to the rural "one-night stand."

The New York Civic Federation was invited to exercise its good offices in harmonizing the differences between the musicians and the managers as to rates of payment, substitutes, rehearsals and minor details, because of its success in bringing about an agreement between the managers and the Theatrical Protective Union. That union is composed of mechanical and other stage employees. Through the Civic Federation, Mr. Phil Kelly, representing that union, was brought into communication with the managers.



JOSEPH WEBER

A conference was held, on May 12, at which all the managers in the city, with a few exceptions, who were out of town, were present; while the union was represented by Messrs. Kelly, John H. Cunningham and John J. Taylor. The managers presented a series of rates of wages and conditions of employment. To these demands the union representatives demurred, pointing out that there had been no increase in their wages for many years. They presented the reasons for their attitude, which explained away many details which the managers had considered as grievances. This conference was so satisfactory that at its conclusion many of the managers voluntarily expressed themselves as satisfied with a continuance of existing arrangements, and as impressed with the intelligence and diplom-

acy of the union representatives. Subsequently, in Milwaukee, in July, this arrangement was commended by the national convention of the Theatrical Protective Employees. Certain special arrangements desired by Manager Conried for stage employees in grand opera were left open for adjustment later in the season, with every prospect of amicable arrangement.



A. L. ERLANGER

In the meantime, Manager Conried had become so interested in trade agreements that he attended the conference upon that subject, held on May 7, at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. He listened attentively to the addresses of Francis P. Robbins, John Mitchell and others. When invited to speak himself, Mr. Conried said emphatically: "I did not come here to make a speech, but to learn how to apply the principle of trade agreements to the production of grand opera, through a rational arrangement with musicians and theatrical employees."

The Musical Mutual Protective Union of New York City had been for thirty-five years an independent local body, chartered by the Legislature, without connection with any national organization save for a brief association with the National League of Musicians. It had held aloof from other organizations in the belief that, as artists, its members could command a market of their own and that their service and skill would be sufficient to secure from managers the rates of payment fixed by their local union. But an officer of the union says that experience demonstrated that some managers would pay individual musicians as little as their circumstances might force them to accept. It was found, says this officer, that the union scale of rates for musicians was maintained in only three or four theatres in the city, while in several theatres members of the union were playing for less than the wages of unskilled manual laborers.

This condition convinced the members of the Musical Mutual Protective Union that only through connection with organized labor as a whole could they secure a scale of wages, both living and uniform, and also commensurate with their artistic worth. They therefore sought affiliation with the national body, the American Federation of Musicians, which is itself affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This was accomplished through amalgamation with "Local 41," the New York branch of the national body. The reorganized union was designated "Local 310" of the American Federation of Musicians; and thus, in July, 1903, the former Musical Mutual Protective Union became a part of national organized labor.

In August, 1903, "Local 310" appointed a committee to visit the theatrical managers one by one and make with them individual agreements, thus causing the union rates to prevail in every theatre. These negotiations were successful, although pro-

longed into the autumn. But the individual managers, after making these concessions, determined to combine on their side, and formed "The Association of Theatre Managers of Greater New York."

One incident of the season of 1903-4 that attracted much public attention, while contributing to the antagonism felt by at least some of the managers to the musicians' union, was the enforcement of a rule that its members should not perform with non-members. This was a rule of long standing. But as women artists were not eligible to membership, in the old union, this rule did not apply to them; so that a lady harpist, for example, could be accompanied by union musicians without difficulty. But qualified feminine artists were eligible to membership in the reorganized union, as a part of the American Federation of Musicians. This brought them

under the operation of the old rule, from which they had been exempt. Accordingly, the union, to be consistent, felt itself obliged to insist that a lady harpist, before being accompanied by any of its members, should herself become a member, after passing the regular examination as to her professional capacity.

Early in April, 1904, the Association of Theatre Managers issued what was regarded as an ultimatum. So far as this related to the Theatrical Protective Association an agreement was reached as previously narrated. A preliminary conference was held on May 13, relating to the terms and conditions of the employment of musicians. It was decided then to postpone the subject until after the national convention of the American Federation of Musicians, which met in New York on May 16. That

convention authorized Local 310 to confer, through a committee, with the organized managers. The managers' ultimatum set forth a list of what they held to be grievances. The union welcomed the prospect of a conference, and appointed a committee of five to meet the managers. The committee of the New York Civic Federation, which was invited to join in the negotiations, was composed of Roland Phillips, chairman; R. H. Jaffrey, Samuel B. Donnelly, Henry White, Charles Delaney, V. Everit Macy and James P. Archibald. The committee representing the musicians' union consisted of Frank Evans, Frank J. Hauser, Ernest H. Clarke, Maurice F. Smith and James Beggs. The executive committee of the managers authorized A. L. Erlanger to meet the committee of the musicians together with the committee of the Civic Federation. Previous to

this two conferences had been held with Mr. Erlanger which produced no definite result, and the negotiations might have ended there, had not the Conciliation Committee of the Civic Federation persuaded Mr. Erlanger to agree to the appointment of a special committee of as many managers as there were members of the union's committee. Accordingly, the managers sent as their representatives to



JAMES BEGGS



MAURICE F. SMITH



OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN



PHIL KELLY



HENRY W. SAVAGE

the next conference A. L. Erlanger, Marc Klaw, Oscar Hammerstein, Henry W. Savage and Al. Hayman. These committees took up one by one the list of the concessions demanded from the union by the managers, and the list of prices and conditions demanded of the managers by the union. As these discussions went on, it became evident that progress would be more rapid if the committees were somewhat smaller. Accordingly, the union formed a committee of three—James Beggs, Maurice F. Smith and Edwin Walther. With them acted Joseph Weber President of the American Federation of Musicians. To confer with them the managers deputized Messrs. Erlanger, Savage, Hammerstein and Hayman.



AL. HAYMAN

The series of conferences brought out strikingly that the matters in dispute, many of which the managers regarded as grievances, were largely the result of misunderstandings. There was much complaint on the part of the managers of various acts which they considered as discourtesies and as interfering with the effective and harmonious presentation of public entertainments. It was disconcerting, for example, when an individual player had become familiar with his part to have a green substitute suddenly appear in his place at a rehearsal or a performance. The managers required that no substitutes should come to the theatre without the previous consent of the leader. They were surprised when it was pointed out to them that the union itself made this very requirement, Section 6 of its by-laws reading as follows:

Any member accepting an engagement from another member and disappointing him, shall be fined to the amount of the engagement, and it shall be deemed an offense equal to a disappointment, and fined accordingly, for a member to take an engagement and send a substitute, without the consent of the person that engaged him.

Several causes of dispute were also quickly adjusted when mutual explanations were made. In short, the progress of these conferences was a continuous demonstration, to both the committees of the two sides and to the committee of the Civic Federation, of the effectiveness of frank discussion, face to face, between men whose interests had been at variance through many years, and who had now been brought together for the first time.

Upon point after point agreement was reached. At the final conference there remained but one question in dispute,—that of free or paid Sunday rehearsals. Each side made an extreme demand. The union asked payment for all Sunday or evening rehearsals, to be limited to four hours. The managers wished Sunday rehearsals to be free, day or night, but assented to their limitation to four hours. The musicians urged that many of them had opportunities to earn money through private engagements on Sunday evenings. A compromise was reached by which the union granted a free Sunday rehearsal once every six weeks, from 3 to 7 p.m., payment to be at the rate of \$1 per hour after 7.

In consideration of the acceptance of the union rates by the managers, the union representatives agreed to a special schedule for the production of grand opera in English. This was because it was shown to them by Manager Savage that the receipts must be less than for grand opera in a foreign

language, while the large number of persons employed in a representation of "Parsifal" in English made the concession of special rates of payment essential to the reasonable pecuniary success of the enterprise. It was agreed that higher rates of payment were warranted for the musicians engaged in Manager Heinrich Conried's productions.

A comparison of the two sets of demands, as they stood at the beginning of these conferences, will show how far apart they were then. The differences related to grand opera in English, to dramatic musical comedies, extravaganzas and comic opera; and to vaudeville, burlesque and popular price houses.



JOHN MITCHELL

The managers made the following propositions, applying to all these classes of performances:

All members have the right to engage their musicians and leaders, subject to the rules and discipline of the house in which musicians perform. No substitutes will at any time be permitted, unless agreed to by the managers. No extra pay when required to play behind the scenes. The manager shall have the right to engage extra musicians for appearance before an audience. No extra charge for Sunday rehearsals, day or night. No rehearsal longer than four hours in duration.

The counter proposition of the union for all classes of performances was:

Agent or leader engaging musicians must be member of the organization. Have no objections to rules and discipline of the house in which musicians perform, provided such rules are not at variance with above conditions. The question of substitutes rests between the manager and the leader solely. No extra pay when required to play behind the scenes. (This does not apply to grand opera.) Musicians appearing before an audience, such as stage bands, etc., must be engaged by agent or leader who is a member of the organization. Sunday or evening rehearsals must be paid. No rehearsal over four hours in duration.

Yet these opposing propositions were reconciled, through patient conference, into an agreement which, it is hoped, will result in harmony, without as well as within the play-houses.

RACIAL LABOR STATISTICS.

Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, has made an exhaustive study of the census negro statistics, and presents some valuable information bearing upon the industrial situation in the Southern States. One fact relating to the future labor supply in the South is that the negro population is not increasing as fast as the white, in that part of the country. The increase among the negroes in twenty years, from 1880 to 1900, was 33.1 per cent., while for the same period the increase in white population for the same section was 56.5 per cent. Moreover, the rate of increase among the negroes is constantly declining. Of interest to cotton growers is the increasing tendency among the negroes to leave the rural regions for cities, although the great majority of the race still live in the country districts. The percentage of negroes engaged in gainful occupations to the total negro population was in 1900, for the entire country, 45.2, against 41.1 in 1890. For the Southern States the percentage in 1900 was 44.7 against 40.7 in 1890.

No contract should be more sacred than the trade agreement of organized labor. It is a matter of honor between the contracting parties that is neither circumscribed by surety companies' bonds nor by compulsory edicts which enslave the body or dwarf the mind. It is regrettable that in too many instances these principles are violated both by the unscrupulous employer and by ignorant or unadvised workmen; but such mistakes should not be viewed as the failure of the labor movement any more than the collapse of a business venture should be considered a slap to civilization.—James Duncan, Secretary Granite Cutters' Union.

STRUCTURAL BUILDING TRADES ALLIANCE. A New International Combination of National Unions, Designed to Promote Industrial Peace Through Trade Agreements and Arbitration.

A new international labor organization has been formed, called the Structural Building Trades Alliance of America. It is designed so to regulate the organized building trades as to bring about harmony between employers and employed throughout that industry, to encourage the investment of capital



FRANK BUCHANAN

in structural operations, to substitute arbitration for strikes or lock-outs, and to make impossible anywhere such a situation as has existed of late in the building trades in New York City. The General President of this new organization is Frank Buchanan, President of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Mr. Buchanan said of this new combination of unions:

"We hope for the co-operation of employers in the building trades who are friendly to labor in carrying forward this movement. The Building Trades Alliance will say to such employers, who will organize, we hope, on their side, if they will enter into trade agreements affording fair conditions to the building-trade craftsmen of the country, we will see that your work proceeds regularly, without stoppage. We desire to create a status of stable harmony that will free capital from any hesitation as to investment in structural operations, because of fear of troubles with labor. This is a new step in national labor organization. We wish the step to be at a walking rather than at a running pace. We would make haste slowly. While we are progressing, we would invite suggestions from employers. We wish their comradeship in this advance toward industrial peace and we shall welcome friendly advice."

The recent history of this movement begins with an informal meeting at Indianapolis on August 18, 1903, attended by George Gubbins, then president of the Bricklayers' National Union; Michael Carrick, secretary of the Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Frank Duffy, secretary of the Carpenters' and Joiners' International Brotherhood; Herman Lillian, president of the Building Laborers' International Union; and Frank Buchanan. These men considered plans to unite the national organizations of the building trades, with fair terms as to membership and allotment of work and with the general idea of formulating methods as to prevent industrial war. Their meeting sent communications to the national organizations of building trades, requesting them to send three delegates each to a convention at Indianapolis on October 8, 1903. That convention was attended by delegates from the national organizations of bricklayers, carpenters, painters, hoisting engineers, plasterers, building laborers, bridge and structural iron workers and electricians. They formed a preamble and constitution, which were referred to the several organizations for approval and which were formally adopted, at the first regular convention of the Alliance, held at Indianapolis on August 8-11, 1904.

The preamble to this constitution declares that its purposes are: The establishment of local and international boards of arbitration to settle disputes without strikes; to give international sympathetic support, when necessary, to all trades affiliated, when local boards fail to adjust difficulties; to safeguard the interests and to protect the autonomy of the trades represented; to keep agreements with employers inviolate; to avoid strikes by substituting arbitration; to annihilate dual and rival bodies and assist only unions affiliated with their respective national and international unions; to maintain fraternal relations with central bodies and to emphasize the necessity of a centralization of organized wage-earners.

A local union is just what the members make it. If it isn't right don't kick, but go to work in an earnest manner to make it right. That's the way to accomplish something.—"Union Label."



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS



EDWIN WALTHER

WELFARE WORK INVOLVING PROVISION FOR PHYSICAL COMFORT.

I.—VENTILATION OF THE FORGE SHOP AND ROLLING MILL, AND LIGHT WORK ROOMS FOR FACTORIES, WITH PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

In the August issue of *The Monthly Review* a general discussion of Welfare Work appeared. It was defined briefly as follows:

Welfare Work.

Welfare work involves special consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed; opportunities for recreation; educational advantages; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes; its application to be measured by the exigencies of the case. Plans for saving and lending money, in-

sured with a man as with a plant, nothing produces health and strength like good air and daylight. They practically mean life to the workman, and he is certainly entitled to them if there is any way of getting them for him.

"In the rolling mill and forge in which the writer is superintendent, we have never ceased experimenting along this line. In the rolling mill, time and time again we have had men give out at the rolls, and at times in very hot weather were obliged to shut down the entire mill, the workmen thereby losing their wages and ourselves the product of their work.

"About three or four years ago we hit upon the plan of putting a large suction fan outside of the mill building, and blowing the air through a large galvanized iron pipe, with which was connected smaller pipes so as to cover the space each workman occupied at the rolls. Since this fan was started we have not lost a single day or an hour on account of the workmen being unable to perform their duties.

"These fans were immediately put into the forge department, but on account of the large number of open fires, the sulphur smoke still bothered the workmen, and this smoke also developed the problem of proper light.

"To give them better light we cut large sky-lights in the roof, but in a few days they were covered with soot and smoke, and our shop was as dark and grimy as ever. This led to a plan that has been the most successful of any that we have tried. We took out the sky-lights, and covered these openings with sliding doors, which can be operated from the inside of the shop. We now have unobstructed daylight, and I might say here that I have never seen our men appreciate anything as they do this, and, in addition to the light, these openings seem to act as flues and draw every bit of the smoke out of the shop, together with the hot air.

"The company feels more than repaid by the satisfactory working of the shop during this hot weather, and I repeat that I have never known anything to be so thoroughly appreciated by the workmen."

With reference to light work-rooms in a factory, E. F. Olmsted, the Welfare Manager, says:

"Our building is of steel, with just enough brick to cover the girders, the balance of the wall space being devoted entirely to windows. Each window is double glazed in order to exclude the dust and smoke. The fan system is used for ventilation, the air being changed in the manufacturing section automatically every fifteen minutes, and in the offices every seven and one-half minutes. It is brought in from a tower two hundred feet above the ground and is conveyed to the first floor of the building, where in the winter it is heated and then forced throughout the building. Electric thermostats regulate the temperature."

Ventilation is discussed by W. E. Nazro, Welfare Manager of a large mill:

"We installed a modern system of ventilation, which has given most satisfactory results. The air is taken from out-doors by large fans, and, in winter, is forced over coils of steam piping. When heated, the air is forced through ducts to the floors above. The windows are dropped at the top, and the bad air has a chance to get out, thus making a complete system of ventilation. During the summer months the air is taken from out-doors by the same

system, but, of course, it does not pass over steam pipes. The mill thus ventilated in summer is from three to four degrees cooler than in our No. 1 mill, where the system is not installed. In rooms where dust or fumes accrue, they are removed by a system of exhaust fans that helps materially to keep the air clean and pure."

John H. Patterson, president of a company whose plant has light work rooms, says:

"Attention is given to the hygiene of the factory. Large windows admit plenty of light and sunshine. The ventilation and heat are properly looked after. Every fifteen minutes the air in the factory and



SYSTEM OF PIPING TO THROW FRESH AIR IN THE FACES OF THE MEN OCCUPIED AT THE ROLLS.

surance and pensions are also included in welfare work.

The several divisions of welfare work will be discussed in the *Review*, the first to receive attention being "Special consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed." This discussion will include such subjects as ventilation, light, sanitary work-rooms, adequate toilet facilities, baths, lockers, pure drinking water, rest rooms, lunch rooms, seats for women workers and emergency hospitals.

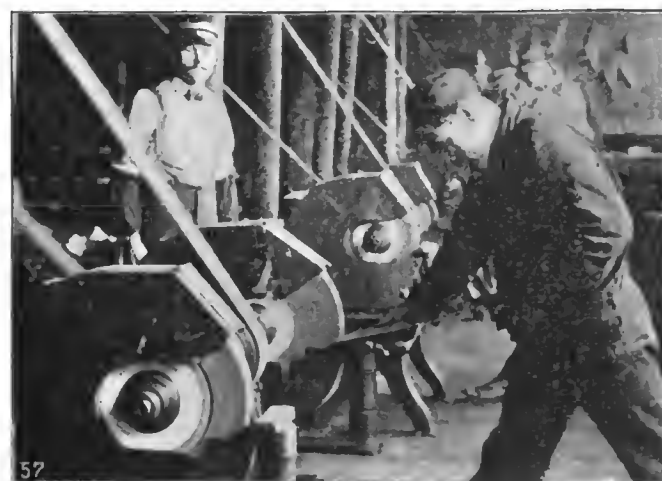


A FACTORY WHERE SPECIAL ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO PROVIDING LIGHT WORK ROOMS.

Light and air in a rolling mill and forge shop are described by E. E. Adams, Superintendent:

"The problem of proper ventilation is one that must come to every man in charge of a large forging department, not only from the standpoint of the comfort and health of the workman, but as to how many fires he can crowd into a given space, and the endurance of the man who is to work in that space. In the same class with proper ventilation, comes the problem of properly lighting the department.

"No one will argue that a satisfied, healthy workman is not the best investment for the employer.



A GRINDING ROOM, SHOWING EXHAUST SYSTEM TO REMOVE DUST FROM THE EMERY WHEELS.

offices is changed by means of a fan system."

The value of light and well ventilated shops is emphasized by L. A. Osborne, vice-president of a large manufacturing company:

"The floor area of the works used for manufacturing purposes comprises, approximately, one million eight hundred thousand square feet. Natural illumination for this area is obtained by means of skylights and side windows, the total area of the former being 250,000 square feet and the latter 212,000 square feet.

"Artificial illumination in the works is obtained through the use of the Bremer arc, incandescent and



ANOTHER FACTORY WHERE THE CONSTRUCTION INSURES LIGHT WORK ROOMS.

Nernst lamps, which are sufficiently numerous and carefully placed to give an even effusion and a minimum of fatigue to the eyes of the operatives. The interior of the buildings is finished in white. The force of painters constantly employed upon this work is sufficient to give the surface two coats of paint each year.

"The buildings are heated by hot air, drawn from apertures in the roof through coils of steam pipe. The heated air circulated throughout the works maintains a temperature of about 70° F. The fans are kept in service during the hot days of summer for air circulation. The general ventilation is further assisted by means of adjustable side and roof windows, controlled from the ground floor."

A TRADE AGREEMENT INTERPRETED.

A Notable Decision by Emerson McMillin as to Arbitration of a Request for Higher Wages, under the Lithographers' Contract.

An interesting feature of the conferences that were held last spring, under the auspices of the Conciliation Committee of the New York Civic Federation, Emerson McMillin of the committee presiding, was a controversy between the representatives of the allied unions of employes and the National Lithographers' Association as to the use of the words "changed" and "reduced." These words occurred in relation to wages in the highly important trade agreement in that industry, which was the successful outcome of many arduous days and nights of earnest conferences. In commenting upon the character of these conferences, Mr. McMillin observed: "One paragraph of the contract drawn on behalf of the employes provided that the rate of wages should not be 'reduced' during its life. The employers' contract in the corresponding clause used the word 'reduced.' Of course, the employes would prefer that word to their own, and vice-versa. Each side wanted the word of the other. The word 'reduced' was finally adopted."



EMERSON McMILLIN,
of the Civic Federation Conciliation Committee.

This incident was the prelude to a recent serious controversy as to the interpretation of this clause of the agreement, which was submitted to Mr. McMillin for decision. Thus unexpectedly he was called upon to decide a serious question, affecting the entire trade, growing out of a phase of the framing of the contract that at the time caused laughter. His decision, rendered on August 16, virtually involves arbitration concerning arbitration. The question was referred to him by W. D. Coakley, General President of the Lithographic Apprentices' and Press Feeders' Association, and Charles Conradis, representing the Lithographers' Association, West. Its reference and decision are an interesting example of the peaceful settlement of a dispute by a rational method, thus preventing the rupture of an agreement and a resort to hostilities.

The question at issue arose out of a request of the Cincinnati Press Feeders for an increase of wages. The trade agreement, framed with so much care, contained a section (2) providing that wages should not be reduced, and a section (4) providing that only such matters as were not specifically covered by the agreement could be arbitrated. It was the contention of the representatives of the employers that this debarred from arbitration the request for an increase of wages, while the representatives of the union held that the intent of Clause 2 was to provide only against lower wages, and not against an increase.

The essence of Mr. McMillin's decision is in his statement: "A scale of wages to obtain throughout the life of the contract was not specifically provided for in the agreement, and therefore a request for an increase of wages to be paid to any of the employes may—under the provisions of Section 4—properly be submitted to a joint commission, and if necessary, to a board of arbitration, for final settlement."

A bald statement of the case would seem to carry its own answer. The agreement had been drawn with painstaking care, every word and sentence being weighed by adepts in the use of the English language. "Nevertheless," says Mr. McMillin in his decision, "one is compelled to concede that there are grounds that warranted the raising of the question at issue."

The employers made the following quotation from a colloquy between Mr. Conradis and Mr. Parker, of the union, as follows:

Mr. Parker: If we are to interpret that the rate of wages should remain the same—that is entirely satisfactory?

Mr. Conradis: Absolutely.

Mr. Parker: And that is not necessary to be arbitrated?

Mr. Conradis: Not at all.

This passage, in connection with other remarks by Mr. Parker, was held by the employers to show that the whole question of wages was settled by the agreement.

The employers also referred to a colloquy about the use as synonymous of the words "changed" and "reduced," as indicating that they were binding themselves not to reduce, while they asserted that it was mutually understood that wages could not be increased, because of the condition of the trade.

The contention of the employes was that the intent of Clause 2 was to protect employes against reduction of wages, but to leave open the question of increase; that the word "reduced" was adopted after careful consideration in preference to the word "changed," which latter would be required if it were the intention to exclude the wage question in every form from arbitration; that the Cincinnati employes had asked for an increase months before the adoption of the agreement; that it was a representative of the employers who withdrew the word "changed," which he had offered as a substitute for "reduced"; that the employers wanted stability, and to guard against the enforcement of a demand for increase by strikes; that the ratification of the agreement by the local employes' associations was obtained only through representations that it contained nothing to prevent an increase of wages; and that the right to ask for an increase had been conceded, and an increase granted, by the Lithographers' Association of the Pacific.

The decision of Mr. McMillin carefully dissects and reviews these contentions, and arrives at the conclusion quoted, thus opening the way to a judicial determination of the equity of any request for higher wages in the lithographers' industry.

ARBITRATION IN PRACTICE.

President Lynch of the International Typographical Union, in his report to the convention of that body, made the following statement as to the working of the arbitration agreement with the American Newspaper Publishers' Association:

"The arbitration cases have been conducted and completed harmoniously and satisfactorily. Of course, the use of the word 'satisfactorily' does not mean that in the few cases where the verdict has not been favorable to local unions, these unions have been wholly contented. But the agreement has preserved the peace, and whether the verdicts have favored the union or the publishers, work has continued, and strikes, friction and disaster have been averted. The continuance of present relations with the vast majority of the great newspapers of this country is worth something, and when the cases that we have won and the cases that we have lost are taken together and the results averaged up, it will be found that we have made considerable progress."

The practice of union men anywhere to hire professional "wrecking crews" and two-by-four entertaining committees to "put men to sleep" or "out of commission," as has been and is in some instances still being practised in one or two cities, is a blot and disgrace on the historical pages of trades-unionism that trades-unionists everywhere must expose and cause the punishment the abominable crime merits. —"Labor Compendium."

MEDIATION ENDS A STRIKE.

The Good Offices of Louis B. Schram Mend a Rupture Between Labor and Capital that Threatened Serious Consequences.

A strike of firemen in the Heurich brewery in Washington, D. C., which threatened to involve a large number of other employes, with possible complications in other cities, has been brought to a peaceful end, through the mediation of a representative of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Louis B. Schram. Curiously enough, it was a conflict between rival forces of capital that caused this difficulty with labor. The Heurich Brewery company was engaged in a trade war with four other concerns. The competition became so fierce that the employes feared that one or more of the rival breweries would be driven to the wall, thus throwing many innocent persons out of work.

Accordingly, the firemen in the Heurich brewery struck, to enforce their demand that the rival breweries make peace. Their action brought all mechanical operations in the brewery to a standstill.

Timothy Healy, President of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, was summoned



LOUIS B. SCHRAM,
of the Civic Federation Conciliation Committee.

to take charge of the strike, to which the New York branch of the Brotherhood offered financial support. After looking the situation over, he held a conversation over the long distance telephone with Mr. Schram, who is chairman of the labor committee of the United States Brewers' Association, and an officer of the India Wharf Brewing company of Brooklyn.

As a member of the Civic Federation, Mr. Schram perceived an opportunity to restore peace. He went at once to Washington and quickly convinced both Mr. Healy and the local union that the strike had been precipitate and that its purpose could be attained through pacific and business-like methods, while to persist in the strike would only invite the brewing company to stubbornness in its trade policy. Mr. Schram then held a conference with Mr. Heurich, whom he induced to take a conciliatory attitude. He agreed, if the firemen returned to work, to make no discrimination against the union. At the same time, the trade war between the breweries was put in process of settlement. Both the firemen and Mr. Heurich expressed their satisfaction at the conclusion of the controversy.

Justice and fair dealing must ever be a prominent part of the policy of trade-unionism. Without this none of us need hope for the permanent success of organized labor. Deference to the rights of others must be a guiding light, and if this be so there will not be an over-eagerness at any time to inaugurate "sympathetic strikes."—"Labor World," Pittsburg.

If you make your services indispensable the wage question will not be a hard one to solve.—"Advance Advocate."

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National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION TO BE FORMED.

AN IMPRESSIVE ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF EMPLOYERS, OF WAGE-EARNERS AND OF MANY NATIONS DISCUSSES WORLD-WIDE INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

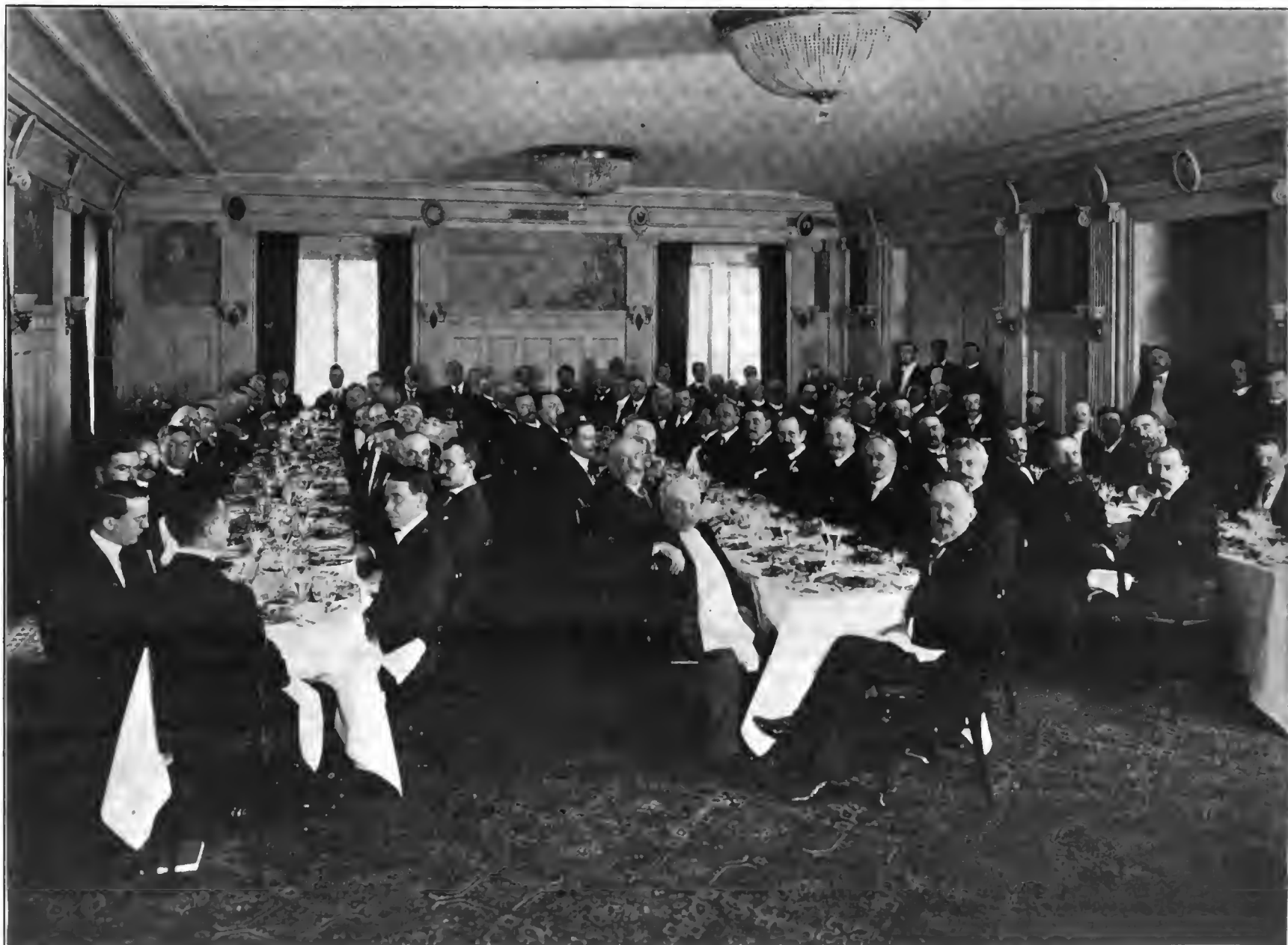
The formation in other countries of bodies similar to the National Civic Federation in the United States, with their affiliation with an International Civic Federation, was the central idea of a luncheon at the Hotel Astor, in New York City, on September 26. At this luncheon, the Executive Committee of the Federation were the hosts, and the guests were delegates to the Interparliamentary Union, selected because of their interest in industrial affairs. These delegates are all members of the parliaments of

their respective countries. Other foreign guests were the delegates from French organizations of labor and industrial corporations, sent by the French government to study industrial conditions in the United States.

This was the first international gathering in history in which employers, employed and the general public were all represented.

The purpose of the Interparliamentary Union is the maintenance of international peace through the

reference to arbitration of differences between nations that diplomacy fails to adjust. At the time of the luncheon, the Interparliamentary Union had concluded at St. Louis the first session that it had ever held in this country. Both the time, therefore, and the personnel of the company cooperated to bring out in the speeches at the luncheon a parallelism between international peace and industrial peace; between the processes of diplomacy and the methods of conciliation and conference between representa-



THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL PEACE

tives of capital and labor; between the proposed substitution of international arbitration for war and the utility of voluntary arbitration of differences between capital and labor, in preference to the final resort of strikes and lock-outs.

The speeches also brought out the fact that compulsory arbitration is a plan not acceptable to organized labor in this country.

The following is a list of those present at the luncheon:

Members Interparliamentary Union.

America :—Hon. Richard Bartholdt, President Interparliamentary Union; Hon. T. E. Burton, of the Committee of Congress on the Interparliamentary Union; Hon. S. J. Barrows, Secretary of the same Committee; Hon. James Rupert, Member of the Committee.

Austria :—Viadimir Ritter Ladislaus V. Gnielowsz, Member of Reichsrath.

Belgium :—X. Houzeau de Lehaie, Senator; Emile Vanderveelde, Deputy.

England :—W. Randal-Cremer, M. P.; Thos. Lough, M. P.; Fred. Maddison, ex-M. P.; W. P. Byles, ex-M. P.; Dr. G. B. Clark, ex-M. P.; Corrie Grant, M. P.; Col. Pryce-Jones, M. P.; Dr. E. C. Thompson, M. P.; John Wilson, Secretary Durham Miners; Jeremiah Jordan, M. P.; D. V. Pirie, M. P.; J. Bryn-Roberts, M. P.; William O'Doherty, M. P.

France :—M. Paul Strauss, Senator; M. Dr. Delbet, Deputy; M. Noel, Deputy.

Germany :—Prof. Hoffmann, Member of Reichstag; M. Dr. Hauptmann, Member of Landtag.

Hungary :—Count Albert Apponyi, President Chamber of Deputies; Andre Gyorgy, Deputy.

Italy :—Prof. E. Coccotti, Deputy; M. F. Di Palma, Deputy; M. Edoardo Daneo, Deputy; M. G. Cerruti, Deputy; M. Marquis di San Gueiliano, Deputy.

Netherlands :—M. Tydeman, Deputy.

Norway :—M. John Lund, Deputy.

Roumania :—Stanislaus Cihoski, Deputy.

Sweden :—John Olsson, Deputy; Ernst Beckman, Deputy.

Switzerland :—Alfred Brustlein, Deputy; Dr. Albert Studer, Deputy; Herman Greulich, Statistician.

Delegation of French Labor Representatives.

M. Albert Metin, Professor of Political Economy in the Colonial and Naval Cadets Schools, and the representative of the French Minister of Commerce; L. Benoist, Technical School of Shoemaking, Nice; H. Buisson, a Director of Le Travail, Co-operative Union of Painters and Glaziers, Paris; H. Dugue, Federal Union of Ironworkers, Havre; A. Fouclause, Director of the Co-operative Union of Musical Instrument Makers, Paris; C. Gignoux, Director of the Co-operative Union of Printers and Typographers, Nimes; E. Hyolet, Hat Makers' Union, Paris; M. Jaquet, National Union of Post and Telegraphers, Paris; J. Le Blanc, National Federation of Engineers, Le Vallois; J. Maibranque, National Union of Railway Workers, Amiens; Charles Rousseau, Director of the Union of Painters, Puteaux; E. Martin, member of the Wool Spinners' Union and a member of the State Superior Council of Labor; Charles Vulcte, Director of the Co-operative Union of Industries of Precision, Paris; A. Manoury, of the Central Union of Co-operators of Paris.

Members of the National Civic Federation.

Representing Labor :—Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor; E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors; P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master, Brotherhood of Trainmen; John J. Pallas, President New York State Federation of Labor; Edward A. Moffett, Editor "Bricklayer and Mason"; James P. Archibald, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators; Samuel B. Donnelly, Typographical Union; Edw. Gould, Teamsters; William H. Farley, Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers; J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union; P. F. Quinn, President Central Federated Union; Herman Robinson, Retail Clerks; George E. Pepper, President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees, New York Division.

Representing the Public :—Cornelius N. Bliss, Ex-Secretary of the Interior; Oscar S. Straus, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague; John

G. Milburn, Lawyer; C. R. Miller, Editor "The Times"; St. Clair McKelway, Editor "Brooklyn Eagle"; Isaac N. Seligman, Banker; Oswald G. Villard, Editor "Evening Post"; Bradford Merrill, Editor "New York World"; James Speyer, Banker; Hamilton Hoit, Editor "The Independent"; Charles Stewart Smith, ex-President New York Chamber of Commerce; Roland Phillips, Managing Editor "Harper's Weekly"; H. C. Watson, Editor "Dun's Review"; Warren H. Page, Editor "World's Work"; Lyman Abbott, Editor "Outlook"; John Finley, President College of the City of New York; Ralph M. Easley, Chairman Executive Council.

Representing Employers :—August Belmont, President Interborough Rapid Transit Co.; W. A. Clark, President United Verde Copper Co.; Charles A. Moore, Manning, Maxwell & Moore; Isidor Straus, R. H. Macy & Co.; H. H. Vreeland, President New York City Railroad Co.; John D. Crimmins; Francis L. Rohhins, President Pittsburgh Coal Co.; B. J. Greenhut, Treasurer Siegel-Cooper Co.; William Green, President New York Typotheta; Louis B. Schram, President Associated Brewers; John Cooper, President Iron League; John S. Huyler, President Huyler's; J. Alexander Hayden, Chairman Association Interior Decorators and Cabinetmakers; Edward A. Filene, Treasurer William Filene's Sons Co.; Charles W. Terhune, Edwin C. Burt Co.

The speech-making was introduced by Oscar S. Straus, who performed the duties of chairman, proposing "the health of all the sovereigns whose distinguished representatives are in this country in order to promote the good cause of international peace." This toast was followed by another to the health of the President of the United States, proposed by the Hon. Thomas Lough, M. P., of Great Britain. All responded to these toasts standing, amid hearty enthusiasm.

The Chairman, Mr. Straus, then addressed the assembly as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Interparliamentary Union and Distinguished Guests:—It becomes my privilege and pleasure to thank you on behalf of the National Civic Federation for your presence here to-day. We have every reason to congratulate you upon the initial success that has attended your great cause for the good of mankind in the prompt decision on the part of the President of the United States to summon a second International Conference in order to further strengthen and complete the work of the Hague Tribunal and to bring 'the future of humanity under the majesty of the law.' (Cries of "Hear, hear," and great applause.)

"National happiness is the best guaranty for international peace. National good-will—the welfare of the people in the respective countries—is, at the best, an international good-will and an international peace. It is for that reason that we have asked you gentlemen of the Interparliamentary Union to come here and in this informal way discuss with us the best means for promoting the harmonious relations between the great forces of our industrial life.

"When we organized the National Civic Federation we recognized that the relationship between the forces of industry is one that closely touched the whole people. In following that idea we determined that in order to bring the representatives of the whole people together we should divide them into three groups, all of which are equally interested in the country's welfare and in the harmonious relations between the industrial forces. These three groups are the employers on one side, the employees on the other side, and standing between the two, the great public. At the head of the group representing the general public we have placed our most distinguished private citizen, Ex-President Grover Cleveland. (Applause.) At the head of the employers' group we have placed that man whose name and fame is known in every land, and who from his deep interest in the cause of international peace has dedicated to the world a temple where the Court of Peace shall be held. I mean Mr. Andrew Carnegie. (Applause.) At the head of the third group we have placed a man who wields as great power for good as any private citizen in this land. In the council chamber of our National Civic Federation, in which he has always participated, we have seen from day

to day surest evidences of his conscientious and deep devotion to the great cause of industrial peace—at the head of that group stands Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor. (Applause.)

"I will not take up time in discussing the triumphs and defeats that the International Civic Federation has met with since its organization three years ago. But I will say that we have succeeded and are succeeding in cementing the relations between the great industrial forces by bringing about a better understanding and by accustoming them to consider the great questions around a council table on an equal plane, with an equal interest in harmonious relations.

"The great problem of industrial peace I know is one that confronts the people under the governments which you represent here. We have inaugurated a plan—the best that we have been able to discover—and that it is not perfect no one is more conscious than we. Expansion of commerce marks the spirit of our day. Commerce means peace. It travels along the highroad of peace. It is based upon mutuality, and brings happiness to both sides. The great labor leaders, recognizing this expansion of commerce, are beginning, and have already begun, to organize their associations internationally. So have many of the large corporations controlling large interests; they have passed beyond national lines and have international interests. I ask you, has not the time arrived when the forces that make for the harmonious relations of the great industrial enterprises should also cross national lines, and that you may carry home with you, and also bring back to us, the idea that is embodied in our National Civic Federation?

"We will heartily join hands with you in cementing a mighty power for securing Industrial Peace; uniting the wage-earners and the wage-payers, the employers, the employees and the general public; confederating the industrial forces of our several countries for their peoples' welfare, happiness and peace, under an International Civic Federation.

"I now call upon the Honorable Richard Bartholdt, a Representative in the Congress of the United States, and President of the Interparliamentary Union." (Applause.)

Mr. Bartholdt said:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—Permit me to congratulate the National Civic Federation upon the noble work in which its members are engaged. The endeavor to lay the foundation for industrial peace is worthy of the efforts of the best and noblest of all nations. Centuries have passed with our present industrial system in vogue, and during all this time the so-called social question has been the subject of study and thought of all civilized nations. No remedy has as yet been found for the occasional differences between capital and labor, but at last the light seems to be breaking in,—the light which will illumine the pathway leading to industrial peace and tranquillity. We have finally come to the conclusion, and fortunately both sides to the controversy seem to agree upon the proposition,—that an appeal to the spirit of conciliation and mutual concession, and if that fail, an appeal to the principles of arbitration, are the right remedies. (Applause.)

"A bill is pending in the Congress of the United States providing for industrial arbitration, and it has been referred to the Committee on Labor, of which I have the honor to be a humble member. This bill would have been considered even in the last session, had it not been for the fact that the eight-hour bill consumed practically all of the time at the disposal of that committee. For me, I am frank to state here and now, that if the great Civic Federation, in whose judgment I have implicit confidence, and in which both sides are properly represented, will say to me that they are in favor of such legislation, I am ready to support it in the next session of the House of Representatives.

"In view of the gigantic growth of the industrial forces in our country, it has always seemed to me that organizations on the part of labor and also organizations on the part of capital should not only be tolerated but encouraged. A method must then be provided to enable the representatives of both sides and in the several industries to meet and by

amicable agreement fix the hours of labor and the amount of wages for a certain period of time. If no agreement upon these conditions is possible, then both sides should invoke the great principle of arbitration, for which a machinery should be provided by law. It must be remembered that in all industrial controversies there are not only two sides but actually three. There are the employed and the employer, but there is also the general public, which in cases of great strikes is even a greater sufferer than either of the contending parties; which I submit is an additional reason, and certainly a very strong one, why in the interest of our common good these conflicts should be averted if possible.

"The Interparliamentary Union, of which I have the honor to be president, is striving not to abolish war 'with one fell swoop,'—because that is impossible,—but to starve to death 'the dogs of war,' by promoting a policy of mutual agreement between the nations entered into in times of peace, and submitting any controversy which may arise to arbitration.

"Every man who favors such a policy in our international relations is bound to favor a policy of arbitration in the industrial arena. Law must be substituted for physical force wherever it can be done. This is the demand of the interests of civilization and humanity, and the condition sine qua non of social peace and general prosperity."

In introducing the Hon. W. Randal-Cremer, M. P., Mr. Straus said:

"Mr. Cremer is par excellence a 'Prince of Peace.' He stands as the pioneer of arbitration, of conciliation and of the harmonious adjustment of the relations of men, both nationally and internationally. To him was awarded the great Nobel prize as the most distinguished promoter of international peace,—a prize of eight thousand pounds,—which was immediately devoted by him to the cause to which his life has been consecrated."

Mr. Cremer said:

"My forte is not speaking, but working. I have done a great deal more working than speaking in my now fairly long life, and I am not going to break my record by attempting to make a long speech this afternoon.

"I can only account for the fact that I have been not merely invited but almost compelled to speak by the mandate of our chairman by the fact that I am, I think, the oldest man in the assembly, and certainly I am the oldest member of any organized body of the industrial classes. I have been for nearly fifty years a trades-unionist, and my life has been spent amongst the people with whom I was born and reared and with whom I have shared their aspirations and their hopes and desires. I have seen, Mr. Chairman, during the fifty years of my connection with trade-unionists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and with my co-workers on the continent of Europe, some very remarkable changes.

"I have been engaged in two or three industrial wars; the first, in 1859, perhaps one of the most severe conflicts that ever took place between capital and labor. For nearly five months 100,000 working-men in London were locked out by their employers, and for nearly five months we struggled with our employers to succeed in the objects which we demanded from them. For the time being we failed, but in the end we triumphed. But one of the morals that I learned upon that occasion, and which was subsequently burned into my memory by other struggles in which I have been engaged, was that it was an act of folly, if not of madness, almost, on the part of either employer or employed to engage in conflicts of that kind. (Applause.)

"The amount of suffering on the part of the poor, the loss of capital on the part of the wealthy, each was such as scarcely any of us could calculate. I learned the great lesson many years ago, and I have tried to give effect to it ever since throughout my life by doing my very best to remedy those conflicts by arriving at a peaceful solution of the problem of the difficulties between capital and labor.

"It is because I have found that this great movement of yours, the National Civic Federation, is built up on such peaceful lines that I am glad to have the opportunity of being present to-day, and especially

of renewing my acquaintance with my old friend, Mr. Gompers, with whom I was associated—not too well but only slightly, I regret to say—but whom I learned to admire because of his heroic efforts in the United States nearly eighteen years ago.

"Mr. President, we have been trying—and the lesson I learned in the trades-union world and in the industrial world was that we should try—to introduce into industrial life and industrial strife the same principle for which we are contending and which we are trying to introduce into political life amongst the nations of the globe.

"I have said a great deal more than I had intended. I told you my forte is not speaking, but working; and all I can say in closing is that I hope the Civic Federation, under whose auspices we are assembled here to-day, will be as successful in preventing social and industrial wars as the Interparliamentary Union has been in providing for the future discouragement of war between the various nations of the earth." (Applause.)

Mr. Straus then called upon Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to speak for the National Civic Federation.

Mr. Gompers said:

"Perhaps, gentlemen, I ought to wish that I could have been advised that I was to address this meeting to-day, so that I might have been enabled to give to the subject some little more mature thought. Let me say, in supplement to the most eloquent welcome that has been extended by our honored toast-master, that we also welcome the delegates of the French working-men who come here by the authority of the government of France to investigate conditions of American industry, commerce and civilization.

"I cannot permit the opportunity to pass without saying a word or two in regard to my old friend—my young friend in spirit and heart, though many years have crept upon him, but they have left no indelible impression other than maturer and ripper judgment—our friend Cremer. It is now seventeen years ago when he, in company with Sir Lionel Playfair, came to the United States and sought to fulfill the mission which he so eloquently describes. I remember, too, that there were but very few men who met him in a spirit of cordiality. There were very few men in our country who bade him good cheer and Godspeed in his mission, but the gentleman to whom our toastmaster has referred as heading the representatives of the employers in the National Civic Federation—Mr. Andrew Carnegie—gave his unqualified support to the movement at that time. (Applause.) It was very pleasing—aye, more than pleasing; exceedingly gratifying—to find that he has been a consistent friend and advocate of international peace from that day to this; and I think our friend Cremer will agree with me, too, that the organized working-men of America at that time were those who gave the strongest impetus to the movement of any of our fellow citizens in the United States. I am proud to recall the fact that Mr. Cremer and Sir Lionel Playfair came to the American Federation of Labor held at Baltimore, and a resolution was unanimously passed pledging the organized labor movement of America to international peace.

"Assembled here this afternoon are not all the great Englishmen, are not all the great Frenchmen, are not all the great Irishmen, are not all the great Norwegians, nor Scandinavians, nor all the great Americans; but I think it goes without saying that the gentlemen assembled here this afternoon are of the best types of our respective countries. You are constituted of the best men of your countries, because you have done something, and not only done something but done something useful for humanity. The men who work, the men who pave the way of commerce, the men who pave the way for civilization give it its fullest and amplest opportunities for development.

"I am one of those who believe with Mr. Bartholdt, Member of Congress and honored President of the Interparliamentary Union, in favoring the organization of capital and the organization of labor. I don't believe that in our time it is possible for the fullest development of all the abilities of our people, except by the concentration of effort and by the association of men.

"I believe, too, in arbitration of the industrial problems that cannot be solved by these two contending forces of capital and labor. I am free to say, however, without attempting to inject any spirit of controversy into these proceedings, that I must dissent from his expression of opinion when he says that in the last analysis the government should determine the condition of labor, the payment of wages by the employer, or the reception of wages by the employee. I would not mention this except that my silence might be construed to be an assent to that proposition.

"Let me say that the National Civic Federation undertakes to do the thing in industry that ought to be done. It is the voluntary mediator, which undertakes to bring about a better relation between the employer and the employee, and it has done much more than that for which it is already given credit. It has alleviated distress, avoided and averted contests and controversies and conflicts—many more than is known to the world. It has done much to bring men together who formerly looked with disdain upon one another and who could not, by reason of their positions in life, meet each other around the table and discuss their respective interests. It has made possible in our country a condition of affairs by which the largest employers of labor—a number of whom are at this table, and grace it,—can meet with the representatives of organized labor and discuss the relative interests that are involved in a controversy which may be pending, or a controversy which is contemplated, avert them and bring about a feeling between the men of lasting desire at least to do no harm to each other.

"The National Civic Federation represents, as our Chairman, Mr. Straus, has so well said, not only the employers, but its members are the employers themselves; not only the representatives of labor, but the employees themselves; and also the public, by a portion of the public itself; and by meeting and discussing the great problems of the day as well as the problems of the future, tries to find a way out by which no man will lose his interests, by which no man will lose his honor, or have his dignity impaired. But after all we shall have to depend for our success in establishing peace, both industrially and internationally, upon the growing intelligence and humanity of our peoples; for unless it rests upon that growth of intelligence and spirit of humanity it cannot be successful, no matter how it may be writ in law.

"We want to change ourselves, we want to improve ourselves; and in the same degree that we shall improve ourselves we shall by example improve our fellows. We are making for industrial peace, despite the conflicts that arise here and there; and deplorable as is the disturbance of the international peace which we now observe, I think we all agree that we are nearer the time when international peace will be the realization of our dreams and our hopes, our prayers and our work; that is, if all make an effort; and he who does this not only does himself honor, but benefits his fellow-man."

The Hon. Dr. Hauptman, Member of the Prussian Landtag, who was next introduced, spoke in German, which was translated as follows:

"I have never regretted in all my life more than now that I am unable to speak the English language, as I would like to properly express my gratitude for the many evidences of American hospitality I have received since arriving here.

"The European visitors, including myself, have received very many object lessons in our tour through this great country; one of them being the apparent equality of the classes, which proves to me that democracy here is not an empty word, but is a reality. We have all learned something this afternoon about the efforts which are being made in this country by the National Civic Federation to conciliate and bring about a harmonious understanding between capital and labor. I think the proper way to do this has been chosen by you, namely, to bring representatives of both factors together so that they may discuss and understand the principles underlying these controversies, and, better yet, to understand each other, and that their mutual interests lie along the line of mutual concession and harmonious relations. This

is not only the best way, but is also the easiest way to settle these differences.

"I thank the Civic Federation for the invitation and the hospitality extended to my colleagues and myself on this occasion, and I wish to express my gratification that our people who come to this country—the German-Americans—have become such loyal American citizens, although they have not forgotten their mother tongue or the great lessons learned from German literature and philosophy." (Applause.)

The Hon. Paul Strauss, of the Senate of France, spoke in his native tongue as follows:

"In the name of the French people I will say that I am particularly pleased to be able to concur in the sentiments which have been expressed here this afternoon in regard to the promoters of this interesting meeting and the organizers of the Inter-parliamentary Union. I am also pleased to say that there are here not only the representatives of the universal suffrage of Europe and the United States, but we have the good fortune to have among us those who are representatives of the working-men and of the associations of Frenchmen—representatives of both labor and capital; and if the time had been given us, and if you should have opened your doors, you would have not only representatives of these French associations, but also representatives of all European working-men.

"I want to express the wish that the International Civic Federation shall become a unit of harmony, and that in its meetings there will be not only representatives of organized labor, but also members representing capital, both taking an active part in the deliberations to bring about a harmonious result. The ground was broken and this work was really begun by the Berlin Convention, in which the first bill was passed for the protection of women. I hope that the plan submitted to the International Conference at Basle, in Switzerland, will be followed, and that next year we shall be permitted to see the beginnings of international legislation for working people, which will be welcomed by both the members of parliament and the members of unions representing working-men and capital as well.

"The peace between capital and labor—industrial peace—is the necessary beginning of a general peace of nations." (Applause.)

Prof. E. Coccotti, of the Chamber of Deputies, Italy, spoke as follows:

"I did not expect that I would be invited here to speak, and because I admire your language and your great poets, I would not speak that which would offend your sensibilities. I would speak in my own great Italian, but because I want to be understood—perhaps I would be better understood if I spoke in Italian—I will try to express myself in English.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I am a Socialist, but I am, too, a practical man. (Laughter.) I hope to be more and more a practical man. I learned to be a practical man in America. You teach so many things to the world here, that you teach the Socialists, even, and others, to be practical. I agree with you in every wish and hope that we will alleviate these contests. I believe with the great English poet, Charles Algernon Swinburn, that this reality must be brought about by the worker, and that when the contest between employer and employe shall be settled, that may be the moment in which we may expect to see final human justice." (Applause.)

Charles Stewart Smith, for many years President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, was next introduced. He said:

"I have no mandate here to speak for the Chamber of Commerce; at least I have not been sent here as a delegate. I am indebted for my presence here to the friendship of Mr. Straus. But I assure you that I am very glad to be here.

"I have been very much gratified by the speeches made here to-day, and I have been also very much instructed. It seems proper that I should speak on this occasion, because I recognize in your first speaker, Mr. Chairman, my old friend Mr. Cremer, a gentleman who came here seventeen years ago, and when I chanced at the time to be President of the Chamber of Commerce and had the honor of inviting him to our annual banquet on that occasion.

He made us one of the very best speeches that we had that evening. He was received with glorious applause, and he gave great impetus in that presence to the association of which he was a delegate.

"Now, gentlemen, I think I may say that the Chamber of Commerce is in full sympathy with all the views I have heard expressed here to-day. (Applause.) We have passed resolutions in favor of the utmost reciprocity with the different nations of Europe. We believe that it is perfectly right for both capital and labor to organize in the most efficient way possible. We believe it is their right, and not only their right, but their duty. But if I were permitted to express an opinion in conflict with my old friend Gompers, who is an expert on all questions of labor, I would ask him to consider the proposition whether he was not ready to advise his friends to organize in corporations, so that they would give the laboring class the same power with the capital class, so that they can approach these questions with a larger organization behind them—an organization which would guarantee their contracts, which would give them power distinct from the people; and I should be very glad indeed to see labor organizations take that position.

"Now, I have said that the Chamber of Commerce is in favor of reciprocity. I believe that is one of the most important questions that can affect international peace. Reciprocity involves acquaintance between the great nations of the world. Trade goes always for peace, and if we have mutual reciprocity and mutual relations we cannot fail to have peace. Merchants always oppose war; men of commerce always oppose war, and the labor unions, I think, Mr. Gompers, are equally opposed to it. Consequently, what I want to see is labor unions made strong, and I believe their organization into corporations would give them power which they do not have now. They could speak with authority then; and I am very much in hopes that my friend Mr. Gompers will advocate that system for the people whom he so ably represents.

"Now, Mr. President, only a word more. I believe the question between capital and labor is the greatest question, the most enormous problem, that confronts industrial peace, not only in the United States, but in all industrial nations. It has not been solved yet, and I hope that this National Civic Federation, which is represented here to-day, is on the right track. I believe it is, and that it is on the way to solve that question in accordance with the highest ideals of rectitude and justice. If that can be accomplished, I think that we may look for commercial prosperity such as we have never seen before. Look at the enormous amount of money lost in strikes, both to capital and labor, which may be saved if the principles which you are advocating so bravely and earnestly can be universally adopted and carried out! And I sincerely hope that that may be the end, and that your organization, Mr. Chairman, may have this effect. If it does, you will certainly earn and receive the gratitude of the civilized world." (Great applause and cries of "Hear, hear.")

The Hon. Emile Vanderveide, Deputy from Belgium, said:

"In speaking to you I must say that I am a little embarrassed because I was not prepared, and secondly and mainly because I have not a commission to speak in the name of the whole Belgium delegation, because it is composed of men of different opinions, partly Conservatives and partly Socialist. I myself am a member of the Socialist party, and I am afraid I will be considered by some here a 'black faced sheep.' But all the Belgium delegates agree to be grateful to the President of the United States for his initiative in a second Hague Conference, which we must recognize is to prevent war, but which we must say is not sufficient, because to have international peace we must have national good-will and peace of labor. Peace to be stable and sincere must be founded on justice, and perhaps here we differ not only in the principle but in the application which we make of this principle.

It must be understood that the question of work must not be resolved by bloody conflict, but by peaceful conciliation. Class struggle is not necessarily class war. I am in favor of arbitration and concilia-

tion, and I am pleased to see how much that view has progressed in the big Democracy of the United States to-day.

"Social peace is only possible with strong and well organized labor unions, and nowhere is capital so well organized as in the United States or working-men so well organized as in the federations of labor in the United States.

"To-day we see the greatest industry in the world in this country, where everything is larger than anywhere else, but the best remembrance of the liberty of this country which I shall keep is that we have seen in the City of New York twenty or thirty thousand organized people; and in a few days, when we will be on the other side of the ocean, we will say to the working-men, 'Be organized as the Americans are organized.' And why is this possible? Because the United States are a republic, because the Statue of Liberty is at the entrance of the harbor of New York, and because that is not a lie but a reality." (Applause.)

"I hope it will be permitted me to again see the United States of America, and not only that but in the near future to see the United States of Europe, and I hope the moment will come when New York and London and Paris and Berlin will be united, and we will be able to toast the United States of the World." (Applause.)

The Hon. Andre Gyorgy, Deputy from Hungary, said:

"It is not many years since in England the name of Mr. Morley was immortalized by these agitations between capital and labor. We are trying all over the world to settle these differences, but just now Mr. Vanderveide told us that there should be and must be conciliation and arbitration between capital and labor, and our efforts must be directed to this. We have in every nation and country of Europe these arbitrations, and I am very sorry to find that you have not in the United States, but you are before the continent of Europe in this—you are doing what we are trying to do.

"We are trying in the Interparliamentary Union to bring about arbitration, and you are trying to do the same thing between capital and labor,—and I was told very successfully.

"You are trying to bring about peace before arbitration, and I think it should be the greatest glory of the National Civic Federation when you shall be in a position not to want any arbitration bill, but shall be able to settle all the disputes between capital and labor in a social way, by way of your Civic Federation—not to have any arbitration bill or any legislative interference between those social divisions." (Applause.)

The Hon. John Olsson, Deputy from Sweden, said:

"I was not notified before that I would have to say some words here, and therefore I am in the same predicament as my friend the Italian professor. I am sorry that I cannot speak much to you in your own language, because I speak the English but very imperfectly. Therefore you will please allow me to be very short and only to make one remark.

"We in our land have also organizations between labor and organizations between employers, and I think this National Civic Federation is just in the right way. This Federation, as I understand, is trying to help, and permanently help, the conciliation of labor with capital. I think that is the way for all countries to go forward, to get arbitration between capital and labor.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, I am not able to speak more because I cannot speak the English language, but you will allow me to express for myself and my Swedish companion our great thanks to this Civic Federation for your kindness in inviting us to this splendid entertainment." (Applause.)

The Hon. Alfred Brustlein, Deputy from Switzerland, addressed the assembly in French. The following is a translation of his remarks:

"I am the only Swiss man here, and that is why I have the right to speak in the name of my country. But in speaking I will remember one thing that I have learned while I was in France, and which exists, perhaps, also in England. It is the brief poem which says you have two eyes and two ears but only one mouth. I have drawn from this verse the lesson

that when arriving in a foreign land you must mainly open the eyes and ears and speak the least possible, because the little that you would say might seem stupid, as the sentiments are so different in one country from another.

"In this country, capital and labor are engaged in a real struggle, although not a bloody one. That is because the two classes may meet readily. You have not in America the difference of classes, and that is why, very likely, in America events will take a different turn from that which we have in our own country. You sit at the same table, and you speak the same language all over the United States. It is not the same in our country. The struggle between the classes has deeper roots; and it is in our home, not in America, that the struggle between the classes has been discovered.

"There is a great difference between the relations between nations and the relations between labor and capital. The relations between nations are affected by the difference of language, while the difference between labor and capital lies in the difference between two classes; and consequently they can be reconciled only through a reign of justice which must be open to all.

"Your President, Andrew Carnegie, in his beautiful book on the use of riches, has said that a man who gains riches with only the idea of transmitting them to his heirs will not be worthy of having them. And that is why, feeling this sentiment, I think we should have before us many good years of peace and love; and although we have some differences now, in the final end of things we will be united. And that is why I shall now shake the hand of your president." (Applause.)

The Chairman introduced Professor Albert Metin, as the head of the delegation of French working-men. Professor Metin spoke in English:

"We members of the delegation of working-men sent by the French government appreciate highly this beautiful reception you have given us, and also the magnificent welcome we have received to this Empire City.

"Allow me to present to you the fourteen members of the working-men's delegation sent here by the French government. These gentlemen have been nominated by the French government from the working-men's associations to which they severally belong. They are partly corporators and partly members of the unions, but it is not necessary to observe very closely to see that the members of the corporations are in favor of the unionists and that the unionists are in favor of the corporation. We have among us some members representing the different corporations. They are secretaries of the corporations for production and consumption—administrators or directors or secretaries of the associations or syndicates; at the same time they are administrators or secretaries of what we call universities or popular institutions of education. We also have among us two members who represent what we call the State Superior Council of Labor. These are composed in part of some functionaries, or officials, nominated by the government and in part of labor members—working-men—returned by the unions for the purpose of looking after social legislation.

"It is needless to say we are great admirers of America. We admire it from two points of view; because here we get lessons of democracy and we also get lessons of industry. We are learning much in New York, and we hope to learn much more in our trip through the United States. We admire your institutions because we find in them many useful lessons, and we also know by experience the magnificent qualities of the people of the United States. We know, too, that the people of the United States are ready to do the same justice to the old nations of Europe. It is a pleasure for me to unite in the same sentence the names of the Presidents of the American and French Federations of Labor.

"I toast to the better organization of our working-men and to the friendship of our nations and people and Democracy all over the world, for social progress and for union and peace." (Applause.)

Francis L. Robbins spoke as follows:

"I would invite the attention of our foreign guests

to some practical methods of preserving industrial peace now in operation in this country.

"Probably the most conspicuous example of a trade agreement in practical operation is that between the bituminous coal miners and operatives. The method of settlement in that industry is reached through a joint conference held each spring in Indianapolis. We leave nothing to arbitration, believing that we are better able to agree between ourselves as to wages and conditions of labor than anyone could agree for us.

"In the last convention it was unanimously resolved that any agreement made must be kept inviolate and that no sympathetic strike and no other cause whatever could be an adequate reason for breaking the contract. The company of which I have the honor to be the president, employing nearly 75,000 men in mines, on docks, in transportation and in selling agencies, has not to-day a single dispute with an employee. This is due largely to the conservatism of those labor leaders with whom we have relations, notably, John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Daniel J. Keefe, President of the Longshoremen's International Union.

"The Pittsburg Coal Company, shortly after its organization, inaugurated a method to enable the employees to share in its profits. It formed an employees' association through which the employee can purchase the preferred stock of the company by the payment of \$1 per share per month, the company carrying the loan at 5 per cent. interest. This plan has been the means of permitting a great many of the company's employees to make savings that otherwise they would not have made. The plan has interested them also in the success of the company, and its indirect effects are everywhere visible in the spirit of industry prevailing among the workers and in their attitude toward their employer. The company has also inaugurated a death and accident association, with a lodge at each mine, the expense of which is in part borne by the company. We have also established an old-age pension fund, to which the company contributes aid and co-operation.

"We regard our plan of profit-sharing, of accident insurance and of pensions as a practical and satisfactory solution of the problem which arises with the present tendency to concentrate the control of the management of business in large corporations. In this process there is a constant increase in the percentage of those whose only interest in the business is their daily, weekly or monthly wage allowance. This tends to widen the separation of the employer and the employee, without some such uniting factor as the Employees' Association of the Pittsburg Coal Company. The organization of the lodges sharing in the insurance and pension benefits is voluntary at each mine. No lodge is organized until the majority of the operatives of the mine agree to be governed by the general by-laws adopted at a convention of the employees, at which each of the company's mines was represented by delegates elected by the men. The treasurer of the Coal Company is treasurer of each of the lodges. All disbursements, therefore, are made from the company's general office by the treasurer of the employees' association.

"The dues paid by the men are at the rate of 40c. per month per man. The benefits are graded into seven classes, ranging from \$150 for a fatal accident while at work, of which the company directly contributes one-half, down to benefits of \$5 per week for minor accidents. The pension fund received at the start a contribution of \$10,000 by the company. This fund is invested in the preferred stock of the company, and is to remain intact and grow for a period of ten years. At the end of that time the principal and earnings of the fund in excess of \$100,000 may be used in the payment of pensions to operatives who have paid into the fund continuously for a period of ten years and who through old age, accident or sickness are not able to earn their livelihood. All expenses of the employees' association are paid by the company. It is believed that the development of such a movement in such practical lines is a source of strength and progress, and students of

social economy have stated that the furtherance of this movement goes a long way towards solving the problem of industrial peace."

In bringing the occasion to a close, Mr. Straus said:

"I have endeavored to call on a representative from each country. I should be glad to have it called to my attention if I have omitted to call upon a gentleman from any country represented here.

"I thank you again on behalf of the Civic Federation for the honor you have done us by your presence. I trust that you will carry with you the mission of peace which we place in your hands, with the hope that the work in which we are all engaged will contribute to elevate the standards of life and bring happiness and contentment to the peoples of our several lands."

THE EDUCATION OF UNIONS.

Sound Advice as to the Social and Intellectual Utilization of the Winter Evenings.

The desire among trades-unions to promote education among their members is strikingly illustrated by the following editorial from the "Machinists' Monthly Journal," the official organ of the International Association of Machinists:

The shortening of the days and the increasing coolness of the nights will remind the local committees who have been appointed to look after the entertainment and educational features of their respective lodges that the time has come when they must show their greatest activity. If these committees have been alert and active and with a due appreciation of their duties and what was expected from them, they will have their work well in hand and everything prepared for the winter's campaign of education. The importance of this work is very great, for the whole success of the local lodge as an educational factor depends upon its thoroughness. Nothing should be omitted from the plan of education, and no subject of an economic nature, however small, should be considered unworthy of consideration. The range is wide and the field is great, and no one will fail to gain additional knowledge—no matter how perfect may be his learning—when a subject is discussed with intelligence and moderation and an honest desire to get at true solutions.

When subjects are under discussion their success, which is really their value, will depend in a great measure upon the tolerance shown for the opinion of others by those who participate. Every one has the right to think, though every one doesn't always think right, and it is only when our mistakes are pointed out and we receive enlightenment which shows us our error, and we acknowledge and see that we have been in error, that our true education begins. It is, therefore, wise for all of us to refrain from considering ourselves above criticism until our thoughts and theories have run the gauntlet of honest discussion. Then, if no great flaws have been discovered in them, and they have been strengthened in their weak places, we may feel assured that not only have we added a little to our own knowledge, but we have contributed to the knowledge of others. Any subject that cannot bear honest investigation and honest discussion is not worth while considering, and can not be of educational value. It will be the educational committees' duty to see that the time placed at their disposal is not wasted in fruitless theorizing or profitless discord. It ought also to be seen to that no member be considered too intellectually insignificant to give expression to an opinion. All have a right to be heard, and the man who says least may think most, so that when he does speak he may solve a difficult problem. Wisdom isn't always the attribute of the man who talks loud and long, neither is it the mark of wisdom to show impatience and intolerance when a quiet man has the temerity to express a difference of opinion. Upon the education committees' work and the intelligence therein displayed will depend the success or failure of the local lodges of the International Association of Machinists to aid in the intellectual development of their members or add to their economic education.

AGAINST SYMPATHETIC STRIKES AND FOR ADHERENCE TO TRADE AGREEMENTS.

SOME PRACTICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY LUCIDLY DISCUSSED BY THE HEAD OF A STRONG INTERNATIONAL UNION.

The annual address of the President of the International Longshoremen, Daniel J. Keefe, discusses several subjects of interest and importance to both capital and labor. He makes an ingenious comparison between war and strikes:

"Universal Reason does not yet understand the Arts of Peace. Divine Providence has seemingly postponed the emancipation of Nations. War and Conquest are still popular. The world still sings the Song of War. But humanity is not without hope, commencing with the abolition of slavery, and advancing over the ruins of aristocracies and thrones, the White Angel of Peace will ere long teach that standing armies are a paralysis of humane activities, and their maintenance the wanton waste of the nations' bone and sinew and the pillage of the sweat and blood of labor.

"Under the head of strikes let us think of war, let us pause and contemplate the terrible object lesson now being presented by the Russian and Japanese War. The frightful loss of life and wealth that must ensue to both the victor and vanquished. This enormous loss to be sustained in greater part by the masses of the people, and represents the patient toil, the misery, and privation of generations, not to speak of the cruel sacrifice of thousands of lives.

"This great waste of millions of the wealth of both nations, if economically applied in the alleviation of the misery of the masses of these countries, would be productive of relieving want and poverty and creating a paradise on earth, by the uplifting of these vast hosts, now chained down by oppression, ignorance, and superstition; and whose abject condition on earth to-day is akin to hell. Yet, these miserable wretches furnish the sinews of war and 'twas ever thus."

"Strikes are but another species of war, industrial war—so-called. But humanity is being fast converted to the idea of conciliation and arbitration, as a method of settling the disputes and differences between nations and between the forces of capital and labor. Strikes are like war, part and parcel of our civilization, and must be dealt with on broad lines of public policy, through an enlightened public conscience.

"As modern war owing to the invention of modern appliances for the destruction of life and property becomes more terrible, so also does the strike of to-day become more serious, owing to the great strength and intelligence of the forces of labor; and the loss to the victor and vanquished correspondingly heavy.

"Let us try and consider the meaning of a strike in the United States, where the entire force of organized labor was arrayed against capital. The mere contemplation of such a crisis makes my blood run cold. Imagine for a moment what this would mean. It would mean nothing, if not war. But let us hope that such a contingency will never arise. While strikes at times are unavoidable, as, for instance, when the soulless and sordid greed of a coal baron sneers at labor with the hiss 'that he has nothing to arbitrate.' Whose impious utterances cause the human soul to shiver with the cold-blooded blasphemy of the Divine Right' for the exploitation of humanity. Happily, the Baers are but few, and the employers, as a general rule, are ready and willing to meet labor half-way.

"While the strike is labor's only weapon to resist the unjust oppression of greedy capital, it should be employed only when all other means of settlement have been exhausted and failed to avert it. Under these conditions a strike may be justified, yet the so-called sympathetic strike should not be thought of.

"Sympathetic strikes should never be countenanced or sanctioned by this organization. We may give our moral support, or we may lend financial assistance, where the same he merited and the cause found worthy. But our honor and integrity as an

organization is bound up in our contracts and agreements, and our very manhood at stake; to violate those contracts by a sympathetic strike would be suicide and dishonor. Public sentiment says that arbitration is the most equitable medium for the solution of differences and disagreements between the industrial forces.

"With public sentiment," said Abraham Lincoln, 'nothing can fail; without it, nothing can hope to succeed.'"

Upon the relation between wages and cost of living, Mr. Keefe makes the following remarks:

"The question of wage agreements must be based on the standard of life of the American wage-worker.

"It is the purchasing power of our labor that should be the real basis, that should determine the rate of wage.



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
President International Longshoremen's Ass'n.

"To make this more clear, let me say, that in Alaska gold fields, where labor is paid \$10.00 per day, and where the cost of a flannel shirt is \$10.00, and everything that goes to sustain life in the same proportion, no rational man will believe that the laborer in the Philippines, whose wage of fifty cents per day, that will provide him with the necessities of life for three days, is not better off physically, and the purchasing power of his labor greater than the fellow in Alaska with his \$10.00 per day. And any reference to the low wages of Europe can have no force or effect in arriving at an equitable and just compensation measured by our standard of living.

"This question of the cost of living in its relation to wages should be studied carefully and its importance duly considered. The wage-worker has only one thing to sell, the skill of his hands and brain, and he never claims a price which will destroy his employment by destroying his employers' profit.

"As a preventive of labor disputes and strikes, and the great and ultimate factor in the solution of the industrial problem, annual trade agreements between employer and employee will, in my judgment, not only accomplish this, but will in the near future establish an economic unity of interests between the two great contending forces, that will eventually become co-operative in its broadest sense, and the final relations will be that of business partnerships.

"My experience is that no bond or surety furnished by the worker will inspire the confidence, or guarantee the satisfaction that trade agreements have produced.

"The acceptance of a moral obligation of the workers by our employers, is certainly a glowing tribute to the fidelity, the honor, and integrity of any labor

organization, and our contracts should be revered and held as sacred as our lives.

"He who prevents an epidemic or an illness, is the greater physician; so also are trade agreements the greater moral force in the solution of the question; they eliminate industrial strife, in so much as they prevent or render strikes, lockouts, etc., impossible.

"The cost of labor, or rather the current rate of wages that can permanently exist depends on, or should depend on the cost and necessary expenses of living; and those expenses depend—in turn—on the condition of the worker.

"Hence, other things being equal, the more educated, morally and intellectually elevated, any community of workers become, the higher will be their standard of living, and of necessity, their wages must correspond to the standard. The higher the American standard of life attained by labor, the greater the benefit to the nation.

"Although wages rise and fall with the general rise and fall of the commodities, they do not in equal proportion. For nearly all products there is both an actual and speculative value or present demand; and no one speculates in wages. The price of any commodity or merchandise may rise to a very high point in value, yet no person ever claimed that the wages of labor in those particular lines advanced in proportion. As, for example, when the price of steel went soaring a few years since, no writer on economics has ever contended that wages rose pro rata; the miners of iron ore, the longshoremen, and all engaged in the transportation of the iron ore, never felt their wages swell in proportion to the increase in the price of steel. The same is true of cotton, and those whose labor puts it on the market; in fact, the same is true of all speculative commodities. While it is true that our wages have advanced with the prosperity of the last eight years, yet, the cost of living has advanced and continues to advance in the face of a general decline.

"The wants of the wage-worker have immensely increased and the standard of living will continue to rise, and the workers' necessities to-day may have been luxuries a few years past; and absolutely unknown a generation ago; and it is upon these points that great stress must be laid in making our annual agreements; and it behooves each and every member to study the question thoroughly, so as to be able to meet with intelligence any and all phases of the question relative to wages.

"In the making of contracts, or annual agreements, we must clearly understand our rights, and at the same time recognize the necessity of respecting the rights of those with whom we are dealing. The real point to contend for is simply the adjustment of our relations on a basis of mutual interest and justice, with no desire to kill the goose that lays the golden egg."

Mr. Keefe pronounces organization of labor to be "the greatest moral force of the century" and declares that it has accomplished the following things:

"Organization removed the child of tender years from the mill and mine, and brought sunshine into the lives of the little ones.

"Organization has limited women's toil in the sweat-shop and improved the surroundings and sanitary conditions.

"Organization has promoted economy and encouraged sobriety, taught the worker not to waste his opportunities, has removed ignorance and prejudice.

"Organization has been a positive force in the awakening of a higher duty in the parent in the education of his off spring; that they may be better equipped to fight the battle of life.

"Organization has eliminated many of the burdens and evils that were the inheritance of centuries.

"Organization has made us better men and to-day our actions are controlled by sentiments of justice, equity, and humanity, promoting peace, comfort and happiness."

NEEDS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COTTON INDUSTRY.

AN ADDRESS URGING THE STUDY AND SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM, AND THE ADOPTION OF IMPROVED METHODS.

Herbert E. Walmsley of New Bedford, Mass., President of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, in his address to the semi-annual meeting of that body in September, dwelt upon the importance of industrial peace. He also declared it to be an economic principle that no industry that depends for its life upon undue restriction of wages, in order to atone for loss caused by failure to employ the most modern methods, has a right to exist. Mr. Walmsley said:

"First and foremost of all questions for consideration and elucidation is, without doubt, the so-called labor question; the standard of prosperity of the cotton trade in New England, depending so largely upon the presence or absence of a correct and good understanding between employer and employed.

"In the spirit in which the concerns of a great industry ought to be conducted, and on the principle that we are totally and absolutely opposed to strikes and lock-outs, favoring on the other hand an equitable adjustment of differences between employer and employed by conciliation or any amicable method that will preserve the rights of both parties, I do not hesitate, as president of this association, to again submit that the question of industrial peace is a perfectly legitimate topic for investigation and discussion by this association. At the same time, let me say that I am not unmindful of the fact that one must expect to have one's motives scrutinized and one's every word sifted with no ordinary jealousy and with no sparing criticism, when attempting to deal with the subject.

"As you are aware, the cotton trade of this country is one of the very important, if not the most important of our great staple industries, some millions of our population being directly or indirectly dependent upon it. Its dislocation or stoppage brings in its train every kind of disaster without parallel; its prosperity is the guarantee of comfort and well-being to an enormous section of our people, and is to be earnestly labored for.

"Is there any man who does not see the extent of the burdens placed upon the industry and the community through the disastrous and ever-recurring conflicts between employer and employed, with their desolating effect, destroying as such conflicts do, hundreds of thousands of dollars of capital taken from the profits of the mills and the thrift of the workers, benefitting our competitors to the lasting and permanent injury of New England, imperiling the very existence of the trade?

"Is there anyone who does not acknowledge that it is a matter of intense concern to all of us that the smooth working of the great cotton manufacturing industry of New England should, if possible, be insured? Surely not! Let us then endeavor to infuse the genius of common sense into the question.

"Is there anyone among us, any employer of labor, who does not fully realize the absolute necessity of harmonious co-operation and combination between employer and employed? Who does not recognize the fact that the road to trade prosperity lies through the region of mutual understanding?

"There is small need to point out or recount reasons which demonstrate the evils of strikes or lock-outs; at best they are a clumsy, uncivilized and outrageous remedy. The pity is that such occurrences so often become inevitable. We can ill afford these wretched conflicts, entailing such severe loss upon capital and such untold misery and suffering upon labor; these 'fights to a finish,' jeopardizing the very existence of the cotton industry, are to be deprecated and discountenanced, dislocating the trade and driving much of it into the hands of our competitors. Recognizing, therefore, to the full, the dangers of future strife, provision should be made for the settlement of disputes, in an amicable and broad-minded manner.

"A trade quarrel is an occasion, not for a mere display of endurance, but for argument, for statistics,

for careful investigation of facts and principles. There must be union if the cotton trade is to prosper.

"All must admit the desirability of conciliation in the place of the violent methods of the past; the evolving of some definite method of adjusting disputes which would preclude the possibility of extreme measures and even make disputes a remote possibility. The common sense, no less than the common interest of both parties, should supply any want so apparent. Let both sides do what they can to agree upon the principles upon which they alone are competent to speak.

"With a reasonable security against strikes and lock-outs over long periods, the possibilities of a permanent return upon capital would be more stable than they are at present; panic competition would be checked, and the maintenance of our markets rendered more secure; more capital would thus be



HERBERT E. WALMSLEY,
Pres. New England Cotton Manufacturers' Ass'n.

attracted to the industry with added security for the investment; production would be strengthened with beneficial results all around.

"The matter is one of public concern, and it should therefore be the great effort of all alike to establish a permanent industrial peace, so that, united, we may all the longer withstand the unequal competition of longer hours and lower wages, and preserve for New England the inestimable advantages of the great cotton manufacturing industry that has served New England so long and so well.

"Is there anyone holding any position of authority and responsibility in our great hives of industry who is not prepared to concede and admit that labor, in asking for what is moderate and just—in asking for what is necessary for the protection of its interests, without inflicting unnecessary injury upon capital—is not perfectly within its rights?

"Let us without reservation concede to labor its legitimate and indisputable claim as an important factor in the situation. It is incumbent on each to respect the rights of the other, for both have their respective rights.

"The point desired to be made is, that there must be combination of purpose between employer and employed, that the laborer is worthy his hire, that labor is entitled in all equity and expediency to as fair and full return as circumstances permit of.

"With respect to the hours of labor in the cotton mills of New England and the rate of wages to be paid the operatives. As regards the former, the hours of labor, or the working hours per week. Fully realizing the force of Southern competition and its daily increasing severity, it is perfectly plain that the cotton industry of New England, in view of

this rapidly increasing competition, cannot afford to have its power of successful competition further weakened by reducing the hours or having any further burdens whatsoever imposed on it. There can be no two opinions as to this. On the other hand, however, it is equally perfectly plain and certain that the working hours in the New England workshops cannot and will not be increased beyond the present legal and lawful limit. No retrograde movement of any such character is possible in this twentieth century, no matter by whom contemplated or thought of. Any suggestion of this nature may be at once dismissed without further words or consideration.

"As to the rate of wages. Far better look this problem squarely in the face also, and equally, freely and candidly admit that the normal or standard rate of wages in the New England cotton mill never can nor will be brought down to the level of the Southern standard. The difference in the cost of living alone, between these two sections of the country, makes such a thing impossible. I do not hesitate to say, in the most emphatic manner, that in my judgment any such reduction or levelling down is neither desirable nor necessary. Rather should we aim for higher standards in the interest of the well-being, advancement and prosperity of the entire community, regarded from any and every point of view. The real and true self-interest of the employer will not permit of any forced and continued attempt to reduce wages below a normal or legitimate standard.

"Good wages are not incompatible with our position in the world's market. Such, at least, is my deliberate judgment of this delicate and vexed question.

"It is high time to speak plainly and without equivocation. The time for smooth words and evasion has gone by. Where conditions have arrived at such a pass that mills are in such an unfortunate and unenviable position that they cannot any longer be run with any degree of profit, let them close down and go out of business altogether, and the sooner the better. They are nothing less than a demoralizing and disturbing element in what would otherwise be a healthy, vigorous and satisfactory situation. Mills of this undesirable character,—and, unfortunately, it is to be feared there are too many such in New England,—could not compete with the well-equipped Southern mills, even were they to pay the same wages and run the same number of hours, from the fact and for the simple reason that their machinery is antiquated, fit for little else than the scrap-heap. They are in no condition to meet any kind of competition on any class of work, or under any circumstances. In the face of it, on their own admission, they cannot compete with their worn-out, obsolete machinery, barely able to make even the cheap low-grade goods they have so long and so blindly persisted in making and still continue to make, and for which there is not a sufficient demand at anything like remunerative prices. No such short-sighted policy can nowadays succeed in New England, or anywhere else for that matter. If to-day the management of any individual mill or of any particular group of mills in New England will still persist in the production of such yarns and fabrics, in which particular line of product, competition is the keenest, and margins are the narrowest, they inevitably invite defeat and disaster, which they can alone expect and will surely encounter.

"If again the cotton industry of New England or any particular section of the industry has arrived at such a pass, such a stage in its history, that all that can be done in the endeavor to make ends meet is to reduce wages below a legitimate standard, below what is fair, equitable, humane or expedient, by all means, let such portion of the industry leave us, and go elsewhere, we want none of it. Such condition is sufficient to warrant, to demand drastic action. There is no hope for them."

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AN INTERNATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

The projected formation of an International Civic Federation was the natural outcome of the luncheon tendered by the National Civic Federation to members of the Interparliamentary Union and to representatives of labor organizations and industrial corporations and societies sent to the United States by the French Government. Civic Federations are now being organized in England and Canada. The nations represented in the Interparliamentary Union are those in which constitutional government is most developed. Its purpose of promoting international peace is in essence dependent upon the good will of peoples, to which national prosperity is essential; and that in turn depends upon industrial peace in each country. The establishment of industrial peace is, therefore, precedent to the discouragement of war. General industrial conditions would also be affected, if treaties of arbitration should cause any large degree of disarmament, through a material increase in the world's productivity. The extension throughout every industrial nation of a systematic betterment of the relations between capital and labor would increase the world's consuming capacity.

An International Civic Federation could perform work that would accord perfectly with the mission of every society that favors the abolition of war, which has been an ideal for centuries; while its deliberations might contribute valuable additions to world economics if not to world politics.

LABOR CANNOT DO IT ALL.

The editorial spirit of the "Wall Street Journal" on labor matters has been notably fair and broad. That paper has not hesitated to criticize employers or capitalists whenever it thought they were unfair, and it has been generous in its treatment of the shortcomings of organized labor. The following paragraph from a recent article, however, contains a proposition that even its editor, we think, will admit is rather untenable:

If organized labor would drop its programme of monopoly and would strive for the uplifting of the industrial classes by intelligent education, and agitation, by methods of co-operation, by plans for insurance against old age, sickness and accidents, and by the establishment of schemes of fair adjustment of differences with employers, it is safe to say that nearly every wage-earner in the United States, as well as thousands of broad-minded employers, would hasten to join the unions.

The fact is that organized labor is more and more striving to do these very things. It must be granted that for one of them,—“the establishment of schemes of fair adjustment of differences with employers,”—labor is constantly making its share of effort. But how absurd it is to expect organized labor to accomplish this alone. The very statement of that ideal relation implies co-operation by the employers. Yet the head of the Manufacturers' National Association openly declares: “This is not the time to talk conciliation. Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or trade agreements. To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods,” etc.

Why should organized labor be enjoined to work out this scheme alone? What would it be worth to Wall Street, to all industry, and to society generally, to establish “schemes of fair adjustment of differences with employers”? And yet, the “Wall Street Journal” asks: Why does not organized labor bring this about by itself? If, as the editor of the “Journal” will doubtless admit, the purpose of organized labor is to secure better conditions for wage-earners, should it not have the hearty support and co-operation of employers, bankers, and in fact of all of the “non-producing classes”?

Indeed, organized labor has had to struggle for the improvement of the mass, not only alone and unaided, but against opposition, even against persecution. It is a far cry from the collared serf of the dark ages to the upright, free work-

man of to-day. The march upward from the market place at Magdeburg in 1301, where ten handiworkers were burned alive for resisting the oppression of the patriciate, from Cologne where thirty-three weavers were executed in 1371 after losing a strike against the ruling families, through wholesale massacre and exile, through the nights when the tramping journeymen were required to have masters present at their tavern meetings to prevent the crime of making demands for better treatment, through the years when men were thrown into jail for the heinous offense of mere membership in a union, through the slow conversion of public opinion to the acknowledgment of the right to organize, has traversed centuries of time and has endured an infinitude of suffering. The way has continually led over the worse to the better. Brentano well summarizes this halting advance: “The dawn of every new epoch of progress has been accomplished by steps backward.”

This march has been made the harder because labor has had to evolve its own leadership. It has made all the mistakes of unskilled generalship and of undisciplined following. It makes them still. Its successes have been won despite the follies of its own ignorance.

But the time has come when employers and public-spirited citizens, who have some understanding of the awkwardness, blunders and misdirections that hamper the advance of labor, and who realize that the betterment of labor is the betterment of the entire social structure, are lending a helping hand; and we are glad to state that the editor of the “Wall Street Journal” is one of them.

WHAT CAUSES RAILWAY ACCIDENTS?

Everybody shares the shock of reading daily agonizing reports of fatal railway accidents. Everybody is interested in any effort to learn and to eliminate, if possible, their cause. The charge has been made that the frequency of preventable accidents is a decadence in the personnel of trainmen, brought about through the destruction of ambition by the rule of seniority. But the agreements between the principal railway companies and the brotherhoods show in their text that seniority is theoretically coupled with ascertained merit in making promotions. This is confirmed by statements from both railway officials and representatives of brotherhoods, presented on page 16. They suggest a comparison with the operation of the rule of seniority in the civil and military services.

OUR ENEMIES.

The National Civic Federation promotes industrial peace through securing rightful relations between employer and employed. Any organized effort to array employer and employed in hostility must oppose its mission. Hence the employers' associations and citizens' alliances, formed to war upon organized labor, and the socialists, organized to war upon capital, join their voices in similar criticism of the Civic Federation. Diametrically opposed in their ultimate purposes, they share a common opposition to the only organization that would bring labor and capital into harmony.

It is an officer of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America who said that employers were to be delivered “from the bondage of organized labor, not by continuing the policy of organized labor's colleague, the National Civic Federation, which is the greatest menace to industrial peace now in existence.”

The President of a socialist railway organization in a confidential letter advised his organizer to stimulate public sentiment

against capitalism and the Gompers faction, which is working in harmony with Marcus A. Hanna and the infamous Civic Federation to keep down the masses.

A report in the Chicago Tribune of a meeting to form a federation of employers' associations contained the following:

In the evening a majority of the delegates gathered in an informal meeting and talked over the general situation. It was then that the National Civic Federation was condemned for its policy of "conciliation and arbitration."

"Our association has nothing to do with the Federation," began Secretary Job. "One reason why we are to meet in October is to overcome the influence of that body."

"The Federation is made up of politicians who are looking for their own interests," said J. West Goodwin.

"What do they represent anyway?" asked Secretary Du Brul of the metal trades. "I have found them a lot of meddlers."

"The Federation is a costly plaything," was the comment of Secretary Marshall of Dayton. "Chicago was its birthplace, and the city has been paying the penalty for the last two years."

"The whole question is this," began President Parry. "Has a body a right to institute an arbitration court to take precedence of the courts of the land and tell the people—the workers, the business men—what they should do?"

"Stalking back of it all is the ghost of the Homestead riots," said another, and that ended the first attack the Federation has received from an organized body of employers.

Of the same meeting, the *Chicago Record-Herald's* account said:

President Parry paid his respects to the National Civic Federation, which he styled a "mutual admiration society of 'butter-in' with a \$10,000 a year secretary," by saying that it was a question whether the Federation shall decide the laws of the country and tell men what to do, or leave the interpretation of the laws to the courts.

The national leader of the socialist party, Eugene V. Debs, brandishes this red flag at the Civic Federation:

The time is not far when the socialists will be in the majority in the trades-unions, and they will rescue the union movement from the withering band of the leaders who dominate it, and from the blighting control of the Civic Federation, which has entered into an unholy alliance—the slaughterers of the laborer and those leaders in joint conspiracy against the union man.

The "Call to Arms" of the New York section of the socialist labor party says:

Betrayed by the Civic Federation and the labor fakir, or defeated by the Parrys in every big conflict, finding the pure and simple union a hollow reed to lean upon, the workers are beginning to turn to the socialist labor party.

The *People*, the organ of the socialist labor party, says:

Led by the late Mark Hanna, who saw the necessity of keeping the working class in line while a commercial conquest was made of the world, the ultra-capitalist class formed an alliance with the "labor leaders," the Gomperses, Mitchells, Keefes, et al. The result was the Civic Federation and the various agreements recognizing the Gompers type of unionism. . . . It was no miracle that D. M. Parry first became famous through his attacks on Hanna and the Civic Federation.

The platform of the socialist labor party declares that the Civic Federation and the American Federation of Labor "threaten to throttle the labor movement," and says that they have become "one of the strongest obstacles in this country to socialism."

The *Brauer-Zeitung*, a Cincinnati socialist paper, pays us this compliment:

The National Civic Federation, the most infamous, cancerous ulcer which has been inoculated upon the trades-union movement of this land.

and predicts that the time is coming when the capitalist influence of the Civil Federation will be condemned and spurned by the workers and eradicated.

These quotations sufficiently show that the Civic Federation receives the vituperation of the socialists simultaneously with the criticism of their foes.

The socialists seek to excite class hatred and to inflame the minds of wage-earners against the Civic Federation. They aim to grasp control of trades-unions and pervert them from a purely economic force into a political army, as is shown by their futile efforts to capture the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Debs says: "I welcome the assaults upon unionism by David M. Parry and his kind, because Mr. Parry is doing as much to array class against class as any other

individual, although he aims at the 'opposite effect.'"

The bulk of the membership of employers' associations will be surprised to learn that their leaders are regarded as allies by the socialists; but these quotations speak for themselves.

A FALLACIOUS COMPARISON.

It is a frequent but misleading statement that organized labor includes only a small minority of the wage-earners of the country. The purpose of the statement, which is based upon a deceptive comparison, is to give force to the claim that it is monstrous tyranny for the small minority to dictate to the great majority of workers the wages, hours, and conditions of their toil. Figures are cited that, on their face, prove that labor organizations contain only 8 per cent. of all wage-earners. But it is only in trades where the union has included nearly all the workers that it is strong enough to become a potent factor. In such cases, the mass of unorganized labor does not figure. If a union contains 95 per cent. of the skilled workers in its craft and demands better conditions, it is no argument to say that the farm hands or the washerwomen are not organized.

Whatever one's attitude toward labor organization, it is well to have a correct perception of its strength. The comparison most frequently quoted credits organized labor with a membership of about 2,400,000, which is only 8 per cent. of the more than 29,000,000 persons engaged in "gainful occupations" in the United States in 1900. But an analysis of the "gainful occupations" shows the fallacy of the comparison. These 29,000,000 include: In agriculture, 10,000,000; domestic and personal service, 6,000,000; the professions 1,200,000. Practically none of these are organizable, and they should be excluded from the comparison. Trade and transportation engaged 4,700,000 persons. But from these should be deducted bankers, brokers, merchants, officials of banks and corporations, bookkeepers, commercial travelers, agents, accountants, foremen and overseers, hucksters and peddlers, livery stable keepers, undertakers, and miscellaneous workers.

Moreover, in most cases, this considerable minority has the sympathy and following of the unorganized majority. There is a distinct community of purpose between the union and the non-union man. Shorter hours, higher wages, and improved conditions are just as much desired by those without as by those within the unions. Occasional brutal combats do not impugn this broad truth.

When 6,000 union strikers went out of the Fall River cotton mills, they took with them 24,000 non-unionists. The two are standing shoulder to shoulder, the families of the non-union strikers being supported from the treasury of the union, to the best of its ability. The 8,000 anthracite union miners who struck in 1900, were joined by 140,000 non-union miners. When the railway brotherhoods contemplate a strike, they submit the question to a vote of all the employees, non-union as well as union, the vote of every man counting equally. So that, in many occupations, the potential strength of organized labor is far greater than its exact enrollment, while in some crafts it represents 95 per cent. of the workers.

A LESSON FOR NEW ENGLAND.

All who have investments and all wage-earners in textile industries will be directly interested in the address of President Walmsley to the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, which we present on another page. The address will be of interest as well to all those whose prosperity is associated with the continuance of an industry that is "the guarantee of comfort and well-being to an enormous section of our people."

The critical stage that cotton manufacturing has reached in New England, in its competition with Southern mills, is frankly recognized in this

address, and the establishment of industrial peace and the introduction of the most improved machinery and processes are pointed out as essential to maintain the Northern industry. Conflicts between employer and employed, with the loss they entail to both capital and labor, injure New England and benefit its competitors.

There is a lesson to be learned from the agreement between the operatives and operators in the North of England cotton trade. There committees of both organized employers and employees determine the wage-scale, subject to change at any time by mutual consent. The way is left open, in case of failure to agree, to the lock-out or strike. But the agreement has worked so well that the scale that went into effect in 1892 has undergone but one change, when an advance of 2½ per cent. was made in 1898. Old England thus shows New England a trade agreement, with a provision for joint consideration of a scientifically adjusted scale, that in practice has produced a long period of peace.

It is profoundly true that no industry that depends for success upon taxing wages for the greater cost of defective or antique processes deserves to survive. That is a law of civilization that cotton manufacturers should face with a courage equal to the candor with which it is recognized.

PARALLEL METHODS OF PEACE.

The sessions of the Interparliamentary Union in St. Louis and of the International Peace Conference in Boston developed a remarkable parallelism between international peace and industrial peace. The speeches of their delegates, with little paraphrasing, would apply as well to the solution of the world-wide labor problem as to the establishment of world-wide peace. The terms of the methods of securing each are readily interchangeable. The proposal that an international parliament shall consider periodically questions of international law parallels the proposition to form an International Civic Federation, in which representatives of employers, employed and the several peoples may formulate conclusions of importance to the entire industrial world, regardless of national boundaries.

A PRESCRIPTION FOR LABOR DIFFICULTIES.

By "Dr." Marcus M. Marks, President of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers.

R:
ice for the excited.
pins for the sluggish.
brains for the stupid.
light for the prejudiced.

Mix thoroughly and administer at least once a day in conciliation conferences until the head and the hand work harmoniously.

P. S.—Perhaps ice should have been written with a capital I, as it is the most important ingredient in the prescription.

If rightly conducted, unionism may be made a force helpful alike to its members and to society in general. Standing on sound principles and wisely led and guided, it will encounter more help than hindrance from employers and from the public. If its course is marked by foolish and unjustifiable strikes, it will encounter only opposition and ultimate defeat, in precisely that danger unionism now stands. An often offended and sometimes outraged public is rapidly forming itself into a national jury, on whose verdict the fate of unionism will depend.

Both parties to industrial conflicts, employers as well as organized employees, are now on trial. A vast problem is in process of solution, and the fate of unionism is in its own hands.—New York "Sun."

"The motive of industry is money making. The motive of life is good-will. That which one cannot justly do, another cannot justly require. When the requirements of justice are understood and complied with strikes will cease to be with us.—"Public Policy."

WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF THE National Civic Federation

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"A LABOR DEPARTMENT."

ITS IMPORTANCE IN EVERY LARGE INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Its Need Caused by the Loss of "Personal Touch" Between Employer and Employees—its Personnel and its Work to Establish Just Relations.

BY CHARLES U. CARPENTER.



CHARLES U. CARPENTER

Every great industrial establishment should maintain a distinct department of labor, with a special head for its administration. The purpose of this department would be the avoidance of friction and the adjustment of the relations between labor and its management. It is a fact that grows more and more surprising with consideration that while every large business has its executive heads of departments, who are selected for their especial fitness, labor alone has rarely received such treatment. Yet the cost of labor is a factor in the cost of production and the price at which the product can be put upon the market. The necessity of meeting competition, therefore, should make obvious the importance of a special department of labor.

The necessity of this department is increased by the loss, in this day of huge corporations, of the former "personal touch," which exists now only in the small shop. There is seldom trouble in the small shop, because difficulties are usually met by the em-

ployer himself before they can grow into unwarranted importance. Why not adopt a plan, in the case of the large corporation, which will insure the meeting of difficulties in the same manner?

What work requires more specialized and more continuous and practical attention than does the handling of the labor question? And yet, upon whom does this delicate and difficult problem actually fall? Is it handled by a department composed of men especially fitted for this question by their education and broad study of labor and knowledge of conditions in every country? By men selected for their fair-mindedness and practical experience in handling large bodies of men and of such character as to gain the confidence of the workmen; and by men of experience in making labor contracts, who know where the rights of labor end and the transgressions of the rights of capital begin?

No! this is seldom the case. The active, actual every-day policy of handling labor, the part that is vital to the workingman and the manufacturer, is dictated not by him but by his foremen.

The superintendent is usually so loaded down with duties and responsibilities that it is almost impossible for him to give the subject the close attention it deserves. Again, he is often in the same condition as the higher officials. He is seldom in close touch with the workers. The foremen who are superintending the departments are exercising the direct and consequently the real potential influence over the men for good or bad. No matter what the manufacturer may desire to do for his men, no matter what his actual policy may be, their feeling toward the firm is governed more by their feeling toward the man who has them in daily control than by any other factors. If this man is weak, the workmen will impose upon him and the company. If harsh, unjust, or inclined to "play favorites," they will be discontented. The foreman will either augment or annul the effect of any good action or purpose of the employer.

"The time to stop trouble is before, it begins." Some plan of organization must be adopted to make this possible. Some method should exist whereby employer and men could get together and discuss their mutual difficulties before trouble begins. When once trouble does arise and it has become so acute as to require the attention of the employer, the feelings and prejudices of all who have attempted to handle the proposition have, by that time, been aroused to a high pitch.

Workmen may often make a proposal too absurd for the employer's consideration. But, embittered by delay in consideration by foremen, the workmen may at times insist upon its acceptance. Or the employer, who might have granted some fair demand if it had reached him directly, may feel obliged to stand by his subordinates who have refused it. This means trouble that might have been avoided.

These considerations emphasize the necessity for a special labor department. This department should be in control of the labor question, with full authority to settle all questions that the men and foremen cannot settle. There should always exist a right of appeal to this department on the part of either workmen or foremen. It should be its constant aim to settle all questions before they reach an acute stage and assume an unwarranted importance. The questions should be considered directly with the employees affected. The department should also investigate those practices of the workmen which are unjust to the foremen, and endeavor to have them corrected. In actual experience great good has been accomplished by the investigation and taking up with the workmen such matters as restriction of output, opposition to improved machinery, unjust wage demands, unreasonably high wage rates, demands for a shorter work-day, unreasonable opposition to justifiable discharges, etc. The writer's experience has been with several large factories, and especially with one concern employing four thousand men. In that factory there were represented eleven international organizations, twenty-four local unions, and thirty-eight shop committees. These local organizations were new and undisciplined. They restricted

output and the employment of men, and caused the greatest difficulties in discharging incompetent men. The success of the policy outlined has been proved by a change in the attitude of the workmen. The men now seem to try to limit their complaints to those which are fair.

A standing advisory committee should be formed, composed of men who are highest in authority in the company, before whom shall be brought all important matters of labor policy and any very serious affairs that cannot be satisfactorily settled. This advisory board should be called together by the labor department on emergencies, and also for monthly reports, which should indicate clearly the nature of the troubles settled and the progress made.

This work should not be undertaken in a spirit of hostility to the workmen. It should be carried out along lines of justice to all concerned, coupled with firmness in demanding and insisting that that which is right should be granted, and that which is wrong should not be tolerated.

The labor department is as valuable in a non-union as in a union factory. It is as important in one as in the other to establish relations of confidence; to give the men opportunity to earn a fair wage and to have their complaints heard, and in no other way can this be satisfactorily accomplished.

Thorough investigation, prompt action, just decisions, and a firm stand for what is right should mark the work of the labor department.

It can do nothing more important than to establish a just and scientific wage system, both to satisfy the workmen and produce work with the greatest economy. The lack of attention to this matter causes much of the trouble between employes and the employer.

This department can, with great advantage, watch for undue shrinkage in output or any tendency toward its limitation.

The important questions of "employment" and "improving the personnel of the factory force" have a most important connection with efficient production. That the efficiency of the factory force can be largely increased by scientific methods is a fact not generally recognized. Systematic steps for the separation of the poor workmen from the efficient for their education and improvement, or, in case they prove totally inefficient, their discharge, are important factors in improving the factory's efficiency. In a properly systematized factory, it is not difficult to obtain accurate information concerning the character, ability and earning capacity of different workmen, even though they number thousands. Such data are also valuable in checking up discharges, as any discharge for an unjust cause can be noted at once.

The labor department should investigate and have installed such improvements in sanitary and working conditions as experience has found to be practical.

An acquaintance with legal decisions bearing upon the rights of capital as well as of labor and with the associations of labor and capital and the conditions of both throughout the world is necessary.

The work of the labor department will be largely ineffective unless it has the support and co-operation of the foremen or men who are in direct charge of departments. These men should be brought into sympathy with its aims and purposes. Generally the responsibility for this labor question is something which they will gladly relinquish, but the seeming interference with their preconceived ideas of the boundaries of their own authority, which this work must involve, will be at first resented. Nothing, however, need or ought to be done to interfere with the necessary authority of a foreman.

These foremen must be instructed in the best methods of handling men; most effective ways of increasing their working efficiency, in a manner not detrimental to their health; of increasing their interest in their work, and, especially in union shops, the most effective methods of securing the best results for the company and the men under union conditions.

In order to gain the desired results, weekly meetings of all the foremen and assistants for the purpose of discussing these problems and difficulties, are of the utmost importance. Their discussions will give

A LABOR DAY CELEBRATION IN AN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY.

SOME RESULTS OF WELFARE WORK SHOWN IN A FAIR, WITH EMPLOYEES' EXHIBITS, MUSIC AND ATHLETIC SPORTS.

Labor Day is observed in one manufacturing community in New England as nowhere else in the country. The peculiar observance of this national holiday there is an outcome as well as part of organized welfare work. Labor Day has there become an annual holiday of the most wholesome, instructive and inspiring nature.

The central features of its observance are a Fair, containing exhibits of fruit, flowers, vegetables, fancy work, poultry, and various domestic products; work of the kindergarten, manual training and cooking schools; Athletic Sports; a Baseball Game; a plenitude of music by the Employees' Band, and unrestrained social freedom throughout the day.

Hitherto this popular celebration has been entirely under the executive direction of the Welfare Manager. This year various committees of employees were entrusted with the preparations for the exhibits and the arrangements of the sports, in accordance with the general plan outlined by the Manager. This participation in the work of making the celebration a success by the employees was suggested to the Welfare Manager by an address delivered by the Chairman of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation at its conference in New York last March.

More than ten thousand employees and their families attended the fair and its adjuncts this year. The exhibits were collected and arranged in a large tent erected at one side of a wide athletic field.

The exhibits were remarkable for their own excellence as well as for the taste and ingenuity displayed in their arrangement.

An official of the State, whose duty it is to visit all the county fairs, declared that this Labor Day fair was surpassed by only two other fairs in New England. It is interesting to observe that some of the exhibits shown here, especially of poultry and eggs, have acquired such a reputation as to command particularly high prices, thus adding materially to the prosperity of the employees. There were so many applications from the employees to present exhibi-

relief to the views of the most radical and disseminate the ideas of the more conservative. Thus there is developed a tendency toward harmonious action and uniform policy among the foremen. They will learn much that will result in direct economies in their departments. There will also be developed a desirable esprit de corps among the foremen themselves.

Where union conditions exist, workmen should be encouraged to attend their union meetings, and to act as officers and members of union committees. In many cases, foremen are found making it so unpleasant for union shop committeemen that only the worst and most radical men, who are continually stirring up trouble, will serve. The conservative men, bound by their obligations, and by the company's acceptance of unionism, are compelled to follow the lead of these men whenever trouble arises. It should always be kept in mind that these committees are not only representatives of the men before the company, but also practically the representatives of the company before the unions.

More will depend upon the ability, character and

tions of highly bred fowls that there was not room to receive them all.

The athletic field stretches before the exhibit tent, a rolling expanse of green, beyond which is a lake surrounded with the lawns and attractive homes of many of the wage-earners. Throughout the morning there were run a wide variety of races, stimulating a wholesome rivalry in athletics, and exciting the keenest interest and applause, for the victors, among the spectators.

While the athletic sports were in progress during the morning, the official judges were inspecting the

was as much interested to see whether the vegetables from his garden had taken a prize as was any of the workmen.

The centre of interest in the afternoon was the baseball game. This is a spirited contest every year, the local nine being always matched against a visiting team worthy of its prowess. This year, although the visiting team was defeated, there came back from their town subsequently expressions of the most cordial recognition of their treatment by their manly hosts.

During the sports, both morning and afternoon, the thousands of men, women and children scattered over the grounds all the miscellaneous debris incident to such an occasion. No objection whatever was made to this, but a force of men was kept constantly at work gathering this scattered rubbish into buckets and taking it away. This process afforded an object lesson in cleanliness to all the people.

When the concourse was assembled for the ball game, Gideon F. Holmes, Treasurer of the Company, awarded a cup offered by the Welfare Manager to the member of the nine who had made the highest all-round average during the season previous to Labor Day. His encouraging remarks concerning the success of the exhibition and the enthusiasm displayed in the field sports were warmly applauded. There was evident appreciation, also, of his outline of the origin and progress of baseball.

The visitors at this fair were especially impressed by the happy faces of the throng, men, women and children all seeming to be filled with the most hearty spirit of enjoyment and interest. The assembly presented a cosmopolitan appearance, because of the different nationalities represented among the employees.

The entire success of the celebration is an evidence of the executive ability of W. E. C. Nazro, the Welfare Manager. His thoughtfulness also had provided every facility for the visitors to observe each phase of the day's amusements, and had made every provision for their material comfort.

exhibits in the tent and awarding prizes.

At noon, when the sports were over, the tent was thrown open to the populace. The signal for this was the blowing of a whistle by the Welfare Manager, and an example of the careful organization of the plans for the day was shown by the celerity with which a force of men removed, as in the twinkling of an eye, from the athletic field all the paraphernalia that had been used in the races.

The scenes in the tent during the examination of the exhibits were most animated. It was pleasing to observe that the highest official of the company

experience of the man at the head of the labor department than upon any other factors. He should have had a wide experience in the handling of large bodies of men, both union and non-union. He should have an acquaintance with the heads of existing manufacturers' associations and prominent labor leaders, as well as a thorough knowledge of union methods. He should be thoroughly informed on modern factory systems and methods, especially as applied to wage systems. Mechanical experience is very desirable. Inasmuch as many of the disputes that will arise will concern the question of wages and output, he should be able to devise methods of ascertaining the output that could be fairly expected from any job. He should be capable of introducing methods of increasing the interest of workmen in their tasks. Such work requires a combination of tact, good judgment, experience in handling men, executive ability, and firmness. In short, the man guiding such a department, formed to undertake such work as a safeguard to the company's interests, should possess no small degree of ability.

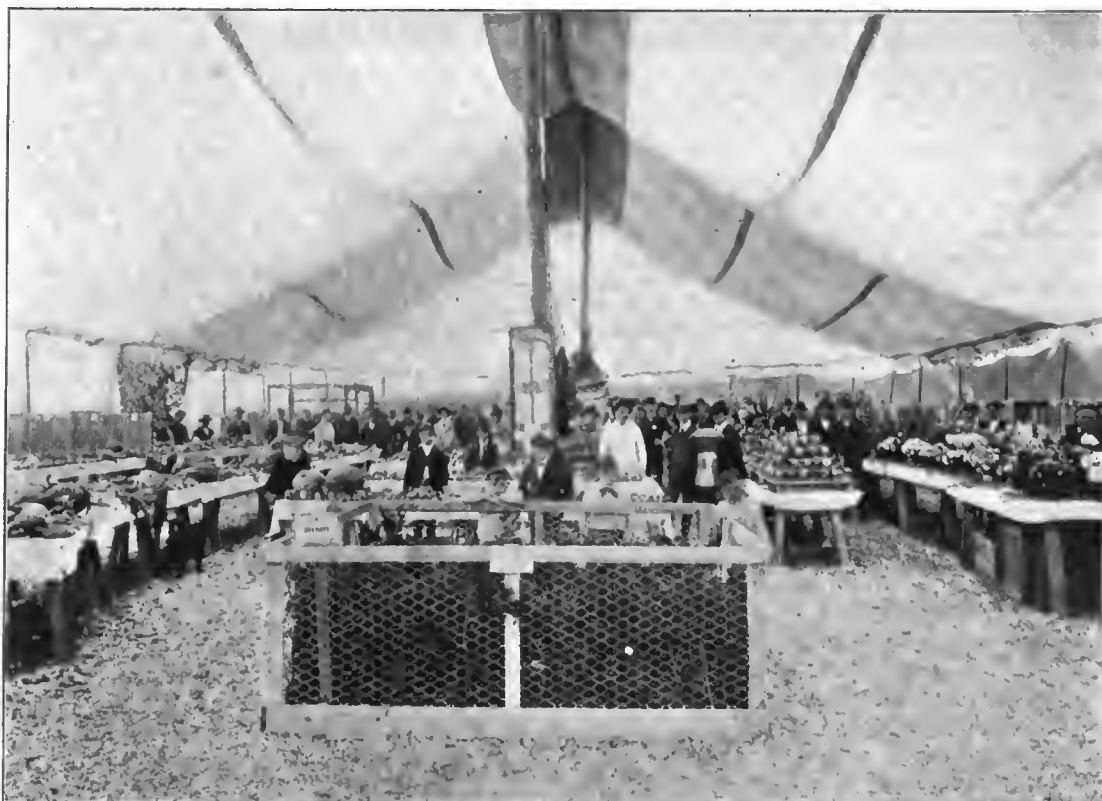
No work is more worthy of the close attention of

those high in authority in the company. It is indissolubly linked with the highest and most important interests of the employer. The commercial success of any business depends not only upon the securing and developing of markets, and the development of the economic possibilities of the factory, but also upon the existence and continuance of satisfactory relations between employer and employee.

A UNIQUE BEQUEST.

A Permanent Fund Created for Employees out of Work.

Herman Stursherg, who died recently, in disposing of his large fortune, placed in the hands of two sons, his executors, \$10,000, and expressed a wish that it be used by them in a manner that they might deem best for the benefit of the operatives of the Germania Mills, of Holyoke, Mass., especially at times when the mills might be shut down. He suggested that they invest the principal and use the income from it for this purpose.—"New York Herald," October 5, 1904.



AGRICULTURAL INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

THE FARMER'S PROSPERITY DIRECTLY RELATED TO HARMONY BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR, WHICH SHOULD "GET TOGETHER AND BE REASONABLE."

By JOHN M. STAHL, Secretary of Farmers' National Congress.

The final verdict in contentions between employer and employed will be written by public opinion. If wise, both employers and employed will be concerned about the rights and the attitude of the public. In labor wars it is frequently the case that the innocent public suffers almost or quite as much as the belligerents. I would speak as special representative of the most important element of the public—the farmer.

Who is this farmer that asks to be considered in your contentions? Not the man depicted by stale newspaper wit and cartoon. The remarkable increase in the use of machinery and of force other than human energy to farming has made it a light employment, and the farmer, of necessity, a student and skilled workman. The farmer to-day takes full advantage of the telephone in his house, of the daily delivery of mail, of up-to-date business methods, and is in close touch with social and economic affairs.

Of our population "at least ten years of age, engaged in gainful occupations," more than one-third are engaged in agriculture. Farmers employ more than twenty billion dollars of capital—and it is actual wealth, not watered stocks—in their business. Our annual corn crop alone is worth on the farm more than three times the value at the mine of all the coal mined in this country per year, and of our exports farm products are much more than twice the value of all others combined. Of the population of this country, we own more homes than all others combined, we own more homes free from debt than all others combined, and we have fewer mortgaged homes and less than one-third as many hired homes as the rest of the population. And consider that the farm home is not merely a house, but a house with other buildings and broad acres.

We have a direct interest in disputes between employers and employed, as when such disputes will not permit the handling or transportation of freight. Then our grapes must rot on the vines and our vegetables become unmarketable, and our other products cannot reach the place of demand. But our concern about the relation of employer and employed comes from a broader view, the conception of a fact that employer and employed too often ignore, that our industrial life has become so complex and our economic interests so interdependent that any violent disturbance in one field of labor ultimately injures those in all others. For example, every strike or lock-out lessens the capacity of laborers to buy farm products from their wages and of employers to buy farm products from their profits. An enforced lower plane of living in the city means lower prices and a duller market for the products of the farm. On the other hand, the farmer profits by the increased purchasing power of urban people resulting from the steady, peaceful employment of capital and labor. The strike or lock-out that reduces the trade of merchants reduces their purchases of the products of manufacturing capital or labor and of agricultural capital or labor. Neither employer nor laborer can hurt the other without in the end hurting himself and others. "No man liveth unto himself."

It may be profitable to consider the opinion of that class that in itself combines the employer and the employed as none other does, and that is farthest removed from the scenes of industrial conflicts and presumably is the freest from prejudice. We farmers would offer a solution of what are termed labor troubles in just five words:

"Get together and be reasonable."

It is unfortunate that the development of the factory system and of the corporation has to such degree differentiated the employer and the employed and has put them so far apart. The first step in securing better relations between employer and em-

ployed is to correct this separation by coming together for discussion. Each side will gain respect for the other. This will be all the more certain if back of each is a compact organization—an organization not created to fight, though it will if need be, but to make more effective the results of conference or arbitration.

There is no inherent antagonism between employer and employed. Their interests are antagonistic only as the interests of buyer and seller are antagonistic. There is really no more ground for the buyer and the seller of labor to quarrel than there is for the buyers and the sellers of shoes or lumber or hay to quarrel.

If conference fails, then arbitration. Compulsory arbitration is linking two contradictory words.



JOHN M. STAHL,
Secretary Farmers' National Congress.

Leaving aside any constitutional hindrances, I doubt the advisability or the possibility of enforcing a law that will take from either employer or laborer so much of his liberty as to compel him to go to a third party to settle differences. Certainly, before we attempt to enforce such a law we would better see if we cannot accomplish as much by other means.

Even though the parties to labor controversies were forced to submit their differences to arbitration, it might be found impossible to compel them to abide by the decision. You cannot compel a man to carry on a business against his will, nor can you compel a man, as a general statement, to work for some one he does not wish to serve.

Undoubtedly the laborer in private employment may, as a general proposition, quit work when he pleases and for whatsoever cause he pleases. It is a corollary that trades-unions ignore—something to which the public will not much longer remain indifferent—that the same freedom of action must allow a laborer peaceably and without violence or harm, to work when he pleases and for whomsoever will hire him to his satisfaction.

This much for what is termed private business. The public has the right to demand that such things as the mails, the telegraph service and transportation by railway shall not be stopped to the great public injury by any strike or lock-out. These things enter too closely into our lives, they are too essential to our livelihood and the public welfare, for them to be at the mercy or the whim of a narrow-minded stubborn capitalist or labor leader. Would it not

be feasible to have the laborers of all grades in these lines of activity enlist for, say, a year, their desertion from service being a misdemeanor if certain facts are ascertained by the courts, and they being secure from dismissal except for certain causes? As no one would be compelled to enter this service, there would be no dangerous invasion of personal liberty of action.

The certainty of uninterrupted mail, telegraph and transportation service would greatly aid business and increase the general prosperity and welfare. Those enlisted in this public service would constitute a grand army, soldiers of peace, men valiant, not in destruction, but in service. Years of faithful service would be indicated to the public and would secure hearty public approbation. Those who, by unusual ability and fidelity, became captains and generals of this host, would be esteemed even more highly than the captains and generals whose business it is to destroy.

If the union man does not wish to labor with the non-union man, he has a right to labor where only union men are employed. But the American believes in fair play, and the violence and brutality inflicted on non-union workmen have done much to draw public sentiment away from organized labor. It would be strange if, among the hundreds of thousands of organized laborers some were not brutal and lawless; and probably many misdeeds are wrongfully charged to organized labor. But the public, not forgetful of the thousands of law-abiding union laborers, cannot fail to note that the brutal beating of non-union workmen has not been denounced by organized labor, and that labor organizations have not made enough effort to have punished those guilty of lawlessness in their name. Undoubtedly when, as in cigar-making or tailoring, the union label is evidence of not only competent workmanship, but that the manufactured goods are not disease-carriers, the union label shall mean union labor; but the public does not believe that a union painter in Chicago should refuse to work on lumber from Arkansas until assured that it was manufactured by only union labor. The public has grown heartily tired of some of the preposterous stands made by union labor in this particular, as it has of the sympathetic strike, sometimes three degrees removed! Furthermore the public believes that the man who takes the risks and pays the bills should have a considerable voice in the management of the business.

A gradually increasing disrespect for law has reached such degree that public sentiment is shaking off its sleep. It is beginning to move. Woe to him, employer or employed, that defies it. In the industrial field it will be true that they that draw the sword shall perish by the sword. The American people are aroused concerning lawlessness. It is not so safe as it was to buy city councils, state legislatures or the officers of the law.

Of all people, we should most respect the law. We are the law-makers. If our laws are not what they should be, we have only our apathy or prejudice to blame. The law is our sleepless servant and our only protector. It is so faithful and unobtrusive that we do not regard it. It fences about our fields and shops and homes with security. It locks our doors against the intruder, it guards the sleeping households in city and country. It pays the laborer his wages, the seller for his goods. It broods over our homes. The law touches with kindness and help our daily, commonplace, homely life at a thousand points. We have no arbitrary power to help or harm us—only the laws we ourselves have made. Let us consider what the law is to us, what it does for us, and we will exclaim, the Law and our Liberties forever!

PACKERS AND BUTCHERS BOTH LEARN LESSONS FROM THEIR CONTEST.

A STRIKE THAT FAILED TEACHES THE WORKERS CONSERVATISM AND THE EMPLOYERS GREATER CONSIDERATION.



LUKE GRANT

Lessons for both capital and labor, in the underlying causes and inner history of the strike against the meat-packers, are summarized herewith by Luke Grant, Chicago Secretary of the State Board of Arbitration of Illinois, and labor writer for the Chicago "Inter-Ocean."

On the surface the unions lost the strike, and it was probably the best thing that could happen to them that they did lose. They will build up stronger and better organizations for the experience, after they recover from the immediate hardships which must invariably follow great strikes.

Looking at it with a view to the permanency of the butchers' organization and its possibilities to do good to its members, the union has gained, and that fact will be generally recognized within the next twelve months.

The packers will never again return to the old system of dealing with their employes that prevailed before the formation of the union. Of that there is no danger; the experience has been too costly. A more liberal policy will be adopted by the packers in treating with their employes than ever before, and this policy will continue to grow more liberal as time goes on, not for any sentimental reason, but simply as a business proposition. Strikes are expensive, and the packers have learned that fact.

On the other hand many of the petty and annoying exactions that the unions have demanded in the past year or two will be stopped, as they should be. The shop stewards and business agents have been brought to a realization of the fact that their powers are not supreme, as they supposed, and that the packers are to have something to say about the conduct of their own establishments.

But did the packers ever seriously consider the causes of this usurpation of power on the part of the unions which they so much resented? It is fair to assume that they did not. They have been accustomed too long to regard wages as mere "fixed charges" and their employes as part of their machinery. In that respect they were no different from many other large corporations, who, while paying the strictest attention to every detail of their business, fail to notice the social unrest in the world that is constantly throbbing around them on all sides. They have applied scientific methods to every other part of their business and overlooked the most important part of all—their wage workers.

The organization of the men, the attaining of power through that organization, the strike and all its attendant suffering, were simply a reaction from conditions that preceded it.

The packers justly complained of the limitation of output exacted by the unions. In some instances production was curtailed 50 per cent. from what it was before the men were organized. This, taken in connection with the increased wages granted the men, made dividends dwindle. Contrary to the general belief, the profits of the packers have not been enormous in the past few years.

But what caused the unions to restrict the amount of work to be done in a day? Was it not the pace-maker employed in the old days who forced men to work at a nerve-racking speed almost beyond the limit of human endurance? The limitation of output, while wholly indefensible, was simply a reaction from the pace-maker. The excesses of the packers and their foremen paved the way for the future excesses of the unions.

With the attainment of power the unions ran to excess. The limit of production was not placed at a

fair day's work for a fair day's pay, but at an amount that could be easily accomplished by the most inefficient. Those conditions are certain to result in an open rupture as soon as an opportunity arises.

The pace-maker is inhuman and in the long run unprofitable; the restriction of output is economically unsound and indefensible from any standpoint, and neither one should be tolerated in an establishment where labor is dealt with on a scientific basis. The late strike has in all probability abolished both, and for that reason alone it will prove a blessing in disguise to both sides. After all the "world does move."

As to the strike itself and the manner in which it was conducted, the public is familiar. The immediate cause is also well known, but it is the underlying causes that are interesting and should be studied if good is to come out of the experience.

Many have condemned Michael Donnelly for calling the strike in the first place in the face of an offer to arbitrate. The excuse was made that arbitration was not offered until the strike order had been issued and it was too late to stop it. That was not the real reason for calling it, however. Donnelly could have stopped the strike had he chosen, but if he had he would, figuratively speaking, have signed his own death warrant at the same time.

Had Donnelly tried to stop the strike on an indefinite offer to arbitrate, even though his own judgment told him he should do so, it would have been taken as conclusive evidence by the radical element that he was a packers' man. It would have caused a revolt and aroused a wave of mistrust that might have been fatal to the organization. Of all the ungrateful human beings in the world the members of labor unions are the worst. They are always ready to mistrust their leaders, and are usually so blind that they cannot see one day ahead.

That was the case with the stock-yards men. They wanted to strike, and would have done so without orders. Secretly Donnelly was not averse to a short strike, as he believed it would prove a revelation to the packers that would be useful in future dealings with them. In that he was not mistaken, for the spontaneity with which the men walked out took the breath of the packers away and made them anxious to settle. The strike was orderly and well conducted during the first week, and everything appeared satisfactory when the first settlement was made. Had it been observed by the men it would have proved a decided victory for them.

But the day following the settlement the same radical element had to be heard. Donnelly was unmercifully scored for making the settlement. His honesty is well known to every one who has ever come in close contact with him, but even that was questioned by some of the radicals who were not sufficiently chastened by the ten days' strike. So they determined to ignore the settlement and provoke another strike if possible.

Donnelly is sensitive to harsh criticism. He knew in his heart that the settlement was a good one, and he did not like to have his motives impugned when he knew there were no grounds for it. So he weakened at the supreme moment, when he should have stood firm, and, listening to the advice of radicals, he ordered the second strike.

It was one of the most gigantic mistakes ever made during a strike, and Donnelly realized it before the message had reached its destination, but he was in an excitable frame of mind and still smarting under the unjust accusations that were made against him by some of his own members.

Had he stood firm it would probably have resulted in a revolt against his authority, but he would have had the consolation of knowing that he was right, even if it meant his resignation. The men, however, had to be well beaten, and they were not beaten at the time the first strike was settled.

The packers knew also that the men had to be thoroughly beaten, and they set about it. The result was never in doubt after the second week of the second strike. Had the packers given in to the radicals they could not have continued in business because of the conditions that would have been imposed on them. That would have meant another fight later, and that is why it is a good thing for the men themselves that they did not win. The men have learned that the packers can operate their plants without the unions, even if it is a costly and unsatisfactory experiment, and it is well that they have learned that lesson.

There are times in the history of every labor organization when success is more to be feared than defeat, and the butcher workmen had reached that stage. Now it is past, although at great cost; but it had to come. Each side has been brought to a realization of the fact that the other side has rights in this great question. Neither side will be so anxious to force another fight and each will have a whole some respect for the fighting qualities of the other. That may maintain the equilibrium for several years.

When an employer exercises his authority to the point of tyranny there will surely be a revolt, and the same is true of labor unions. A union is sometimes apt to exercise its power to the point of tyranny until it has been chastened by a good beating. Then it goes steadily on making for progress without running to excess.

After the allied trades were drawn into the fight and the management of the affair partially left the hands of Donnelly the conduct of the strike was one series of blunders. There is not enough space here to recount them, and, besides, the subject is too painful, although it is due Donnelly to say that he was opposed to most of the foolish things done. The calling out of the men from the independent plants and the boycotting of meat are but two of the illustrations where "too many cooks spoiled the broth."

The struggle presents so many interesting phases that it is impossible to treat with more than one at this time. From a sentimental point of view the fight the skilled men made to protect the unskilled workers is one of the most remarkable things in labor history. The improved standard of life among the workers since the organization was formed furnishes one of the most striking examples of the benefit of trades-unions that the country has ever seen.

The most advanced students of the question are agreed that the joint trade agreement and arbitration as a last resort when conciliation has failed, is the best method so far found for maintaining friendly relations between employers and employed. That agreements are sometimes violated by both sides, and that strikes sometimes occur in spite of offers to arbitrate, should not be taken as conclusive proof that the joint trade agreement plan is a failure.

The trouble is that neither employer, trade-union, nor the outside public is educated up to the point where the joint trade agreement can be successfully put in operation in every case. But all are slowly becoming better educated on the subject, and every big strike helps along the work, even if such education proves exceedingly costly.

Too much is often expected of the joint trade agreement, and when it fails extreme radicals on both sides are ready to declare the whole scheme a failure. But it is not.

When a trade-union violates an agreement the whole country hears of it in short order. When an employer violates an agreement the country does not hear of it quite so readily, if at all; but employers sometimes do it, nevertheless. And it frequently happens that when an agreement is violated each side accuses the other of being the guilty party, and strange as it may seem, each side may be acting in entire good faith in making the accusation.

THE SHORTER WORK-DAY.

ITS ECONOMIC REQUISITES AND EFFECTS.

Mankind May Take the Benefit of Greater Productivity in Either Larger Income or in More Leisure, but Prosperity is Essential to Either, Says Professor F. W. Taussig of Harvard University.

To most workmen the shorter work-day presents itself simply as a form of higher wages. For less hours of work, they wish as high pay, or higher pay. To most employers it presents itself in the same way. It means to them that for the same wages they get less output.

It is true that in some trades and under some conditions there may be shorter hours and yet the same



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output. The pace may become faster. Whether work is done by the piece or by the day, some gain in this direction can probably be achieved in most industries. Where there has been an understanding among workmen, tacit or explicit, for a restriction of the amount to be accomplished by them in a given time, there is now more clearly a possibility of such gain. Whatever is secured in this way brings greater leisure for the workmen, very rarely, if any, excessive intensity of labor, and no less for employer or for the community.

But there is a limit to this possibility, and not a very wide limit. At bottom, and in the long run, the shorter day means higher wages; the same pay, or higher pay, for a less amount of work. The demand for a shorter work-day raises the same questions in the main as are raised by a demand for an increase of wages. This broad fact must be frankly faced in any discussion of the topic.

In any particular trade, better terms for the workmen, whether in the form of less hours or of higher wages, can sometimes be secured at the expense of consumers, sometimes at the expense of employers. The conditions of a trade for the moment may be such that the prices of goods are less than the demand would permit, or that employers are getting less profits, to have their capital and management normally secure.

But a general rise in wages, or a general shortening of hours, depends on other conditions. Such a general increase is what chiefly interests the economic student, and obviously is of most importance to the workmen and to the community. It can take place, to any substantial extent, only in consequence of a general advance in material prosperity. It can come if industry is more productive. Improvements in the arts, inventions, good management, intelligence and willing spirit among laborers, rich natural resources,—all the factors that promote prosperity tend to raise wages. And a considerable, general rise can come in no other way. The actual industrial income of the people must be greater. Trade-unions may enable workmen to secure the benefits of a

general advance in industry more quickly, perhaps more fully, than would otherwise be the case, but the basis of the advance must be there, in diffused productiveness of industry.

As the arts progress, and labor becomes more productive, mankind may take the benefit in two ways: in greater income, or in shorter hours and more leisure. Or something may be taken in each of the two directions,—both higher returns for labor and lessened hours of work. The great advance in material prosperity which the enlightened world has made in the last century, and especially in the last half-century, has brought gain in both directions. Similar gain is probably in store for the future. We are likely to see both higher wages and less hours.

Shorter hours of work are a natural and beneficent outcome of the forces of civilization. The great mass of men need not only an increase of income, but an increase of leisure,—leisure for rest, for play, for education, for happier and higher living. No doubt leisure is sometimes abused; but in the main it is a needed means of raising the sum of happiness. Therefore, the short-hour movement should have the sympathy of every friend of humanity. But it must be remembered that it rests on the same forces that underlie all prosperity. It cannot come, as a general change from restriction of output, from redistribution of work among laborers, from mere pressure on employers. It can come only if employers and workmen unite in making industry as efficient as possible.

Like any general change in industrial conditions, this one has not come in the past, and will not continue in the future by a simultaneous movement all along the line. It takes place by a succession of steps, one here, one there, each apparently independent; yet possible as a whole only because industrial conditions are favorable, while the change in each case seems to depend on the conditions of the particular industry for the time being, it depends even for the particular industry on the causes that affect industry at large. It rests on widely different prosperity, it rests also in some degree in the attitude of the persons directly concerned. It comes more easily and quickly if employers are fair-minded and public-spirited, and desirous of doing what is in their power to promote the well-being of their workmen. And it comes more easily and quickly if employees are moderate and considerate, do their best to make industry efficient, and ask no more than in reason can be granted.

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OPEN SHOP DISCRIMINATION.

A Statement that it Injures Union Workers in the Ladies' Garment Industry.



JOHN A. DYCHE

The assertion is frequently made on behalf of employers that the closed shop means such a loss of control of their business as to be ruinous, while the open shop means the fair employment of both union and non-union men, John A. Dyche, General Secretary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, makes to *The Monthly Review* a statement showing that in that industry the closed shop is essential to the maintenance of prices and of fair treatment, while the open shop gives opportunity for such discrimination as to make it in practice a shop closed against all union workers. Mr. Dyche says:

"Nine-tenths of the workers in our trade are employed in making ladies' cloaks and skirts. The rest make ladies' wrappers, waists and underwear. The nine-tenths are almost wholly piece work. The bulk of the prices are fixed twice a year, at the beginning of the spring and fall seasons, according to the samples then designed. But in our business, styles are constantly changing. Any shop may be making from fifty to three hundred styles at the same time,

and in the course of a season there may be five hundred styles. Thus it is that there is a constant bigging over prices running through the season. Prices for work must be agreed upon for each new style.

"A worker's earning capacity depends not so much upon these prices as upon the kind of work that the foreman gives him to do. Some fabrics are easier to handle and finish than others. Again, if a worker has a single style to make constantly, or goods of one color to make, he can accomplish much more in a given time, than if he is compelled to make frequent changes. Thus it is possible for the foreman, who gives out the work, to cause a favorite to earn as much as \$10 or even \$15 a day, while he can cause a worker whom he dislikes to earn less than \$1.50 a day.

"It is to the interest of a foreman to run a shop as economically as possible, so as to please his employer. In a non-union shop, when the question of price for a new style arises, the worker is afraid to hold out for a figure that will be in proportion to the general scale fixed at the beginning of the season. The foreman may say to him, 'You take a lower price for this garment. It is a style that will run steadily and I will see that you get plenty of it, without changes.' If the worker refuses to accept a reduction, he is known as a 'sticker out' and the foreman can, as we say, 'freeze him out' by 'troubling' him. That is, he can arrange his work so that he can make only starvation wages, while the man next to him, although no better a workman, will be making high pay. This makes the non-union shop a place of scramble for 'cream.' This discrimination is exercised in the open shop against a worker who is known to belong to the union, or who is suspected of membership. Conditions are made so intolerable for him that he must quit that shop or starve.

"The following quotation from a Chicago correspondent shows how the open shop works in our trade there: 'Wherever an abuse was to be remedied, the manufacturer increased the amount of work in the open shop and decreased it in the union shop. In the so-called open union shops, the union had no power and worked for less money, so that the saying was: If you want a good price, go to a union shop with no work. If you want work, go to an open shop at a small price.'

"In the union shop the purpose is to see that the earning capacity of a worker does not depend upon the amount of 'cream' he gets. Any discrimination would at once be called to the employer's attention and justice would be secured. The prices agreed upon at the beginning of the season would be maintained. No worker would be afraid to refuse a reduction at the whim of the foreman. Any change of price would be because the employer and the representative of the union had agreed upon its fairness. The result is harmony, justice and mutual satisfaction. Just as soon as non-union labor is introduced in a union shop in our trade, a stampede begins. The union workers will either leave the shop or leave the union, for the non-union workers will at once begin to get the 'cream.' The union men who work in open shops do so either because their membership is secret or because their skill is such as to make them indispensable to the employer."

The union, like the corporation, is a natural product of civilization. Evolution has brought the time when collective bargaining cannot be avoided. The time came when business on a large scale, like continental railway construction, could not proceed without combination of capital, and the corporation was a necessity. The time is here when business cannot be done without collective bargaining and the union is equally a necessity.—"Labor News," Los Angeles.

It is impossible to revolutionize the customs of years in a day, but the time will come when honest capital and honest labor will meet upon common ground, and reason together, and when that day comes the labor question will have solved itself.—Portland "Labor Press."

In demanding justice from employers, let us be sure that we are just to them ourselves. Let us practice what we preach.—"Labor Compendium."

TRADE UNIONS ARE FOR PEACE.

They Advocate Conference and the Honorable Adherence to Trade Agreements.

BY JAMES DUNCAN, SECRETARY GRANITE CUTTERS' NATIONAL UNION, AND MEMBER CIVIC FEDERATION.

The time is fast approaching when the great majority of corporations, as quite a number have already done, will realize that the proper and business-like way is to meet the representatives of organized labor to discuss and agree upon properly defined working rules and carefully prepared wage scales. Distrust and misunderstanding are the two greatest disorganizers of modern industry, and as long as the two great factors, capital and labor, stand aloof and fire at long range, that long will indiscriminate and unfriendly acts be perpetrated by each toward the other. Trade-unionism stands for peace and prosperity. In crafts where it is strongest and best administered, conditions for the worker are the most desirable and the greatest amount of industrial tranquility is obtained. Capital is there found to be in its soundest realm. Great financial bonanzas may not be visible, but neither do we find the misery



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and despair of the poorly organized worker or of the non-unionist.

No contract should be more sacred than the trade agreement of organized labor. It is a matter of honor between the contracting parties, that is circumscribed neither by surety companies bonds nor by compulsory edicts which enslave the body or dwarf the mind. It is regrettable that in too many instances these principles are violated both by the unscrupulous employer and by ignorant or unadvised workmen; but such mistakes should not be viewed as failure of the labor movement any more than the collapse of a business venture should be considered a slap to civilization. The bar has members with a peculiar itching in the palm of their hands, which only unearned greenbacks will soothe; the church has within its fold men who fall by the wayside or hear the voice of God calling them to a larger salary, and the labor movement has its bribe takers. The more is the pity that such should exist, but those who expect the trade-union to be perfect, while to that extent complimenting it, are expecting too much for the time in which we live.

Again, asserting that the economic movement is one of honor, words fail to express sufficient contempt for the official who harters the confidence of his fellow workmen, either for lucre or for other personal preference. Such a man may revel in notoriety for a brief time, but honest and practical procedure will assert itself and, distrusted both by bribe-giver and by his old constituents, the dishonored official will be relegated to the rear and will be remembered only as one recalls a disease. So much for the individual. No organization can long maintain the respect necessary to success, a majority of the

members of which permit an agreement to be openly violated or even casually disrespected, and in the trade-union movement the young organizations, which have not yet learned to follow the lead of older unions in that particular, cannot do better than pattern after such of them as have by experience proved that a fair and square observance of craft settlements is an essential and fundamental principle of the labor movement.

That such violations sometimes occur is true, but it is also true that in every such instance a great mistake has been made. Sometimes the cause is found in hasty action by the oppressed or over zealous workman, but often employers in a mad desire to outdo some competitor, inflict unbearable conditions on workers which arouse their antagonism and retaliation, and thereby violate the spirit of the agreement as fully as the other case, and both causes are equally reprehensible. This feeling will be in evidence on both sides as long as either retains the idea that the other has no rights to be respected,—but if the up-to-date method fostered by trade-unionism and advocated by the Civic Federation, of each conceding that the other has inherent rights and that both should meet and adjust their differences in conference if possible, and if not by arbitration, is followed, ninety per cent. of the labor disputes causing suspension of production and inconvenience to the public would be prevented. Along this line of thought the moral effect of such a body as the Industrial department of the Civic Federation, standing as preceptor for the logical, rational and pacific adjustment of commercial affairs, will go a long way toward bringing otherwise discordant elements in unison. It is not only essential to provide or suggest a way to adjust affairs of this kind after trouble has ensued, but they will be statesmen indeed, of the highest rank, who can formulate and put into use either customs or rules which will bring employers and representatives of labor together to formulate new agreements a month or more before the expiration of the old ones. Men's minds are then cool and calculated to reason well, but when the excitement of a change is at its height, ill digested advantage takes the place of better judgment and less satisfactory settlements are obtained.

In conclusion, a word on limitation of production may not be out of place. Unless in a few instances where physical endurance is at stake, organized workers do not limit production. In their collective bargain they declare for a minimum wage rate and leave the individual to produce what he can. Too often, however, the minimum rate in the bargain is considered a maximum rate by the employer, and the public is thereby led into a misconception of conditions, and trade-unionism is again required to bear a burden which should be on the other fellow's shoulders. If law will continue to tolerate the sweating system, for instance, sapping the vitality of men, women and children in their effort to earn a mere pittance, it becomes a question of practical consideration if trade-unionism should not supply the deficiency, as it does others, by seeing to it that human beings shall not be treated as mere machines, and be ground to death at the behest of a false commercialism.

THE DUTIES OF FOREMEN.

Fairness, Impartiality and Firmness in Discipline Will Beget Loyalty and Harmonious Co-Operation Among the Employees of a Great Corporation.

Edward E. Loomis, vice-President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, delivered an address at a recent dinner of the mining and engineering staff of that company, at Scranton. A portion of his address, as to the delicate and important responsibility of those in immediate command of the body of employees, is here reproduced:

"The duties of a successful foreman are somewhat complex in these days of competition and strife. I first wish to call your attention to the fact that from time almost immemorial, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company has enjoyed the reputation of dealing justly with its employees. We de-

sire this same course of treatment to be continued. All men, whether their complaint be real or fancied, are entitled and should receive a courteous hearing. Much trouble can be avoided in handling men by the little things receiving their full measure of attention. We are all liable to error, and the employee may not be wrong all the time, and if one of you is placed in a position of doubt, the man should be given the benefit of it.

"You should not, however, construe this as in any way interfering with discipline, which is most necessary for the successful handling of any concern employing a large number of men. You can be fair and impartial, and yet firm. Your position calls for tact and judgment.

"In a majority of cases the foreman is reflected by his employees, and loyalty on the part of the foreman will induce a loyalty on the part of the employee. No one can hope for advancement in any line of business, unless he gives to it his unquestioned loyalty. And it should be the endeavor of each foreman to cultivate the best that is in each employee, and aid them to realize that the company has a personal interest in each of them, and desires to be their friend.

"Hence, I say, in all your dealing be fair, equitable and impartial. Such treatment, you will find, will cause every man to reciprocate that harmonious feeling that should exist between employer and the employee; friction will be avoided, and the results that follow will be the best.

"Again, in selecting your workmen, we desire that you select only such men as will in your estimation merit promotion. Look well into the person's qualifications; for instance, when an ashman is hired, question yourself as to whether or not he will eventually prove to be such a man as you can trust as a fireman, pumpman, or engineer. Merit should always receive recognition and promotion when the opportunity arises, and the man who does not desire promotion, who does not care whether he merits praise or condemnation, is not a good man to have in any position, at any price.

"A man to succeed to-day must excel in the work assigned to him. A man without courage and ambition, or a man satisfied to work a few hours as possible, without the real interests of his employers at heart, need never expect promotion. He is getting all he deserves.

"We trust that no necessity may arise whereby a repetition of 1902 will occur; and that your course will be such that harmony and good feeling will be the rule amongst not only the superintendents and foremen, but that it will reach to and exist between you and all the employees, and you all will extend that hearty co-operation without which we cannot succeed. We also trust that your course will be so wisely planned; your judgment so equitable, that no necessity will be found to call upon the services of any hoard of mediators to sit in arbitration, but, should any questions arise, we confidently expect that your course will be such as to merit approval and the endorsement of the management of our company."

One of the incidents of the Mining Congress at Paris, to which President Mitchell and Secretary Dodds of District 5 are delegates, was the offering of a resolution that when a strike occurred in Europe among the miners a sympathetic strike should be started in the United States and vice-versa. It is hard to comprehend the state of mind which could evolve such a phantasm. It was the pinnacle of folly. Suppose that a strike occurred in Austria, Belgium or Wales, what justification would that be for the miners of the United States to break their contracts? It would, as urged, "show that the miners were a world power," and it would also show that reason had been dethroned and folly had usurped its place. It would have been more to the point to have entered upon a scheme to render mutual financial aid. It was due to the eloquence and sound reasons advanced by Messrs. Mitchell and Dodds that this chimera was side-tracked. The two have won renown for themselves and shed lustre upon their organization for the sensible, many and wise course they have pursued upon all questions discussed.—"Miners' Journal."

RAILROAD ACCIDENTS AND SENIORITY.

HAS THE PERSONNEL OF TRAINMEN UNDERGONE DETERIORATION?

A General Denial of that Suggestion by Both Employers and Employees, who Speak from Experience.

Public attention is attracted and public apprehension is excited by the many recent horrible railway accidents. The figures of the Inter-State Commerce Commission show that during 1903 there were 11,006 persons killed on American railways, and 89,872 injured. During the year ending June 30, 1901, there was a record of 8,455 killed and 53,339 injured.

The last quarter of 1903 exceeded all records in its disasters. The number of passengers killed during that period was three times as great as in any previous equal period.

What is the underlying cause of these accidents? A recent article in the New York "Sun" quoted a prominent railroad official as saying:

The fault lies with the employees. In spite of everything discipline is lax. The tone of the men is deteriorating. There was a time twenty or twenty-five years ago when every railroad employee was right up on his toes trying to do the best he could because promotion was on merit. . . . But now promotion is not made on the basis of merit but according to seniority. The labor unions have done this. They have made seniority alone the basis of promotion. There is no chance now,—at least on roads where the men are thoroughly organized,—for a spectacular career. There is no chance to rise through alertness and faithfulness. And so the men have no interest except in getting the biggest day's pay for the smallest day's work.

How far is this assertion true? This inquiry has been put to several railroad officials, as well as to several editors of railway periodicals and officers of the railway brotherhoods, in an endeavor to ascertain the facts.

President L. E. Johnson, of the Norfolk and Western Railway, says:

The rapid and unprecedented increase of traffic throughout this country in the past few years may have temporarily impaired the standard of employees in railroad service, but on the whole I believe the personnel of railway service has improved to a greater extent than that in any other class of business.

President Frank N. Flinn, of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, made the following statement:

I believe that the rule of promotion by seniority is one that should be subject to certain modifications. Everything else being equal, I think it should be the rule, but in a great number of cases, perhaps in the majority, mere seniority would not secure the best men for promotion. I think all offices should be filled by the very best men that can be secured, and that ability and fitness for the positions should be the requisites upon which the appointments should be made. There is no question but that the esprit de corps on railroads is not as high as it used to be, and I think that the reason for this is that the employees feel that their chances for promotion are so limited by this rule of seniority that they have no ambition nor incentive to do their best. In my opinion the labor unions should look upon this matter in this light, so that they might work in harmony with the best interests of the companies they serve. Labor unions are all right when led by men of sense and good judgment, and instead of hostility between labor and capital there should be the greatest friendship and good feeling. When this exists the best results will be insured. I have always been and am thoroughly in sympathy with the laborer and desire nothing more strongly than to bring labor and capital into the closest relations that will establish peace and prosperity for both.

President, F. D. Underwood, of the Erie Railroad, said:

I think the causes of the increase in the number of railroad accidents are susceptible of being divided into three grand divisions:

First: Increase in the speed and weight of trains and engines with the attendant increased number of train miles run, resulting in an increase in the percentage of accidents. This must continue to increase with the increase in the number of trains operated.

Second: Inability to apply remedy through lack of knowledge of the causes.

Third: Lack of esprit de corps among employees.

President George W. Stevens, of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, said:

While the unions do, to a certain extent, dwarf individual ambition, yet it is within the power of the appointing officer to distinguish between merit and mere seniority; in other words he is only compelled to recognize seniority when other things are equal.

An examination of trade agreements, or of the regulations in force upon the principal railroads of the country shows that almost without exception the rule of seniority is accompanied by some such statement as "other things being equal" or "merit being taken into consideration."

The representatives of the brotherhoods deny entirely the theory that deterioration of service through operation of the rule of seniority is responsible for an increase in railway accidents.

John F. McNamee, Editor of the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, writes:

Nothing but blinded prejudice could charge railway accidents to the personnel and morale of the men employed in the railway train service. The efficiency of train service men to-day is much advanced over the conditions that prevailed under the old system of promotion by the method of personal favoritism, and the improvement has been brought about largely by the railway labor organizations. The standard examinations through which railroad men are required to pass before being promoted have made it necessary for these men to become thoroughly informed upon all subjects pertaining to their business. Seniority only secures for the men the right to be examined for promotion in their regular turn, and a failure to pass the standard examination adopted by the railway company means no promotion. In the days before the labor organizations brought about the rule of seniority, the travelling public was at the mercy of trainmen, engine men who were promoted without the form of an examination and solely upon the personal choice of some railway official, who had authority to place whomever he might see fit in a position.

H. D. Perbam, Chief of the Brotherhood of Telegraphers, said:

I have had exceptional opportunities during thirty years for observing the growth and development of railway employees. There are few, if any, experienced railway men who will disagree with me when I say that the personnel of railway employees, especially those connected with train movements, has improved steadily in that period, and intelligent management and employees' organizations are responsible for it.

Thirty years ago railway employees were notoriously a reckless roving class who cared little about their positions or anything else. The organizations came with their discipline in regard to temperance and their seniority rules, and the result was that the men had to stick to their jobs to work their way up to desirable positions. These who years ago were living a hand to mouth existence perhaps without family or other responsibilities, have changed places with men who have families to provide for, a stake in the country, and a home of their own. Considering the risks in their calling, they constitute the most careful, conscientious, right-minded, sane and sober set of citizens any country ever produced.

There is no such thing as straight seniority in the railway service. The oldest man in the service does not, by reason of being the oldest man, get promotion. He has to be capable, and his superior officer always reserves the right to be the judge of capability. Even the contracts that the employees have mutually agreed upon with the officials, provide for that supervision.

In my opinion the growth of traffic in the country has outstripped that of the installation of safety devices. The desire for economy in operating railways very often leads to an appalling disaster. In one place we find the track walker's services dispensed with to save \$50 per month, and a passenger train crashing through a bridge with its abutments undermined by a torrent. In another place we find a signal report man with too many signals to look after and keep in order, and the train gets into a block where it had no right to be. In many instances we find signal towers and telegraph offices operated by mere children working for half wages. This feature is a most prolific source of danger. There are exceptions to the rule, but it may be stated without fear of successful contradiction that motives of economy are responsible for a large majority of the railway accidents in the United States.

John T. Wilson, President of the International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, said:

In 16 years' experience as an officer of a railway brotherhood, I have never seen a single trade agreement between the officials of a railway and their organized employees in which seniority was made the sole basis of promotion. On the contrary the stipulation always runs in words of similar import to the following: "other qualifications being equal the employee longest in the service of the company shall be promoted to fill any vacancy in rank above him." In one agreement I find the following statement which is well understood and accepted by the railway brotherhoods generally as admitting of no contention: "The responsibility in the operation of the road rests on the Management, and they will therefore pass upon the question of the competency of the employee in line of promotion."

Judge Caidwell, of the United States Circuit Court, in a decision rendered April 5, 1904, stated: "Two of the ablest railroad managers ever in the service of Union Pacific System, and probably as able as any this country has ever produced,—Mr. S. H. H. Clark and Mr. Edward Dickinson,—testified that these labor organizations on this system had improved the morals and efficiency of the men and had rendered valuable aid to the company. The managers testified that their efforts have been seconded and materially aided by the labor organizations."

In 1892 one passenger was killed for every 1,491,910 carried in the United States, while in 1902 there was one killed for every 1,883,706 passengers carried. This shows an actual decrease in the ratio of fatalities to the number of passengers.

I do not dispute that many serious accidents have occurred, which might have been avoided by the exercise of official prudence in various ways, but I do not know of a single instance where the labor unions have arbitrarily forced an incompetent employee into a position where his subsequent blundering has caused disastrous results.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

A Permanent Tribunal to Adjust Labor Differences Established at Hamilton, Ont.

A plan for the adjustment of disputes between employers and wage-earners has been organized in Hamilton, Ont. In its development, the example of the National Civic Federation in promoting better relations between employer and employee in the United States was cited as an edifying and encouraging example. The plan consists of a permanent tribunal of conciliation and arbitration, formed by the joint action of the local Trades and Labor Council and the Hamilton Board of Trade. The tribunal has been organized in accordance with the recommendation of a joint committee of those two bodies, ratified by them:

"That the Board of Trade appoint a permanent committee of seven, to be known as a 'Board of Conciliation and Mediation,' out of which there shall be selected from time to time a committee of three to co-operate with a similar committee to be appointed by the Trade and Labor Council, which shall constitute a board, which, at the initiative and upon the request of any employer of labour or any body of wage-earners, shall offer its services to secure the adjustments of disputes as they may, from time to time, arise."

This is the outcome of an original proposal by the Trades and Labor Council that there should be formed a committee of conciliation, composed of three or five members of the Board of Trade, and the same number from the Trades and Labor Council; this committee to be ready at all times to tender its services whenever a strike or lock-out should be threatened or should have occurred.

This proposal was submitted by the Council merely as a basis for conciliation, with the statement that it would be happy to appoint a committee to confer with a similar committee of the Board of Trade.

The Board of Trade expressed immediate concurrence with this suggestion, and appointed a special committee of three members to confer with the committee of the Council. The scheme of organization now in operation was evolved at a series of conferences between these committees. Their joint report made special reference to the proceedings of the National Conference on Industrial Conciliation, held in New York under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, and observed that the public, the employers and the wage-earners were there represented by many of the most notable public men in the United States. The words of the late Senator Hanna as to the supreme importance of bringing labor and capital into closer relations were quoted, as were several of the recommendations adopted by the conference, including the following:

That all the industries in the United States should establish boards of conciliation within the several and varied interests, to which boards of conciliation all differences and disputes arising between employer and employee, if not readily adjusted between the immediate interests concerned, may be referred for settlement.

"The Labour Gazette," issued by the Dominion Department of Labor, notices prominently the movement in the United States, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, for industrial peace through conciliation and conference.

National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH RINGS OUT FOR LABOR.

THREE WORLD-WIDE ECCLESIASTICAL BODIES DECLARE THEIR SYMPATHETIC, UP-LIFTING ATTITUDE TOWARD WAGE-EARNERS.

The growth of interest in the moral and social aspects of the labor question is indicated by the increasing attention paid to that subject by churches. Both the Protestant Episcopal and the Congregational Churches have made inquiries into the subject through committees and their reports just made public are highly instructive. Pope Pius X, through an official letter, repeats the interest in labor expressed by his predecessor.

"The organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people," is the conclusion of the Standing Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, after three years' investigation.

The members of the Commission are: The Bishop of New York, Henry C. Potter; the Bishop of Massachusetts, William Lawrence; the Bishop Coadjutor of Chicago, Charles P. Anderson; the Rev. R. H. McKim, D.D.; the Rev. George Hedges, D.D.; the Rev. C. D. Williams, D.D.; Samuel Mather, Jacob Riis, and George Pinckard.

Concerning the causes of industrial disturbances, the Commission reports:

"We are agreed in the conviction that the causes of the violence of the past three years in Pennsylvania, in Colorado, and in Illinois, are not so much economical as moral.

"The strike commonly begins in distrust. The reason at the heart of it is that the master has as little confidence in the good will of the men as the men have in the good faith of the master. The employer and the employed, separated by our industrial conditions at such a social distance as to make fraternal understanding difficult, make their bargain one

with another, under these conditions, not as partners, but as competitors. Where distrust and antagonism are well founded, there is nothing for it, so far as the Church is concerned, except conversion. They who

are at fault are to be admonished, on the one side against prejudice and passion, and on the other side against covetousness and the sins which proceed from the inordinate love of riches.

in the same building; that is largely a matter of locality. But there is as much loyalty to the Church and to the Divine Head of the Church in the one class as in the other. The voice of the Christian religion reaches

both capital and labor. The Church helps to remove the moral causes of industrial strife when she brings these different members of her family into better acquaintance."

Concerning the "aim and spirit of labor organization," the report says:

"We perceive among our clergy and laity alike, much ignorance (frankly confessed and deplored) as to the principles which are involved in the conflicts of the industrial world. At the same time, it is plain that an enlightened public opinion is one of the determining factors of the situation. Every industrial dispute involves three parties,—the employer, the employed, and the public; and the public eventually casts the deciding vote. Thus a serious social responsibility rests upon every Christian citizen and, more especially, upon the Christian minister.

"We call attention to the analogy between certain offenses of the union, and like offenses, past or present, of both the capitalist and the churchman. Thus the employer's black-list corresponds to the union's boycott, and both are akin to the major excommunication. The lock-out and the strike are of the same nature, and there is no great difference between such endeavors to employ the argument of famine and an interdict which deprives a people of the blessings of spiritual life. The question of the closed shop is like the question of the closed state. Men whose Puritan ances-

tors strove to maintain a state whose privileges should belong only to members of the Church, ought to be able to understand the struggle of their



HENRY C. POTTER,
Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.



WILLIAM LAWRENCE,
Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.



SAMUEL MATHER,
Manufacturer.



JACOB A. RIIS,
Sociologist.

"Where distrust and hostility are unfounded, the Church may afford an opportunity of conference. The capitalist and the laborer are alike sons of the Church. They may not sit in the same seat, or even

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PRESIDENT ELIOT OF HARVARD ON UNIONS AND EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

THE RIGHT OF WORKERS TO CONFERENCE ASSERTED AND THE UNION PRONOUNCED INDISPENSABLE IN GREAT INDUSTRIES.

President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University delivered an address before the Economic Club of Boston, on Nov. 16, in which he declared it to be the right of workmen to advise employers about the conduct of business, and pronounced the maintenance of unions to be essential. He would test the worth of employers' associations by their regard for variety of industries, for personal and public liberty and for good will. The following is a verbatim report of Dr. Eliot's address:

Employers Forced to Organize.

Since the first meeting of the Economic club the most striking fact in the development of the industrial combat—for combat it has been—is the organization of the employers. The employers were forced into these compact organizations. They found the force that could be exerted by the organization of labor; they found that these labor organizations could defeat any single employer.

They found that their only safety was to organize firm, trustworthy associations, and these associations have been formed in great number all over our country. They are, of course, various, because the interests and needs of the different trades and industries are various, and we cannot expect that the employers' association has a uniform policy.

The effort after the uniform policy which characterizes the labor-unions is, in my view, a dangerous one, whether for the unions or for the employers' associations. The diversities in the industries and occupations of the country are so great, the different conditions under which different industries are prosecuted are so widely different that I think we may reasonably distrust any efforts at universal policies, universal legislation—policies which cover a great variety of trades, or policies and legislation which are intended to produce the same rates of wages, the same hours of labor, etc., all over wide areas of our country.

I think we may reasonably distrust, I say, legislation or policies which aim at universal application. It is clear that a mode of conducting one industry which is almost indispensable to it may be entirely inapplicable in another industry, and these diversities extend to rates of wages, to the hours in a day's work, to the distribution of the hours of work through the 24 hours of the day. I look, therefore, to see the employers' association generally acting against uniform legislation affecting either wages or hours.

How should the employers' policies be characterized in general? Are there any tests which we may apply to them to distinguish the good and safe policies from the dangerous or evil policies? That is a very interesting inquiry, because the efforts of the employers' associations are becoming very strenuous,—they are becoming keenly directed against the labor unions and their policies, and it is all-important that the employers' policies should as a rule in all their diversity command public confidence and approval.

Monopolies Unwelcome.

I need not say that it is the effort after a monopoly of labor in a given trade which characterizes the fundamental policy of the labor-union. Now, if the employers show that their effort is after all directed to the attainment of a monopoly, they will lose, not command, public confidence in their efforts. Monopolies are no more welcome to the free people of the United States to-day than they were to our English ancestors 400 years ago.

The contest against monopolies granted by the sovereign for the profit of his government was one of the great steps in the development of public liberty; and it is a striking thing that under free institutions there should have arisen in our day such elaborate efforts toward the seizing of monopoly, first on the part of bands of working people, and second on the part of bands of capitalists.

Now, public confidence can be no more commanded by men seeking the first sort of monopoly than by men seeking the second sort of monopoly—the monopoly of labor on the one hand of a given trade or the monopoly of capital on the other hand. Therefore, employers' associations must acquit themselves in the public view of the suspicion that they are searching for monopoly and the means thereof.

But again, is there a test by which a rightful employers' policy may be recognized? I believe there is. And I should state it thus: An employers' association is rightful if it clearly appears that in the prosecution of that policy a single employer or the great association of employers are tending toward the development of private and public liberty.

But if the employers' policy is tending the other

way—toward the restriction of either private or public liberty, the chances are that that policy is wrong, not right, dangerous to the public weal, not beneficial.

Employers' Objects Analyzed.

Let me illustrate what I mean by this test. I have here a list of the objects of the Boston employers' association, formed within the last six months. They state their objects in this way:

- "First—No closed shop.
- "Second—No restriction as to the use of tools, machinery or materials, except such as are unsafe.
- "Third—No limitation of output.
- "Fourth—No restriction as to the number of apprentices and helpers when of proper age.
- "Fifth—No boycott.
- "Sixth—No sympathetic strike.
- "Seventh—No sacrifice of the independent workman to the labor-union.
- "Eighth—No compulsory use of the union label."

Eight objects are thus stated. Do they tend toward liberty or toward the restriction of liberty? "No closed shop." That means contending against the effective weapon of the labor union toward the establishment of a complete monopoly. This, then, is a measure toward freedom.



CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President Harvard University.

"No restriction as to the use of tools, machinery or materials." There again clearly the effort is to prevent bonds being put upon the development of the trade, or the introduction of improvements. It tends toward freedom.

"No limitation of output." That principle not only tends toward freedom, but it tends to the development of independent, different powers in the individual workman, and that is indeed a most important element of individual liberty. It tends, of course, against the most demoralizing doctrine and practice of the labor union.

"No restriction as to the number of apprentices and helpers when of proper age." Is that a policy which tends toward freedom or towards the restriction of freedom? In education we should not for a moment doubt that that policy tended toward freedom. Even Napoleon stated, and stated very briefly, the liberty which this policy tends to promote—"Every career open to talent."

"No boycott." A boycott is an illegal attack on individual traders or workers or producers. It of course is a great attack on liberty, so that this policy also works toward freedom.

"No sympathetic strike." Here again the tendency is to resist the use of a powerful weapon to promote the boycott or to cripple the producing power of a single firm or factory.

"No sacrifice of the independent workman to the labor-union." I need not say that employers have until within times still neglected extraordinarily the observation of the principle here stated. Here in Boston, for instance, we have seen strikes in industries the continuity of which was very important to the owners, non-union men called in to occupy the factories in spite of the strike, but in a few weeks the strike was settled, all the non-union men that had been called into the factories were driven out and the entire body of strikers reinstated.

We have seen that right here in our city re-

peatedly. Now is it not clear that such a policy as that on the part of employers works directly in restraint of liberty?

Is it not clear that it is the duty of every employer suffering from a strike not only to protect every man who comes to his help, but to make sure that that man continues to be employed?

Trivial Strikes Rebuked.

Is it not sure that one of the great causes of the frequency of strikes for trivial reasons—very trivial reasons even,—is the assured belief on the part of the strikers that they are only to be out a week or a few weeks, or at worst a few months, and then that they would all return to their jobs?

That is, I believe, the fundamental reason for the frequency of strikes and for the inconsiderateness with which they occur. If only this principle of this new association of employers can be enforced, "no sacrifice of the independent workmen to the labor-union," we shall see that men will strike only for serious reasons and when they feel that in striking they are endangering their jobs permanently; that they are putting themselves at risk, making themselves liable to a complete change of residence, for example,—making themselves liable to a change of occupation. I know no more valuable principle or method for the promotion of industrial liberty than this principle, "No sacrifice of the individual workman to the labor-union."

Finally, "No compulsory use of the union label." Is that a regulation which tends toward liberty?

Let us observe that the union label is, after the closed shop, the most effective weapon for securing to the labor union in any trade a complete monopoly.

The union label is an effective weapon and it is directly for the promotion of a monopoly, for the securing of monopoly, holding it up, and for enforcing the penalty of disobedience to the union.

Importance of Liberty.

I find every one of these principles to be in defence of private and public liberty. They bear that test, and I conceive that this test is one we should always apply to any proposed employers' policy. It is not in industrial affairs alone that this test may be as I conceive safely and wisely applied. I am sure it should be applied to every educational policy. It is only when the policy of school government, college government, university government tends towards liberty, that is, tends to give play to the free spirit of youth, that the policy will have any hope of living or much hope of conferring practical benefit on the community.

So with our wars and with governmental policies. Are there any wars which other generations remember with gratitude or praise except those out of which came some increase, some development of public liberty? Are there any policies safe, prudent even, except those which do away with restraint of freedom or give freer play to the native human instinct for liberty?

Good-will the Highest Essential.

But there is another test which I conceive should be applied to all employers' associations. Do they tend to promote good-will between employers and employed? After all, the great thing to be done to make the industries of any people productive is to secure the good-will of the men that labor in those industries. What is the reason that slavery is notoriously unproductive and costly? There is no good-will in it. What is the reason that any man working as he feels for himself and for the benefit of his family will work a great deal harder than a man will who has no such belief?

It is all a question of good-will. If the unions of work people in our country to-day all felt that they were working with a will for their own benefit, for their own uplifting, for their own happiness, the productivity and efficiency of labor in this country would amount to an inconceivable height. The ultimate question, therefore, is the promotion of good-will.

Now, must we not all desire that all the employers' associations and every individual employer should constantly bear in mind this test of his own tendency, of the association's tendency—Does it tend towards good-will between the employer and the employed?

How can these tendencies be secured? Only by thoughtfulness, by considerateness, by sympathy, by constant care for the right relation between the employer and the employed.

How can these feelings be expressed? Not by any form of benevolence or condescension, not by the giving of privileges or favors, but by the giving of rights, by the giving of earned privileges.

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A YEAR SAVED ON THE SUBWAY BY A SANE TRADE TREATY.

HONORABLE ADHERENCE MAKES EFFECTIVE A TRADE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ORGANIZED CONTRACTORS AND ORGANIZED CRAFTSMEN.

"We saved a year," said John B. McDonald, the general contractor for building the New York Subway. "If it hadn't been for the labor agreement between the Rapid Transit Contractors' Association and the Central Federated Union, the public wouldn't have ridden in the Subway before October, 1905."

Amid all the oratory and congratulation that celebrated the opening of the New York Subway in October, there could be found not a reference to the part that the trade agreement named by Mr. McDonald performed in its construction. Yet the history of its building is a signal illustration of what can be accomplished by amicable conference between capital and labor, and of the influence of a trade agreement in preventing, with one exception, industrial disturbances and in encouraging good relations between employers and employed.

All the skilled labor employed in the actual construction of the Subway was union labor. The terms of its employment were defined by a truly collective contract, since the two parties were each composed of a number of constituents.

The smooth and successful operation of this contract excited amazement among large employers in all parts of the United States. Contractors who were having trouble with labor wondered at the reports that reached them of the steady progress of work, day and night, upon the Subway in New York. Many of them wrote requests for copies of the agreement which produced results so enviable.

This device for industrial peace was born out of discord. After the contract to build the Subway for \$35,000,000 had been awarded to John B. McDonald, and he had divided the work among sub-contractors, it became evident that mutual co-operation among them would be needed. This need became more and more apparent every day after the first spadeful of earth had been turned on March 24, 1900. The sub-contractors had acquired widely different methods of dealing with labor, through their experience in various states, with various bodies of workmen, and in various kinds of work. Co-operation was needed also among the various organizations of labor, representing many trades, employed in the tunnel. The machinery for united action among the labor organizations already existed in the Central Federated Union, a body composed of delegates from constituent trade-unions.

The general contractor, John B. McDonald, sought some corresponding method to harmonize the different ideas and methods of the sub-contractors. Work on the tunnel had not progressed far before it became evident that divers systems were developing in the several sections into which the total length of the Subway had been divided. These clashing

systems threatened to become fertile sources of discontent and trouble. Labor was quick to compare its treatment on one section with its treatment on another. Complaints and friction multiplied until they culminated in a strike involving several of the unions employed on the line. It was plainly necessary to extend over the entire line of the tunnel a system that should be uniform in every section, and that should protect equally and equitably the rights of all the contractors, while securing fair treatment to all the trades employed.

drawing of this agreement involved considerable discussion and many conferences between committees representing the two organizations. The agreement was finally perfected and formally signed on June 4, 1901. Thereafter it was the chart by which the relations between the contractors and the unions were guided until the Subway was finished. The violations of this contract were rare, and they served to increase on both sides the appreciation of its practical value in averting trouble and securing justice. The contract provided that no strike was to be declared during the progress

of the work; that if at any time there were differences that could not be decided by the Joint Committee of the Contractors' Association and the Central Federated Union, they were to be referred to arbitration. But during the years of its operation there never was a resort to arbitration, the Joint Committee succeeding in settling any disputes referred to it.

This agreement provided for the employment of union skilled labor, with the exception of foremen and master mechanics; for the eight-hour day, in accordance with the New York statute relating to public work, and for the adjustment and arbitration of grievances. The total number of organized skilled wage earners affected by the contract varied from 2,000 to 3,000. The variety of skilled labor involved is indicated by the list attached to the agreement, which includes:

Architectural Iron Workers; Plumbers and Gasfitters; Sheet Metal Workers; Pavers; Ramblers; Blue Stone Cutters; Flaggers; Bridge and Curb Setters; Marble Cutters; Polishers and Helpers; Copper-smiths; Electrical Workers; Eccentric and Standard Engineers and Firemen; Safety Engineers; Steam Fitters and Helpers; Granite Cutters; Painters; Tile Layers and Helpers; House Movers and Shorers; Double Drum Hoisters; Machinists; Pipe Caulkers and Tappers; Rock Drillers and

Tool Sharpeners; Tar, Felt and Waterproof Workers; Forgers and Blacksmiths.

The contract was signed on behalf of the Contractors' Association by George W. McNulty, Frederick Holbrook and E. J. Farrell; and on behalf of the Central Federated Union by William J. O'Brien, Edward Friday and John J. Pallas.

The members of the standing Joint Committee on Grievances for which the contract provides were three on behalf of the contractors—Messrs. McNulty, Holbrook and Farrell. On behalf of the unions there were also three members who, at various times, were John J. Pallas, William J. O'Brien, James P. Holland, Edward Friday, Matthew McConville, James P. Archibald and John A. Kilgus.



JOHN B. McDONALD,
Pres't. Rapid Transit Contractors' Association.



WILLIAM C. DOUGLAS,
Sec'y Rapid Transit Contractors' Association.



JOHN J. PALLAS,
Pres't. New York Federation of Labor.



JAMES P. ARCHIBALD,
Of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

Accordingly, Mr. McDonald called a meeting of all the sub-contractors, and the Rapid Transit Contractors' Association was organized on June 4, 1901. Its officers were John B. McDonald, President; and William C. Douglas, Secretary and Treasurer. Its members were Degnon-McLean Contracting Co.; Holbrook, Cabot & Daly; Ira A. Shaler; Naughton & Co.; William Bradley; Capt. John Shields; Farrell, Hooper & Co.; John C. Rodgers; McCabe Brothers; John B. McDonald; Rufus C. Hunt; Terry & Tench Contracting Co.; E. P. Roberts; Sicilian Asphalt Paving Co., and United Building Material Co.

This Association entered at once into negotiations with the Central Federated Union for the purpose of forming an agreement which should apply to the entire construction of the Subway and include, so far as practicable, all the crafts employed. The

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PRESIDENT GOMPERS' ANNUAL MESSAGE TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

THE HEAD AND THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION ANNOUNCE GREAT GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP DESPITE ADVERSE CONDITIONS.

The address of President Gompers to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor contained many important statements relative to the strength and the policies of that organization. Of its spirit, Mr. Gompers said:

"The immediate future is pregnant with good or ill for the people of our country. It devolves upon the organized labor movement to determine by its course the form which it shall assume.

"The constant improvement in machinery, the division, subdivision, and specialization of labor, the wonderful development in industry, and the concentration of wealth, give to the wealth possessors such extraordinary power, which, when coupled with the cunning and greed for gain, unless intelligently and comprehensively met by a well organized labor movement, will tend to the deterioration of our race, the destruction of all our achievements, and the dissipation of all our hopes.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

"On the other hand, if we are faithful to the history and traditions of the struggling masses in the past, if we shall prove true to the interests and the welfare of the hosts of labor of our day, the power calculated to injure will be diverted to the common weal, and thus open up vistas of larger opportunities and a broader conception of human rights and ennobling aspirations.

From workshop, factory, mill, and mine comes the appeal to you for comfort, aid, and relief. The yearning cry of the children of labor for emancipation from the drudgery of incessant toil to the freedom of home, the playground, and the sunshine is not heard in vain by you. The sufferings of the past, the struggles of to-day, and the hopes for a brighter and a better day for all are represented by the united and federated labor movement of our time and of our country.

"While the eyes and hearts of our fellow workers are fervently turned toward this convention, hopeful and confident that the broadest and best interests of the working people will be safeguarded and forwarded, the scrutinizing vision of our opponents and antagonists is concentrated upon our gathering and our work, ready to turn to our disadvantage and discomfiture any error of judgment of speech and action. May we not hope so to conform our course as to satisfy and gratify our friends, confound and disarm our would-be despoilers?"

The address thus treated the growth of the movement:

"The law of growth in organized labor is little understood. From the formation of the first bona fide trade-union movement in modern times it has grown with each era of industrial activity and receded to some degree with each industrial depression, but with each recurring revival in industry the degree of growth has been greater, and with each recurring period of depression it has receded to a lesser degree than its immediate predecessors. All students of our movement appreciate these facts and count with them. The antagonists and the ignorant view these natural economic changes with exultation or alarm.

"When it is borne in mind that the trade-union movement of America is, comparatively speaking, still in its infancy; when there is taken into consid-

eration the vast extent of territory as well as the makeup of different nationalities speaking foreign tongues, the great development in industry and the concentration of wealth, using its powers to prevent or crush out organizations; when all these things are given due consideration, that we have brought about any degree of fraternity and homogeneity should be counted to our credit rather than to our detriment.

"It is not necessary here to recount the advantages which have been secured by our movement in the interests of our fellow workers. Not only are our records of achievements available to all, but the better results in the home, the more material improvement, the social and moral advancement, as well as political independence, and the character and manhood of our working people, are the best attestation, demonstration, and proof of the efforts, the work, the aims, methods, and ennobling purposes of our movement.

"Our opponents must lamentably fail to prove to the toilers that their freedom is curtailed or impaired in becoming organized when the workers themselves have the indisputable proof of their enjoyment of larger vision, occasioned by fewer hours of daily, burdensome toil, as our antagonists must also fail to impress upon the wives and the children of workmen that the freedom of action of their husbands and fathers is impaired when they themselves enjoy the fruits of brighter homes, more material improvements, and the opportunities of leisure and education.

"But, despite the destructive purposes of labor's antagonists, I am in a position to report that there has been a sum total of great gain in the membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Gompers discussed the economic effect of resistance to wage reductions:

"In former periods when an industrial reaction was manifest, employers generally viewed the situation from their own immediate standpoint only, without regard to their own broad interest or the general good. Their first recourse was to that which to them seemed the easiest course to continue the operation of their plants—to find markets. They reduced wages. Reduction of wages followed in quick order; the consuming power of the masses was curtailed and still more limited, entailing wholesale discharges of workmen who were formerly employed in producing the things the masses, the workers, formerly consumed, inducing and giving the further cause to still further entailment of consumption and production and still more discharges of workmen, until millions were unemployed; the wheels of industry and commerce paralyzed; until men were walking the highways and byways of our country in idleness, while poverty, hunger, and misery stalked through our land.

"It is held now that there can be no real natural famine in the world because of the easy facilities with which the remotest corners of the earth can be reached. Surely if this be true, and no informed, sane, reasonable being disputes it, there is an utter absence of excuse for non-employment, hunger, poverty, or misery in our land, a land so richly and bountifully blessed. When idleness and its consequent misery are permitted to come among our people it is due entirely to rapacious, sordid avarice, mismanagement, and incompetency on the one hand, or to ignorant indifference and culpable piliancy on the other. The employers generally typify the one and the workers formerly typified the other.

"If the employers followed their policy of wage reductions in previous years as a supposed way out of industrial stagnation, and thereby simply accentuated the situation and made it worse, is it not a logical inference that the same ruinous policy would be pursued in the present era?

"Are all the dire experiences and sufferings of our people to go for naught? Should we permit ignorant indifference on our part to make us culpable for a repetition of the awful conditions which followed in the wake of the former mischievous and wrongful course of our employers, or shall we continue the course which we last year declared when we had the prescience to foresee the danger with which we were threatened? Organized labor then called a halt and declared the entire policy of wage reductions unwise, wrongful, and dangerous to the well-being of labor and of all our people.

"We were fully aware that it would be impossible to prevent all wage reductions, but we can view the result of our last year's declaration of policy of resistance to wage reductions with satisfaction and pride. We can challenge our critics and opponents to compare the past year, when we were confronted with an industrial reaction, with a year of a similar industrial situation, and it will demonstrate beyond cavil or doubt that

"First. Wage reductions have been checked.

"Second. The industrial situation has not become acute, as was the uniform course formerly.

"Third. Much idleness, poverty, suffering, and misery have been prevented.

"Fourth. The era of industrial stagnation, as compared with former like conditions, has been shortened.

"Fifth. The prospect for a revival in industry and commerce in the future is brighter, as compared with any similar previous period.

"Sixth. There is less acute feeling of unrest among workmen and employers generally, business men and all our people.

"Seventh. There are more workmen and employers in agreement and understanding.

"Eighth. There is a more general effort to bring about more rightful relations between workmen and employers.

"Ninth. There is a better conception of the rights and duties of man to man, a more general satisfaction



FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary American Federation of Labor.

among our people with the present, and a more gratifying and hopeful outlook for the future.

"The results of labor's policy are our best justification.

"It is a science becoming more generally understood by labor to know when to strike and when not to strike; to know for what to strike and for what not to strike. It is said that it is not wise to strike on a so-called 'falling market.' It can not, however, successfully be gainsaid that a strike or preparedness to strike in resisting an offer of wage reduction will prevent the market from falling still lower. It may not be, and undoubtedly is not, wise or prudent to strike for wage advancement on a downward industrial trend, yet it is better that even this economic error be committed than a complacent acceptance of wage reductions.

"At the risk of criticism I repeat last year's paraphrase that in the offer of wage reductions it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all. The resistance will at least demonstrate that labor is an equation and factor which must not be ignored in the material, economic, industrial, commercial, and social affairs and welfare of our people and our country.

Mr. Gompers declared "preparedness to strike" to be "the determining factor to bring about industrial peace on a more equitable basis," and said:

"We would abolish war, industrially as well as internationally; but its abolition must come, and it will come from conscious power, intelligent and broader humanity. May the day never come when peace is proclaimed or maintained because of the inanition of the workers. Peace, to be desirable, to be lasting, advantageous, and humane, must come from a virile and intelligent manhood. We want no peace, and there will never be peace, founded upon the servility and degradation of the workers.

"The vantage position now occupied by labor was not brought to it on a silver platter, but was contended for and won by the unity of the workers, by the burdens which they have borne, and the sacrifices they have made. More thorough organization, a greater

(Concluded on page 16.)

THE THREE CONSPICUOUS FOES OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

THE TASKS OF UNIONISM ARE TO CONVERT "PARRYISM," TO RESIST SOCIALISM AND TO CORRECT ITS OWN INHERENT WEAKNESSES.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

Organized labor is triply beset. It is assailed by its two outward foes, "Parryism" and Socialism, and is at the same time endangered by its own inherent weaknesses. It is the purpose of this article to analyze the methods of each of these outward foes and to examine the inward weaknesses of trade unionism which must be corrected if it is to survive assault from without. All society must be interested in these three perils, if in truth the movement represented by organized labor is in the interest of civilization. That is the truth that the organized labor must incessantly demonstrate, for therein lies its right to live. Unless it can maintain this warrant for its existence, organized labor must be overthrown by assault or disintegrate from essential errors.

There are organizations of capital that seek and find the establishment of honorable business relations with corresponding organizations of labor. These are composed of employers on the one side who represent the greatest investments of capital in the United States in the basic industries, such as mining, and the manufacture of iron and steel and fabrics, in the metal trades and in transportation by rail and ship; and of unions on the other side, in which the great mass of organized wage-earners is enrolled. While there are sometimes serious conflicts in these industries, the ultimate purpose of their organization is to bring about and encourage peace through negotiation. This characteristic is only emphasized by the fact that some of these organizations were formed originally to fight the unions, but have learned from experience the superiority of trade agreements to trade battles.

THE ASSAULT BY "PARRYISM."

There are other organizations of capital whose present aim is to "smash the unions." Sometimes this policy is boldly avowed, sometimes it is disguised. "Parryism" is a coined word that has grown into current use to describe the uncompromising hostility to organized labor that inspires this class of employers' associations and "citizens' alliances." These have not been formed to negotiate with labor, since they aim to destroy all organization of labor with which negotiation is possible. It is conceivable that these societies may appeal to employers whose experience has been restricted to the arrogance, excesses and brutalities of some particular union or labor leader, and who feel a natural impulse of hatred and revenge against all organized labor in general. But this attitude becomes inexcusable on the part of employers when they have looked beyond these incidental outrages and have learned to comprehend the history and philosophy of unionism. Such employers are able to understand that the organized effort to uplift labor is as distinct from labor's intolerance as is the church from the tortures inflicted in its name by the Inquisition.

"Parryism" discloses its purpose through its literature. It is a peculiar literature. Its characteristics are adroitly disguised misstatements, studied persistence in associating unionism with crime, socialism and anarchy, and, above all, constant pretense of friendship to organized labor, while advocating every conceivable plan for its disruption and disbandment. This literature, while professing friendship, is in reality the propaganda of war. It extends one hand to labor in pretended amity, and with the other would stab it in the back.

The bulk of this literature is addressed to employers, but it is designed also to deceive all of the so-called non-producing classes, and to convey to a miscellaneous audience the impression that organized labor is a foe to republican institutions and that it must be destroyed if constitutional government is to be preserved. This literature is in the form of periodicals, newspaper reports of speeches, reports of employers' associations in pamphlet form, and inflammatory circulars. Even fiction is to be employed as an agent of excitement; for a new periodical has appeared, which announces that it is "conducted under the personal guidance of David M. Parry, President of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America," and "devoted to the interests of free and independent labor; opposed to organized lawlessness, Socialism and Anarchy." A prominent feature is a serial by Mr. Parry, entitled "The Scarlet

Empire." This serial essays to treat of the relations between capital and labor "as they might become." Its lurid title suggests a red-handed reign of terror, when the "brutal tyrant," organized labor, shall have overthrown the republic and shall wave its sceptre over a wholesale massacre of capitalists, lighted by a universal conflagration of property.

"Parryism" voices incessantly the cry, "Organize." Its one perception is that of the power of well-disciplined combination. Its aim is to organize the employers of the country as a class. Its entire spirit and purpose are to inflame a class warfare. Since the class spirit is un-American, its literature is un-American.

It is both singular and lamentable that this noxious growth of appeal to selfishness and hatred should spring up at the very time when the trade-unions are growing more and more conservative. The persistent preaching of all those union labor leaders who have appreciable influence is against violence and in favor of obedience to the law. All of them oppose strikes, except as a last resort; all of them discountenance violence whenever a strike does occur; all of them advocate the establishment of industrial peace through conciliation, conference and trade agreements. But those employers' associations whose officers and organs oppose this policy aim to reduce the individual wage-earner to the lowest standard of living that can be forced upon him when he shall be deprived of the benefit of collective bargaining. They would conquer the peace of an industrial Warsaw. Despotism can not long maintain peace. The enforcement of such a relation between capital and labor could only be followed by an outbreak of abnormal virulence.

The literature of "Parryism" runs the gamut from extravagant, outright denunciation to sly insinuation.

An example of the bold, open style of assault upon organized labor is that employed by John Kirby, Jr., an officer of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. This is a sample of the Kirby manner:

"No organization of men, not excepting the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia, or the Black Hand societies, has ever produced such a record of barbarism as has this so-called organized labor society which, through misdirected sympathy, apathy and indifference has been permitted to grow up to cripple our industries, and trample in the dust the natural and constitutional rights of our citizens."

The following is another example of the extravagant language of Mr. Kirby:

"The labor leaders are trying to force upon the American people a universal system of slavery even more degrading and more damnable than that to which the Negro was subjected."

It is to prevent this weird and impossible culmination that this violent pleader would have all employers organize to make war upon what he calls a "Turbulent body of hohoes and aliens, who must not be permitted to turn America into a Bedlam."

President Parry of the same organization is responsible for this statement:

"Carried to its final analysis, the theory of unionism would be that if all capital were destroyed and men dug the soil with their fingers to raise the crops of the world the millennium would be here and wages would be at the top notch."

But usually the form of attack upon organized labor is more insidious. It is cloaked in the garb of solicitude for the welfare of the workingman. A pamphlet of advice as to how to organize associations of employers declares it to be the duty of the employer "to deal honorably, justly, generously with each employe." But this excellent advice is coupled with the admonition "to decline to accede to any and every demand made by officers or committees representing organized labor." Generosity is to be extended only to the individual who is willing to trust all of his interests to the tender care of the philanthropic employer. The employes must not organize. The employers must organize and their organization must, forsooth, be the sole court of appeal for questions of wages, hours and conditions of toil!

A monthly magazine published at St. Louis in the interest of the Citizens' Alliance movement, devotes many pages to a recital of all the outrages committed by or charged against the socialists of Colorado. The apparent purpose is to convey the impression that this is a proper arraignment of organized labor in general. One writer says suavely: "No one denies that labor has rights," and from this seemingly friendly premise leaps to the statement that when union by-laws "conflict with the constituted government of this country, they should be swept aside." That is absolutely true, but the implied assumption that union by-laws do conflict with constituted government is wholly unwarranted. Yet the effect of such writing upon the mind of the careless reader is to create the belief that they do. A similarly in-

sidious method is employed in an editorial which groups in one phrase "unions, socialism, crime"; which attributes to the closed shop contract "intimidation, assault, dynamiting, assassination"; which makes the sly statement: "The union man may be an ex-convict; the independent workman may be a gentleman"; and which wishes that "all Governors would enforce the law as Governor Peabody did," in order to make the open shop universal. That is, this writer advocates militarism in order to prevent the legal exclusive contract! In some comment upon disorder in Chicago, a similar suggestion is made: "If the law officers will not act, remove them and put in officers who will enforce the law. It can be done anywhere. It should be done in Illinois. It has been done in Colorado." Here is an extremist who would imitate "everywhere" the "citizens' alliances" in Colorado that presented to a sheriff his resignation and a noose and bade him take his choice of signing the one or hanging by the other; that deported citizens without trial and that burned co-operative stores.

Another article, addressed to "The Farmer," asks him to study what unionism means, and undertakes to tell him by asking such questions as this: "Suppose your barns and haystacks were burned, or suppose that some neighbor's conflagration lighted up the sky every evening?" To this supposition, the farmer is expected to reply that the only remedy would be a soldier in every barnyard and a vidette in every pasture,—all because of the grotesque spectacle of a farmhands' union that would carry the torch through the agricultural counties of the United States!

The National Association of Manufacturers is issuing a series of what may be called "fire-alarm" circulars designed to frighten employers into taking out insurance at \$50 a year. One of these quotes the advocacy of certain legislation by the American Federation of Labor and states:

"The labor organizations gained 1,024 new unions last year, embracing a membership of 300,000 individuals. Where is it going to end?"

Another circular calls attention to the use of organizers by the American Federation of Labor, and thus seeks to disturb the dreams of the pacific manufacturers:

"You may be at peace with your workmen now, but the organizer comes like a thief in the night. You go to bed in fancied security; you say boastfully 'I never had any trouble in getting along with my men. Please let me run my own business. I have been doing it for twenty-five years and I guess I am able to continue it.' This kind of talk makes the organizer laugh. You wake up out of your dream and you have a strike on your hands. The organizer has been at work while you were asleep."

If this does not frighten the manufacturer who is on friendly terms with his employes into declaring his factory in a state of war, another circular employs cunning to alarm him. The careless eye, upon glancing at this circular, would convey to the brain the inference that the American Federation of Labor had adopted a rabid socialist resolution, declaring for the "overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial, co-operative democracy." The words quoted are in big type. Only close scrutiny discovers the statement, in smaller type, that this resolution "came within four hundred votes of being adopted." The fact is omitted that the vote was taken upon an amended resolution, from which the socialist proposition had been stricken out. The rest of the circular proceeds upon the assumption that, unless all employers make war against organized labor, "Chaos and anarchy" will come "from a proposition to seize the private property of individuals,"—a proposition that the American Federation of Labor has repeatedly and overwhelmingly rejected, repeating its rejection in its recent convention.

One of the circulars with which employers are being flooded sets forth the purposes of the Dayton Employers' Association as follows:

"To protect its members in their right to manage their respective businesses in such lawful manner as they may deem proper."

This is a smooth paraphrase of the fallacious proposition that every one may do as he will with his own, without regard to the general welfare. This doctrine is the acme of selfish sordidness, and is repudiated by broad-minded employers.

"The adoption of a uniform legitimate system whereby members may ascertain who is and who is not worthy of their employment."

This is a disguised way of saying: "To form a black-list of all employes who for any reason are disliked by any employer."

"The investigation and adjustment . . . of any question arising between members and the employes."

This means the settlement of questions exclusively

by one of the interested parties, organized into an employers' anti-union union.

"To make it possible for any persons to obtain employment without being obliged to join a labor organization, and to encourage all such persons in their efforts to resist the compulsory methods of organized labor."

This is the equivalent of a declaration of discrimination against members of labor-unions, on the ground of their alleged "compulsory methods."

The circular exultantly states that as a result of the "aggressive and defiant" action of this Citizens' Association, the Labor Day parade dwindled from 9,000 in 1900 to 1,914 in 1903. It advocates a "non-union policy" which will "enforce a reorganization of trades-unionism," whatever that may mean.

But even in this circular of defiance, the pretense of friendship crops out. It declares the belief that "it is the right of labor to organize for the purpose of improving the condition of wage-earners, and that organization for the purpose of promoting the real interest of the workingmen of the country will subserve public welfare." Yet its entire programme is that of actual antagonism to unionism. It professes approval of its theory, but advocates methods whose undoubted effect would be to break up organized labor. It exults in the evidence it adduces of the loss in union membership.

The circular concludes by advocating a National Federation of Employers, which "can meet the American Federation of Labor on its own ground, defeat its unlawful undertakings, counteract its baleful influence and restrain its evil tendencies."

The Rev. William H. Boeteker is described as "a personal representative of D. M. Parry" and the editor of a publication of the Citizens' Industrial Association. A report of a recent address delivered to a "secret" meeting of manufacturers, merchants, contractors, and professional men at Evansville, Indiana, quotes him as declaring himself "the earnest friend of the workingmen, and as saying:

"The Citizens' Alliance consists of both employers and employees. It is secret because in secrecy is its greatest strength. It has signs of recognition, passwords and signs of distress.

"The organization is friendly to workingmen. In nine days I saw in one city 1,200 union men reduced to 62, and join the Citizens' Alliance. We are not opposed to unionism as such. They have a perfect right to organize. The unionist says the world owes every man a living. He never thinks that he owes something to the employer as well. We believe a man ought to get good wages because he earns them, not because he belongs to the union."

It is appropriate that such a hodge-podge of self-contradictory pretense of friendliness to unionism and frank declaration of hostility to its purposes should be addressed to a "secret" meeting. It would have run the risk of correction in an open meeting, which might have been attended by some one more accurately informed as to the philosophy and history of organized labor and its true relation to wages and conditions of work. Pretense accompanied by flagrant misstatements of fact can never withstand the light of day or the illumination of free speech.

Herbert George, President of the Citizens' Alliance of San Francisco, boastfully emphasizes its especial antagonism to the trade agreement:

"Up to date we have not lost a single fight we have gotten into, nor has there been a trade agreement signed up to our knowledge since the first day of May."

Some of the "alliance" literature advocates various plans, characterized by legal ingenuity, to undermine organized labor. The "Bulletin" of the National Metal Trades Association publishes a form of agreement with individual employees which is an adroit anti-union device. It makes the employee agree that "he will not quit such employment during the life of this agreement because of the grievance of any other person or persons, or in the furtherance of any strike or demand of any other person." That is to say, the contracting employee who is a member of a union binds himself not to strike, if his union orders a strike. To secure the keeping of this pledge, the employer credits each contracting worker with five cents for each ten-hour day, and the worker agrees to the deduction of an equal amount from his wages, also to be placed to his credit. The total of this accumulated joint fund is to be paid to the worker at the end of the agreement, provided he has kept all its terms. The effect of this arrangement is that in case a worker should strike, or should vary one jot or tittle from shop rules, he would lose both the accumulated deduction from his wages and the equal sum placed to his credit by the employer. He both loses a premium and incurs a penalty. The two sums in the course of a year would amount to \$30. In order to clinch legally the employer's hold upon this fund, the agreement makes the employee responsible for \$40 as liquidated damages to the employer from any breach of the contract. These damages are to be paid out of any wages due and from the joint fund previously described. The union man who signs such a contract would thus sign away his right to strike upon any issue whatever; and would sign a lien upon any balance due him in wages to an

amount greater by \$10 than the possible accumulation of the premium-penalty fund in the course of a year.

Incidentally, the employer would make a substantial gain. If he employed 5,000 men, he would have deducted from their earnings at the end of a year the tidy sum of \$75,000. For nine months he would have the use of \$18,000; for six months of \$37,000; for three months of \$56,000—all without interest and with the opportunity of absolute confiscation at his caprice. Such a fund would be a constant temptation to provoke a strike against unendurable conditions.

Advocates of the "smash the unions" policy are encouraging a subtle plan to undermine the influence of organized labor. Taking advantage of a period of industrial depression, which has increased the number of unemployed and lessened the strength of unions in negotiating terms of labor, employers' associations have established employment bureaus in various trades. The management of such a bureau in Chicago asserts that it is not formed to fight the union, and yet admits in the same breath that no man can hold one of its certificates and be loyal to his union. The pretended friendship of such employment bureaus to organized labor can not be taken seriously.

The method of these employment bureaus is to issue certificates to applicants who meet their approval. The bureaus require that those who receive these certificates must have worked at least one year in their present employment, or at least sixty days during a strike. The certificates are to show that the holder has rendered faithful service to members of an employers' association "at certain times"; commend the holder to all employers' associations, and promise "to permanently take care of the men who have worked for members of the association during labor troubles."

The true purpose of such a bureau is disclosed in the latest report of the Commissioner of the National Metal Trades Association, who stated:

"The Association has established a certificate system for tried and true workmen, who have been faithful to us during strikes. While the number of these certificate men is not large, it grows with each strike, and we shall soon have quite a body of these men whom we know can be depended upon in case of trouble."

There is no hypocrisy about that statement. It is the frank announcement of a tactical method in industrial war.

This discrimination is warmly urged upon employers by F. C. Nunemacher, of Louisville, who said in an address to the United Typothetae of America:

"The open shop means much to the non-union workman, and as he is the only helper that the employer has in preserving his own individual rights in his own plant, there is no question as to the duty of the employer in the premises. He must, as a true man, see that these non-union men who have been his helpers in time of trouble are at all times treated with greatest consideration and given all needed protection."

A conspicuous feature of the new organ of "Parryism" is an "Independent Labor Bureau." This is announced in this language:

"Independent or free labor is as much entitled to employment as union labor. In fact, if the whole truth be told, it is more entitled to employment than union labor. As union labor takes the position that independent labor shall not be employed, it cannot complain if it finds that it itself is the kind of labor discriminated against instead of independent labor. Simple justice dictates that those who are denied their rights should receive special consideration at the hands of all who have employment to offer."

Are not all these devices and declared purposes direct incitements to organized labor to fight for the closed shop? Are they not direct appeals to employers to discriminate in favor of the non-union worker? If all fear of such discrimination could be dissipated, the question of the closed shop would work its own practical solution in the various crafts. But when the open shop is openly declared to mean special consideration for non-union men, it is equivalent to a declaration of war against the union. It is but natural that the union should fight for its life.

THE ASSAULT BY SOCIALISM.

It has been shown that the "smash the union" class of employers' associations and citizens' alliances assail organized labor with every variety of language, from extravagant denunciation to insinuation veiled with pretended friendship.

But organized labor faces another foe. That foe is Socialism.

It is a favorite charge of the agents of the hostile associations of employers that the trades-unions are synonymous with socialism.

There is no doubt a widespread confusion of mind as to the relation between trades-unionism and socialism. They are in fact absolutely antagonistic in both doctrine and method. The socialists and the

unionists understand this well. The general public does not, because not one in a thousand clearly knows what socialism means. The average mind confuses socialism with its antithesis, anarchism, or with half a dozen other isms, most commonly perhaps with the public ownership of such utilities as gas and water works and street railways.

If a clear definition of socialism be made, the reason for its enmity to the labor union will be plain.

Socialism, in its own words, (in the platform of the Socialist Labor party) demands "the restoration of the land and all of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth for the present state."

Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, went about the country shouting these sentences:

"The tool-less worker is an industrial slave."

"The tool-owning capitalist is an industrial master."

The socialist, through political action, would turn over to the state the factory, the machinery it contains, the land on which it stands.

This is wholly opposed to the programme of the trades-unions, which would negotiate for the employees just terms with the employing owner of the factory.

The socialist would eliminate the employer and confiscate his property. This purpose is stated by the "International Socialist Review," in a manner especially interesting to the anti-union employers' associations: "Socialism will not ask for shorter hours or a few cents more wages, but will ask the whole produce and point the way for the employer to pass down and out of the industrial field. . . . They (the socialists) ask no arbitration. They do not recognize that the employer has any rights to arbitrate."

The Trade-Unionist would treat with the employer for the development of his factory for a fair share in the profit of its productivity.

The programme of trade-unions is strictly economic.

The programme of socialism is economic and political.

The two theories are absolutely opposed. The two methods are absolutely contradictory.

Hence, the socialists logically seek to destroy the trade-unions, either by outward assault or internal perversion, and to gather their disintegrated membership into a political party, to whose programme of confiscation their suffrage is essential.

Socialists regard every benefit to wage-earners, achieved by organized labor, as a palliation of discontent and a postponement of the revolution that they hold to be necessary and inevitable. The socialist is always painting the picture of society in the darkest colors. The trade-unionist assents as to existing evil, but contrasts that with the past and shows that the picture of to-day is brighter than the picture of yesterday. The socialist abhors every present betterment of industrial conditions. The unionist exults in such betterment. The socialist denounces what he calls industrial slavery; the unionist asserts that he represents industrial freedom.

The union leaders recognize this incompatibility. Delegate White said at the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"To throw our movement into the political arena would be injecting a firebrand of discord that would soon scatter it to the four winds of heaven. When it is so difficult to get the workingmen to agree upon the simply every-day issues, how can you expect to get them to agree upon the complex propositions that political action involves?"

The socialists have two methods of attacking organized labor. One is to assail it from without, the other is to pervert its membership; to sink its ship by "boring from within."

The method of assault from without is exemplified by the platform adopted by the socialist labor convention, which declares that:

"The bulk of what is called the Trades-Union Movement of America now threatens to throttle the Labor Movement, and as such has become what the capitalist 'Wall Street Journal' triumphantly greeted it with,—'one of the strongest obstacles in this country to socialism.'"

"Gompers Unionism befores the workingman's intellect with capitalist economics and it hounds Socialist or working class economics out of its camp, under the false pretense that such economic teachings are 'politics' and that they 'divide the working class.'"

"Gompers Unionism acts as a parachute to the downward course of Labor's condition, rendering the decline insensible and even seeking to conceal it."

"Gompers Unionism is a prop of capitalist society; it is a wheel in the machinery of capitalism; it is essentially the revamped guild of capitalism in the days of capitalist infancy; it is a job-trust, and as such has no part in the Labor Movement."

The same declaration suggests also the organization of straight, out and out socialist unions, to fight the present labor unions:

"We consider it the duty of the militant socialists of the land to join to their political endeavors the economic endeavor of promoting the industrial organization of the working class into unions that shall remain true to the class struggle spirit that gives unionism its birth, instead of degenerating into hand-maids of capitalism."

The Socialist party of Texas adopted a plank pronouncing the American Federation of Labor a futile failure and declaring:

"There is one form of trade-unionism, and only one, that can be made to subserve the interests of the working class. This kind of union must be committed to the program of the international movement for the emancipation of the working class, and must be in the nature of a training school for the political expression of that movement. It is already taking form in what is known as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of the Socialist Labor party in the East and in the American Labor Union allied with the Socialist party of America in the West."

This expression was hailed by the "People," the organ of the Socialist Labor party, as heralding the time when, "as the rushing of mighty streams, the socialists of the East and of the West will join indissolubly and, a resistless torrent, crash through all the fakir out-posts of the capitalist class (The labor unions) and sweep capitalism out of existence."

The Socialist Labor party issued a "call to arms" for the recent campaign that throws some interesting light upon its attitude toward unionism. This "call" declares that the workers are "finding the pure and simple union a hollow reed to lean upon" and announces that now "is the psychological moment of which the Socialist Labor party must avail" itself. A part of its campaign plan is thus stated:

"Wherever dissatisfaction exists amongst members of pure and simple trades-unions in consequence of sell-outs by the fakirs, lost strikes, or other causes, let no stone be returned to make these men acquainted with the Socialist Labor party position on trades-unions and with the Socialist Trade and Labor Association, by distribution of suitable literature, meetings, personal contact, and in every other way that can be devised."

"The systematic distribution of leaflets at factory gates, morning, noon, and night, and in workmen's districts on Sunday mornings, is working well in New York State. On with the war against Capitalism."

A recent instance of the quickness with which the socialists seize a lost strike as an opportunity to invade the field of organized labor occurred in the Chicago stock-yards. Promptly after the end of the meat strike, socialists began forming in the stock-yards organizations antagonistic to the Amalgamated Association of Butchers, a branch of the American Federation of Labor. They distributed a circular reading:

"Why have you lost your strike? Your union was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which boasts of 2,000,000 members. You have suffered the most crushing defeat in the history of organized labor. Why? You are not properly organized. The whole mass is loosely connected with the American Federation of Labor, which is absolutely powerless to make a united successful fight against anything and whose leaders hobnob with your enemies in Civic Federation."

The "People" gloated over the diminution of the Labor Day parade this year as much as did the unfriendly employers' organs:

"Despite the big expectations of the Central Federated Union fakirs and their cringing Kangaroo trades who have deserted May Day to cater to the pure and simple by taking part in a capitalist Labor Day parade, yesterday's turnout of the 'marching hosts of labor' was not so vast and glittering a cavalcade."

But the most dangerous effort of the socialists against organized labor is that directed to its disintegration from within. It is the votes of the unionists that the socialists are after. Jack London, a socialist writer, has defined, in the "Independent," the partisan aim of socialism, with an open candor whose almost brutal frankness bespeaks the confidence of fatalism:

"This revolt in the form of demands for an increased share of the joint product is being carefully and shrewdly shaped for a political assault upon society. . . . The leaders intend to direct the labor revolt to the capture of the political machinery of society. . . . With the control of the police, the army, the navy, and the courts, they will confiscate, with or without remuneration, all the possessions of the capitalist class which are used in the production and distribution of the luxuries and necessities of life. They mean to apply the law of eminent domain to the land and to extend the law of eminent domain until it embraces the mines, the factories, the railroad and the ocean carriers."

The "insidious," instead of the violent, method of disrupting the unions is described by the same writer:

"The socialists turned their energies upon the trade-union movement. To win the trade-unions was well-nigh to win the victory."

"Instead of antagonizing the unions, the socialists

proceeded to conciliate the unions. 'Let every good socialist join the union of his trade! Bore from within and capture the trade-union movement.'

"To-day the great labor-unions are honey-combed with socialists. At work and at play, at business meeting and council, their insidious propaganda goes on. Night and day, tireless and unrelenting as a mortgage, they labor at their self-imposed task of undermining society."

"The battle plan of the socialists is to organize the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transferring the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people."

This is the "insidious" campaign that the leaders of organized labor are fighting, and successfully. Year after year, the American Federation of Labor, in its convention, rejects socialist resolutions. Its convention last year in Boston defeated a socialist resolution, upon a clear-cut issue, by a majority of 10,000 to 1,000. That the leaders of the American Federation of Labor thoroughly realize the hostile animus of the socialists was shown in the speech delivered by Samuel Gompers in Faneuil Hall, Boston, at its twenty-third annual convention. Mr. Gompers said:

"I shall not refer at this time to their very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade-union movement; but I shall show you that though they may believe themselves to be trade-unionists, they are at heart, and logically, the antagonists of our movement."

"When the socialists formed the American Labor Union in rivalry to the American Federation of Labor, I took occasion to continually say in the 'American Federationist' that it was but another attempt to form another Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, without its practical courage to openly declare its enmity to the American trade-union movement."

"I want to tell you, Socialists, that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve, and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility."

This year's convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco defeated another socialist resolution by a majority so overwhelming that its advocates did not even ask a roll-call. A socialist anti-militia resolution was also overwhelmingly rejected.

But despite these rebuffs, socialism continues to strive for the overthrow of the trade-union movement, both by bitter denunciation and by luring it into a political morass with the ignis fatuus of a "co-operative commonwealth."

As politics is said to make strange bed-fellows, the common antagonism to the unions of the socialists and the radical employers' associations has brought them into apparent alliance. The "People," the daily socialist paper, heartily endorsed the speech of President Parry at New Orleans, quoted in the previous chapter, in this language:

"President Parry is right. An equitable arrangement of wages and hours can not be effected by the 'artificial' method of arbitration or conciliation. An 'equitable arrangement' can only be effected by allowing the class struggle full scope, and as a means to this end nothing is so much to be welcomed as the 'straight-out tactics' of the anti-union employers' associations. Socialism will triumph as a result."

Eugene V. Debs said recently in Faneuil Hall, Boston: "Parry is doing a better work for us than we could do for ourselves. As Mr. Pure-and-Simple Union Man is crushed, his eyes are opened to the fact that he must transfer his efforts to the political field."

That this friendly feeling of the socialists is reciprocated is indicated by the following complimentary statement by President Parry in an interview in the Indianapolis "News" just after the presidential election: "The great personal magnetism of Mr. Debs also counted for much in the large vote polled for him. As a labor leader he has kept himself clean and above suspicion in every way. While I can not approve of the methods used by him in the railroad strike, yet all fair-minded men must admit that he has much ability and force of character. Naturally, such a man is bound to have a large following."

THE INHERENT PERILS OF UNIONISM.

These assaults by "Parryism" and Socialism make it the duty of those who are convinced that the movement of organized labor is in the interest of civiliza-

tion to aid in perfecting its discipline. If it is to win success it must discover its own weaknesses and remove them. What, then, are the inward weaknesses of organized labor? What measures are its leaders and its councillors taking to correct them, and with what success?

Some of the perils that sharply beset organized labor may be discerned in the attacks of its enemies, who naturally direct their assaults against its weakest points. Its most bitter assailants select for their attack violence during strikes; venality among officers of unions who are authorized to deal with employers; and failure to stand by trade agreements.

Now, every one of these indictments can be supported in individual cases. Every one of them is an admitted wrong, whenever and wherever it occurs. Every one of them is indefensible. It is no defense to say that violence is exceptional and may be provoked; that there is vastly more "graft" in politics and in commerce than in the unions; that vastly more agreements are violated in the world of business than in the field of labor. Neither can arbitrary and unreasonable restrictions be defended on the ground that there are some restrictions that can be justified. Nevertheless, these indefensible evils are not in themselves the greatest weakness of organized labor. Rather are they symptoms of weakness, and they will progressively diminish only as the weakness that causes them is overcome.

The real, underlying weakness of organized labor is the apathy of the mass. In that respect unionism suffers as does every other organized movement. The leaders of political parties have no greater task than to overcome apathy in recurrent campaigns. It is apathy of citizenship that makes possible malfeasance in public office. It is moral apathy that permits the growth of "graft" in business. The church itself incessantly struggles against apathy in recruiting and maintaining its membership. Now and then there is an upheaval of sentiment that substitutes energy for this apathy, as in the culmination of a political campaign, or when political "graft" and business corruption are exposed, or when a religious revival sweeps thousands into the fold of the church. At such times, these organized movements exhibit their greatest strength. They have made real progress only if the pendulum does not swing all the way back to its extreme former position.

Because of the nature of its constituency and because it is nearly a pure democracy, the labor-union is peculiarly susceptible to this weakness. A chilling inertia often characterizes its membership. This is born of the lack of self-assertion, which is the natural characteristic of the average son of toil. By inheritance he is accustomed to his lot. Even in a land of opportunities, it is hard to overcome this temperamental inertia and arouse the worker to the actual practicability of improving his condition through organized effort. The real work of the union, it must be remembered, demands constant effort. But this necessity is often not realized by members. Moreover to maintain that effort is an addition to the necessary burdens of the day that it is a strain to meet. The temptation is constant to shirk the obligations of the union in attendance upon meetings, in activity for mutual improvement, and in payment of dues.

It is this apathetic inertia that every now and then permits the management of a local union to fall into the hands of a ring. The rough, boisterous element may attend its meetings. The better element, including the married men, may stay at home. The result is that the reckless gain control, and an unwarranted strike may follow, under turbulent leadership. Violence will be widely advertised and the blame charged against the whole body of organized labor. Or instead of recklessness, crafty cunning may gain control; and then a Parks or a Weinshelmer is evolved. Or men without moral fibre or education in business honor may break a trade agreement; and then the "faithlessness" and "lack of responsibility" of unionism will be proclaimed.

Another outcome of this apathy is the poor financial condition of many unions. The contrast between British and American unionism in this respect is familiar. The British unions have developed systems of payments of benefits for out-of-work, for traveling to places where work is available for injury or sickness and for death, simultaneously with maintaining a "defense" fund in anticipation of strikes. While similar systems exist together with insurance, in some bodies of labor in this country, as in the railway brotherhoods, the cigar-makers' union and the typographical union, in many crafts they are still to be brought into extensive and efficient operation. The American workman is keenly suspicious about the financial conduct of the union. "What becomes of my dues?" is his jealous query, that can be answered only by the regular publication in the journal of his organization of detailed financial reports. This spirit is wholesome in so far as it compels honestly conducted treasuries; but it adds to the inertia to be overcome. Again, the average worker does not always comprehend the actual pe-

(Concluded on page 16.)

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ARBITRATION TREATIES AND LABOR.

The natural sympathy between the movements for international peace and for industrial peace, illustrated by every speaker at the luncheon tendered to members of the Interparliamentary Union of the National Civic Federation, receives further recognition in the preparations for the mass meeting in New York in the interest of arbitration treaties. The executive committee in charge of that meeting, appointed by the chairman of the American Conference on International Arbitration, includes men prominent in the movement for industrial peace. The recent announcement that the terms of an arbitration treaty have been agreed upon by the representatives of the United States and Great Britain is significant of the spirit that views with pitying horror the enormous sacrifices of war and that encourages the adjustment of international disputes by the very methods of conciliation and arbitration that are invoked to settle controversies between capital and labor.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' ADDRESS.

Conservatism and intelligent enterprise characterized the proceedings of the twenty-fourth convention at San Francisco of the American Federation of Labor. Socialism met its overwhelming annual defeat. Its proposed overthrow of the wage-system and its opposition to membership of wage-earners in the militia except by conscription after the Swiss plan, were rejected overwhelmingly. This action by delegates representing 1,676,200 workers should carry conviction to the public mind that organized labor repudiates industrial revolution and associates patriotism with humanity.

With these victories there deserves to rank an affirmative declaration. That is the exhortation to the rank and file of organized labor to devote a large share of the time spent in local union meetings to studies and lectures upon economic subjects. The adoption of this resolution for education will go far to refute the assertion,—which is now made seriously by but few employers,—that the shorter work-day will mean abuse of added leisure by the mass of wage-earners. The prevailing spirit among the toilers of the land is that of self-helpfulness; there surely will not fail a response of encouraging reciprocity from those who work more with the brains than with the hands to this self-reliant determination to supplement manual skill with mental expansion. Education, as is pointed out elsewhere, is the best correction for that inertia of the mass which is common to all democratic organization.

The address of President Gompers is marked by breadth of view and economic insight. He makes a strong argument in support of the policy, which many question, of resistance to wage-reduction in periods of industrial depression. He exults in the progress of agreement and understanding between employers and workmen and in the extension of effort to bring about more rightful relations between them.

There will be surprise at Secretary Morrison's announcement of an increase in membership of 210,400, during a year of adverse conditions. Such a growth during such a time indicates sturdy increase in a movement that requires wise leadership and invites thoughtful counsel.

FOR ECONOMIC EDUCATION.

The Department of Industrial Economics of the National Civic Federation has been formed to extend education in the subjects that are vitally associated with the relations between capital and labor. These topics are largely economic, and require the most thorough elucidation. Even conscientious students of the labor question, who approach it from the point of view of either the capitalist or the wage-earner, are liable to deception by plausible fallacies. Editors, scholars and publicists are sometimes puzzled to detect the flaw in an ingenious proposition. Speakers from platform and pulpit and learned college professors have been known to enunciate as *ex cathedra* doctrines which are open to debate. The keen interest in these topics is indicated

by the ready acceptance of the invitation to join in their consideration.

This Department promises to be the most comprehensive and far-reaching movement for education upon industrial topics ever inaugurated in this country. It aims at the evolutionary rather than the revolutionary method of dealing with capital and labor. It enlists as co-operative forces the metropolitan press, the labor press, the magazine and book, the bar, the platform, the university and the church.

DR. ELIOT FOR UNIONS AND CONFERENCE.

President Eliot of Harvard University, in his address which we publish upon another page, advances two propositions of the highest importance as bearing upon the relations of employers and employed. This eminent scholar and thinker recognizes that workingmen "have a right to confer with" their employer and "advise him about the rules of the works." This advanced view discards absolutely the old-fogy notion that the employer may do as he will with his own and that he may run his own business in his own way with utter disregard to the feelings and the welfare of the human beings who work with him as well as for him. Dr. Eliot's other notable declaration is: "It is essential that the organizations of the workpeople themselves should be maintained and should be recognized by the employer and the associations of employers." These words are a clear-cut and definite rejection of the design of certain employers' associations to destroy the unions. Dr. Eliot's approval of the avowed objects of one local employers' association arises from his insistence upon the preservation of individual liberty, of which some sacrifice is implied in all organized effort for the up-lifting of a social group. The eight objects which he avers are consistent with the maintenance of individual freedom are in large part debatable questions of detail which, with the two chief policies established, that Dr. Eliot advocates without reserve, would soon work out their solution in practice. They are objects that we will undertake to discuss in detail in the next issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW. He well estimates as "inconceivable" the effect upon productivity of those two methods of establishing good-will between organized employers and wage-earners.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

There is a misapprehension in certain quarters of the significance of the vote cast for Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President. Some of the "smash the union" employers' associations would add to this misapprehension by efforts to confuse Socialism with organized labor.

The vote for Debs is not a true measure of the growth of Socialism. Its estimated total of 500,000 in 1904 seems impressive at first glance, when compared with Debs' 97,730 votes in 1900. But it is of general knowledge that a large number of citizens cast their vote for Debs as a negative protest. A large fraction of the Debs vote is not, therefore, indicative of a growth of Socialist sentiment, but is expressive of the discontent of certain radical groups with the principal parties. For instance, in Chicago the Single-taxers, who are Individualists, not Socialists, openly exhorted their followers to vote for Debs.

In Massachusetts, where the election of Douglas was a conspicuous result of scratched ballots, Socialism lost ground, its vote falling from 33,629, in 1902, to 20,000 in 1904. It is especially significant that in a State where Socialism has elected several mayors and members of the legislature, its lack of administrative and legislative ability has been such as to forfeit whatever political positions it had gained. The theory of political Socialism did not stand the test of practice.

In Colorado the "labor vote" was undoubtedly largely cast for Adams, as the direct way of getting at Peabodyism. It was Peabodyism, not Socialism, that was the issue in Colorado. The Socialist leaders themselves recognize that they cannot claim the increase in the vote for Debs as an increase in the vote for Socialism. The Debs organs are exhorting their readers to make special efforts to make real Socialists

out of the various groups of the discontented whose votes for the Debs ticket may be lost to that party another year.

A WELFARE DEPARTMENT CONFERENCE.

The conference of members of the Welfare Department, held in New York City on November 15, was characterized by consideration of several specific subjects. The papers and their discussion were of such importance as to warrant their verbatim publication in pamphlet form. Many inquiries addressed to the Welfare Department are evidence of widespread interest in these and kindred subjects. The paper upon "Railway Provident Institutions," of which the first instalment appears in this issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW, presents the views of one qualified to write as an expert upon that subject. The Assistant Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Max Riehnack is a member of the Advisory Committee and Chairman of the Supervisory Committee of the Relief Department, and Secretary of the Board of Officers of the Pension Department. He has been largely instrumental in maturing and promoting the provident undertakings of that railway system. He was selected by the Permanent Commission of the International Railway Congress, whose membership is recruited from the highest officials of the leading railways of the world, to report upon "Railway Provident Institutions," for discussion at the seventh session of that Congress, to be held at Washington, D. C., next May. In another paper, E. H. Perley describes interestingly the operation of an employees' bank in a newspaper establishment. Its purpose is to enable faithful employees to escape loan sharks when emergency causes their expenses to exceed current income.

AN INTERESTING DISAVOWAL.

The call for the fourth annual meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Civic Federation pointed out that the organizations of employers having the largest investments of capital in the United States in the basic industries sought and found honorable business relations with organized labor. But the call also stated:

There are other organizations of capital whose present aim is to smash the unions. Sometimes this policy is boldly avowed; sometimes it is disguised. Uncompromising hostility to labor inspires this class of employers' associations and citizens' alliances. These have not been formed to negotiate with labor, since they aim to destroy all organization of labor with which negotiation is possible.

To this statement, exception was taken by David M. Parry, President of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America and of the National Association of Manufacturers, in whose behalf the following reply was published:

We know of no organization of employers whose aim is to smash unions, and if this passage is aimed at us it is altogether wide of the mark. We certainly do not aim to smash the unions, and have no hostility to unions as such. We are opposed, however, to the principle of coercion or force in unions and believe that unions which are conducted properly are not only not a disadvantage, but may be a benefit to the workers. At the same time we have not, like the Civic Federation, a Bishop or a Gompers or a Mitchell in our body, and we do not invite the general public to mix in our affairs.

This announcement that the "smash the union" shoe does not fit Mr. Parry and that the organizations of which he is President have "no hostility to the unions" is news as welcome as it is surprising. It is possible that an erroneous impression of the purposes of his organizations has been caused by the great mass of utterances concerning organized labor that have been attributed to Mr. Parry and his associates. Certainly his announcement is in welcome contrast to statements here quoted selected at random from several hundred. The Rev. William J. H. Boeteker said at Evansville, Ind.:

The Citizens' Alliance consists of both employers and employees. It is secret, because in secrecy is its greatest strength. It has signs of recognition, passwords and signs of distress.

The organization is friendly to workingmen. In nine days I saw in one city 1,200 union men reduced to 62, and join the Citizens' Alliance. We are not opposed to unionism as such. They have a perfect right to organize. The unionist says the world owes

every man a living. He never thinks that he owes something to the employer as well. We believe a man ought to get good wages because he earns them, not because he belongs to the union.

The reverend speaker was introduced to the meeting to which he addressed these remarks as "a personal representative of D. M. Parry" and the editor of a publication of his Association. In view of this relation, Mr. Parry's denial that any Bishop belongs to that body appears rather technical. It is true that the Rev. Mr. Boeteker has not yet attained the rank of a Bishop, but his activity indicates that he is not devoid of ambition.

But surprise grows into amazement upon reading the following, ascribed to Mr. Parry himself:

This is not the proper time to talk conciliation. . . . An attitude of conciliation would mean an attitude of compromise with regard to fundamental convictions. . . . Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or trade agreements. To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods. . . . An equitable arrangement as to either cannot be effected artificially. . . . Arbitration is only putting off the day of reckoning.

Amazement becomes astonishment, when the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Industrial Association, John Kirby, Jr., is quoted as saying to his annual meeting:

The only way to settle a controversy with organized labor is to have absolutely no dealings with it.

Astonishment becomes wonder when Mr. Kirby also says:

No organization of men, not excepting the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia, or the Black Hand Society, has ever produced such a record of barbarism as has this so-called organized labor society which, through misdirected sympathy, apathy and indifference, has been permitted to grow up to cripple our industries, and to trample in the dust the natural and constitutional rights of our citizens.

And still the wonder grows when "American Industries," the official organ of the National Association of Manufacturers, of November 15, quotes Mr. Kirby:

The fact is that the fundamental basis of all such joint agreements is recognition of the union, and there would be no recognition if there were no coercion and no restriction upon the employer's lawful rights. Once you are in the toils of the union you are its victim, to be tossed about at its dictation.

Thus Mr. Parry and his friends abolish conciliation, arbitration, trade agreements, the unions themselves as worse than the Ku Klux, Mafia and Black Hand societies, shut the door in the face of the impertinent general public and reject every method that civilized society has yet devised for treating the problem of capital and labor. Otherwise, the English language has lost its meaning.

UNION PAYMENTS FOR BENEFITS.

The annual report of Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor shows benefit payments of various kinds by sixty-six International Organizations during the past year of \$1,739,796 could not include the amounts, in many cases larger, paid in benefits by local unions.

For example, Secretary Morrison's report credits the International Typographical Union with \$38,925 for death benefits. But this represents probably less than half the total expenditure for death benefits alone in that Union. The New York local, "No. 6," pays an additional death benefit of \$80, making with the \$70 paid by the International a total of \$150 for each death benefit. The same local union paid \$46,000 last year for out-of-work benefits. Its members also maintain voluntary shop sick benefit associations; a hed in every hospital in New York City and are constantly making contributions for charity at every meeting of the union. None of these expenditures appear in the financial statement of the International. The future collection of these local data would go far to prove that the benefit treasury of organized labor is larger by far than its war chest.

FOR INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

A mass meeting will be held in Carnegie Hall, New York City, on the evening of December 16, to give expression to public opinion in favor of the ratification of the arbitration treaties which have been and are now being negotiated between the United States and other Powers. This movement is under the gen-

eral direction of the Executive Committee of the American Conference on International Arbitration, of which ex-Secretary John W. Foster is chairman. The New York executive committee, which is to conduct the meeting, is composed of the following:

John Crosby Brown, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Hon. George B. McClellan, Prof. John B. Moore, Dr. Leander T. Chamberlain, Francis Lynde Stetson, Hon. Nicholas Murray Butler, Morris K. Jesup, Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss, Hon. John W. Griggs, Hon. Carl Schurz, Charles A. Moore, Hon. Stewart L. Woodford, Hon. Lyman J. Gage, Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, John A. McCall, James Stillman, Horace White, John E. Parsons, Spencer Trask, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., George Haven Putnam, James Speyer, Andrew Carnegie, Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Hon. Elihu Root, Robert C. Ogden, Samuel Gompers, Jacob H. Schiff, Melville E. Stone, Hon. George L. Rives, Ralph M. Easley, Dr. John H. Finley, Edward M. Shepard, Hon. Charles E. Schleren, Alexander E. Orr, George Foster Peabody, Hon. John E. Bigelow, John J. McCook, Harry Payne Whitney, John Jacob Astor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Hon. John G. Carlisle, I. N. Seligman, Chandler P. Anderson.

ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER.

The Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation Will Transact Important Business and Entertain all its Departments.

The fourth annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation will be held in New York City on December 15. It is expected that this meeting will be the most important in the history of the organization. The Executive Committee will hold two business sessions in the morning and afternoon, and in the evening will entertain at its annual dinner the members of all the Departments of the organization. Among the speakers at the dinner will be Andrew Carnegie, Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Potter, August Belmont, Cornelius N. Bliss, Oscar S. Straus, John Mitchell, Samuel Gompers and E. E. Clark.

The Department of Industrial Economics will hold its first meeting, for organization, prior to the annual dinner.

The business of the Executive Committee will include the election of a president to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Marcus A. Hanna. The selection of his successor was entrusted to a sub-committee of twelve, representing employers, wage-earners and the general public.

Reports will be received by the Executive Committee from the Chairman of the Executive Council, and from the Departments of trade agreements, conciliation and arbitration, welfare work, publication, and organization. An international committee will be named to form an International Civic Federation, the suggestion of which has elicited encouraging responses from England, Canada, France, Belgium and Germany.

The call to the members of the Executive Committee contains the following:

"The country is at the threshold of a new era of industrial activity. It is to be hoped that all producers, including both capital and the wage-earners, as well as all consumers will share in this revival of prosperity. This new era succeeds a period of depression which has had at least two wholesome results. The 'water' has been 'squeezed' out of inflated securities and a sounder measure of values has been reached. Organized labor has gone through an almost parallel succession of inordinate expansion and reformation. During the boom period that preceded the recent depression, labor had its organizers everywhere, and pressed aggressively its demands for a larger share in the increased profits of production. When the industrial reaction came, organized labor found itself extended beyond a sound basis, and unable to avoid its share of the hardship caused by industrial depression.

"But for both capital and labor the outlook is now more hopeful. When the National Civic Federation was organized four years ago, the country was going through the craze of indiscriminate trust capitalization. Direful predictions of resistance, which might go even to the point of revolution, were heard on every side. Within six months of that time the greatest of these trusts, the United States Steel Corporation, encountered its first great struggle with organized labor, and no revolution followed. There have been similar experiences in other encounters between organized capital and organized labor. As in the anthracite strike, they have been guided to a sane and sound conclusion. In all the United States, but one city, Fall River, to-day suffers from an industrial struggle of any moment."

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

A MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND FAR-REACHING MOVEMENT FOR POPULAR EDUCATION UPON FACTORS IN THE PROBLEM OF LABOR.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS.

The initial membership of the new Department of Industrial Economics of the National Civic Federation is herewith published. A perusal of the list will show that it is composed of editors of the daily press, and of politico-social magazines, trade papers whose readers include all the great employing interests of the country, and labor journals that reach millions of wage-earners; and of economic and legal authors, lecturers, the heads of the departments of political economy in universities and representatives of the pulpit.

The National Executive Committee of the Civic Federation will tender an informal dinner to the Department, following its annual meeting in New York City on December 15. Prior to this dinner, the members of the Department will be called together to organize and to define its mode of procedure at future meetings.

This Department represents the most comprehensive and far-reaching movement for popular education upon industrial subjects yet inaugurated in this country. Its members are to meet at informal dinners to discuss such practical topics as "Trade Agreements," "Wages and Cost of Living," "The Shorter Work-Day," "The Open and Closed Shop," "The Minimum Wage," "Restriction of Output," "Piece-Work and Day-Work," "Arbitration," "Apprentices," "Introduction of Machinery," etc. That these discussions will have both practical and scientific value is apparent from the character of the participants. All of them are instructors of the public, each in his own field, and all of them are able to teach and to learn from one another. Besides the reports of these gatherings by the Associated Press, a special summary of their proceedings, in the form of a syndicate article, will be furnished to 5,000 newspapers. A verbatim report will be published in THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

The following have accepted membership:

ABBOTT, LAWRENCE F. Editorial Staff Outlook, New York City.
ADAMS, HENRY C. Professor Political Economy, Ann Arbor, Mich.
ADLER, FELIX, Professor Columbia University, New York City.
BAINE, C. L. Editor Shoe Workers' Journal, Boston, Mass.
BOARDMAN, W. H. Editor Railway Gazette, New York City.
BOWKER, R. R. Editor Publishers' Weekly, New York City.
BRAMWOOD, J. M. Editor Typographical Journal, Indianapolis, Ind.
BRANDEIS, LOUIS D. Corporation Lawyer, Boston, Mass.

BRIGHT, F. D. Editor Railway World, Philadelphia, Pa.
BROOKS, JOHN GRAHAM, Lecturer, Cambridge, Mass.
BUTLER, NICHOLAS MURRAY, President Columbia University, New York City.
CALL, E. PAYSON, Publisher New York Commercial, New York City.
CASSIER, LOUIS, Publisher Cassier's Magazine, New York City.
CEASE, D. L. Editor Railroad Trainmen's Journal, Cleveland, O.
CLARK, E. E. Editor Railway Conductor, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
COMMONS, JOHN R. Department of Political Economy, Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.
CONANT, CHAS. A. Treasurer Morton Trust Company, New York City.
COOK, FREDERICK H. Author and Lawyer, New York City.
DAVIS, BEN. I. Editor Amalgamated Iron Workers' Journal, Pittsburgh, Pa.
DONNELLY, SAMUEL B. Typographical Union, New York City.
DOYLE, REV. A. P. Editor Catholic World, New York City.
DUNCAN, JAMES, Editor Granite Cutters' Journal, Quincy, Mass.
ELIOT, CHARLES W. President Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
ELY, R. T. Professor Political Economy, University of Wisconsin.
ESTERBROOK, HENRY D. General Counsel Western Union Telegraph Co., New York City.
FAIRCHILD, E. M. Editor Daily Trade Record, New York City.
FARNAM, HENRY W. Professor Political Economy, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
FISKE, AMOS K. Editorial Staff, New York Journal of Commerce, New York City.
FORD, E. A. Editorial Staff New York Tribune, New York City.
FOSTER, FRANK K. Typographical Union, Boston, Mass.
FREEMAN, REV. JAMES E. President Hollywood Inn, Yonkers, N. Y.
FREUND, JOHN C. Editor Music Trades, New York City.
FREY, JOHN P. Editor Iron Moulders' Journal, Cincinnati, O.
GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN H. Head Sociological Department, Columbia University, New York City.
GILDER, R. WATSON, Editor, Century Magazine, New York City.
GLADDEN, WASHINGTON, Author, Columbus, O.
GLEED, CHARLES S. Attorney-at-law, Topeka, Kan.
GOMPERS, SAMUEL, Editor American Federationist, Washington, D. C.
GREEN, JOHN, Editor Bradstreet's Journal, New York City.
GUNTUN, GEORGE, Editor Gunton's Magazine, Washington, D. C.
HARVEY, G. B. M. Editor North American Review, New York City.
HOLT, HAMILTON, Editor New York Independent, New York City.
HOWLAND, EDWARD C. Economic Writer, New York City.
IRIELAND, JOHN, Archbishop, St. Paul, Minn.
JENKS, J. W. Professor Political Economy, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
JUDSON, FREDERICK N. Attorney, St. Louis, Mo.
KEEFE, D. J. International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit, Mich.
KIRCHHOFF, C. W. H. Editor Iron Age, New York City.
LENNON, JOHN B. Editor The Tailor, Bloomington, Ill.
LORIMER, GEORGE C. Editor Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, Pa.
MAHON, W. D. Editor Motorman and Conductor, Detroit, Mich.

MARTIN, T. C. Editor Electrical World and Engineer, New York City.
MERRILL, BRADFORD, Editorial Staff New York World, New York City.
MCGRAW, JAMES H. President McGraw Publishing Co., New York City.
MCKELWAY, ST. CLAIR, Editor Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MCNAMEE, JOHN F. Editor Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, Indianapolis, Ind.
MILLER, C. R. Editor New York Times, New York City.
MILLER, FREDERICK I. Editor American Machinist, New York City.
MITCHELL, JOHN, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.
MOFFETT, EDWARD A. Editor Bricklayer and Mason, New York City.
MOODY, JOHN, Author of Moody's Manual, New York City.
NEILL, H. H. Editorial Staff New York Mail, New York City.
O'CONNELL, JAMES, Editor Machinists' Journal, Washington, D. C.
PAGE, WALTER H. Editor World's Work, New York City.
PATTISON, W. J. Publisher Evening Post, New York City.
PECK, GEORGE R. General Counsel, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, Chicago, Ill.
PHILIPS, ROLAND, Managing Editor Harper's Weekly, New York City.
PIERCE, D. T. Editor Public Opinion, New York City.
POTTER, HENRY C. Bishop, New York City.
QUICK, L. W. Editor Railroad Telegrapher, St. Louis, Mo.
RAINSFORD, WILLIAM S. Clergyman, New York City.
RIECK, W. C. Executive Manager New York Herald, New York City.
RHS, JACOB A. Sociologist, New York City.
ROOT, C. T. Editor Dry Goods Economist, New York City.
SALMONS, C. H. Editor Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Cleveland, O.
SEXTON, S. M. Editor United Mine Workers' Journal, Indianapolis, Ind.
SELIGMAN, EDWIN R. A. Head Department Political Economy, Columbia University, New York City.
SLEICHER, JOHN A. Editor Leslie's Weekly, New York City.
SHAW, ALBERT, Editor Review of Reviews, New York City.
SKEMP, J. C. Editor Painter's Official Journal, Lafayette, Ind.
SINCLAIR, ANGUS, Editor Locomotive Engineering, New York City.
SULLIVAN, J. W. Editor The Unionist, New York City.
TAUSSIG, F. W. Department Political Economy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
TAYLOR, C. H., JR. President American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Boston, Mass.
TAYLOR, GRAHAM, Editor The Commons, Chicago.
THOMPSON, SLASON, Chief Statistician Railway Managers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
TOBIN, JOHN F. Editor Shoe Workers' Journal, Boston, Mass.
VANDERLIP, FRANK A. Vice-President City National Bank, New York City.
WARDMAN, ERVIN, Editor New York Press, New York City.
WATSON, HENRY C. Editor Dun's Review, New York City.
WHEELER, E. J. Editor Literary Digest, New York City.
WHITE, WILLIAM ALLEN, Author, Emporia, Kan.
WILLIAMS, TALCOTT, Editorial Staff Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia, Pa.
WOODLOCK, THOMAS F. Editor Wall Street Journal, New York City.
WRIGHT, H. J. Editor The Globe, New York City.

PRESIDENT ELIOT'S ADDRESS

(Concluded from page 2.)

Welfare Work and Good-will.

Of course, we all believe that the arrangements called "Welfare" arrangements tend in the direction which I am now speaking of, but the welfare arrangements should never be presented as if they were a benevolence. They are really means of promoting efficiency, means of promoting productiveness,—above all, they are means of promoting the natural good-will, the natural co-operative effort between employer and employed. All health arrangements come under this head. The great incubus that weighs on all our industries is ill-health, sickness, premature death, the failure to take care for the body of the workman.

Then there are various contrivances for making the workman feel as if he had a share in the industry. We need, however, many more inventions in this direction. There is the premium method, the commission on sales method, the sharing of a profit with the employees. All these are experimental; they have their ups and downs, and there is a difficulty with all of them, namely, that method which works well when the establishment is profitable may work very ill when the same establishment is unprofitable. I say, therefore, we need inventions in this direction to promote the sense of common interest between the employer and the employed.

But we must go much farther than this if we are to manage wisely these delicate relations. We must see the employer interesting himself, not only in the

efficient productiveness of his workmen, but in their social surroundings and their opportunities for pleasure. There is no separating this general physical and mental well-being from the problem of establishing good-will. I hope you have all seen, as I have, industries where all these conditions have been thoughtfully worked out, where even the state of the town enters into the thoughtful calculation of the employer, where municipal well-being is made a part of the industrial well-being.

The Workers' Right to Confer.

There is another place where the employers' constant attention can be profitably applied. It is in the region of discipline, of works or shops. IT IS A REASONABLE EXPECTATION ON THE PART OF THE WORKINGMEN WHO FEEL THAT THEY ARE IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE OWNER THAT THEY SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO CONFER WITH HIM AND ADVISE HIM ABOUT THE RULES OF THE WORKS. IT IS A REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT COMPLAINTS SHOULD BE PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO AND HEARD, LISTENED TO BY THE RIGHT PERSON AND NOT BY THE WRONG PERSON. THIS EXPECTATION, I SAY, IS THOROUGHLY REASONABLE. AND, MOREOVER, SINCE THESE THINGS ALL TEND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOOD-WILL IN THE WORKMEN, THEY WILL BE HIGHLY PROFITABLE IN ANY COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT.

I find then, three tests which may be applied to the policies of employers—

Do they take sufficient account of the immense var-

lety of industries, shops, stores, employments, occupations? Uniformity is not to be expected.

Second, Do they promote personal and public liberty?

Third, Do they promote good-will?

The Union Indispensable.

NOW, ONE THING I WANT TO SAY FURTHER, NAMELY, THAT IT IS PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT IF THE BEST RELATIONS ARE TO BE ESTABLISHED BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYED, PARTICULARLY IN THE INDUSTRIES WHICH EMPLOY THOUSANDS OF WORK PEOPLE, MEN AND WOMEN, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORK PEOPLE THEMSELVES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND SHOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY THE EMPLOYER AND THE ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYERS. THE UNION IS INDEED INDISPENSABLE IN THE GREAT INDUSTRIES, AND IT IS A FACILITY FOR THE EMPLOYERS AND FOR ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYERS THAT THEY EXIST, AND EXIST IN A FIRM AND JUDICIOUS FORM. WHAT WE HAVE TO REGRET IS, NOT THE EXISTENCE OF THESE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORK PEOPLE, BUT THAT THEIR POLICIES HAVE IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT RESPECTS BEEN MISDIRECTED. WHAT WE HAVE TO HOPE IS THAT OUT OF THIS CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORK PEOPLE ON THE ONE HAND, AND OF EMPLOYERS ON THE OTHER THERE WILL ARISE TWO SAFE, PRUDENT, WISE LINES OF POLICY,—ONE IN THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORK PEOPLE, THE OTHER IN THE ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYERS.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF THE National Civic Federation

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CYRUS H. McCORMICK, First Vice-Chairman.
JOHN H. PATTERSON, Second Vice-Chairman.
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A WELFARE DEPARTMENT CONFERENCE.

Papers and Discussions Upon "Railway Provident Institutions," "Banks for Employees," "The Labor Department," and "A Factory Lunch Room."

A conference of members of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation was held in New York, Tuesday, November 15. The Chairman, H. H. Vreeland, presided. Papers were read by M. Riebenack, Assistant Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, upon "Railway Provident Institutions"; by E. H. Perley, Secretary of the Globe Employees' Bank, Boston, on "Banks for Employees"; by C. U. Carpenter, Vice-President of the Herring-Hall-Marvin Safe Company, on "The Labor Department"; and Edward F. Weston, Secretary of the Weston Electrical Instrument Co., delivered an extemporaneous talk on "A Factory Lunch Room." Those who participated in the discussions were: H. H. Vreeland, President, New York City Railway Co., New York; R. E. Danforth, General Manager, Rochester Railway Co., Rochester, N. Y.; George R. Elder, Manager, The Ingersoll-Sergeant Drill Company, Easton, Pa.; W. C. Fish, Manager, General Electric Company, West Lynn, Mass.; Frederick C. Fletcher, Treasurer, Pocasset Worsted Company, Boston; B. J. Greenhut, Treasurer, Siegel-Cooper Company, New York; George H. Harries, Vice-President Washington Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.; H. Gilbert Hart, President, Hart & Crouse Company, Utica, N. Y.; T. H. McInnerney, Siegel-Cooper Company, New York; Charles T. Page, Treasurer, Page Belting Company, Concord, N. H.; Edward F. Weston, Secretary, Weston Electrical Instrument Company, Newark, N. J.; Arthur A. Fuller,

Superintendent, Providence Engineering Works, Providence, R. I.; George W. Brown, Treasurer, United Shoe Machinery Company, Boston; Thomas G. Plant, President, Thomas G. Plant Company, Boston; M. Riebenack, Assistant Comptroller, Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Philadelphia; E. Horace Perley, "The Globe," Boston; C. U. Carpenter, Vice-President, Herring-Hall-Marvin Safe Company, Hamilton, O.; Mr. Anderson, Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Philadelphia; Charles W. Hubbard, Treasurer Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, Boston; Edward A. Filene, Treasurer, William Filene's Sons Co., Boston.

All of the papers and a verbatim report of the discussions will be published in pamphlet form. The paper of Mr. Perley appears upon a subsequent page of THE MONTHLY REVIEW. The paper of Mr. Riebenack will be published in two parts. The first, which treats the subject generally, follows; the second, relating particularly to the Pennsylvania Railroad, will appear in the next issue.

RAILWAY PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS.

Their Status in the United States Reviewed and their Statistics Analyzed.

By M. Riebenack, Asst. Comptroller, Penna. R.R.

The principal avenues of provident effort in which the railways of the United States are interested on account of their employees may be enumerated as: Insurance and Relief Provision, (embracing (a) regular or commercial insurance, (b) insurance societies and organizations conducted exclusively by railway employees, and (c) the relief departments created and conducted wholly by the railroad companies); Superannuation Funds; Pension Funds; Savings Funds; Hospital Service, (including (a) hospital departments, (b) contractual hospital service, (c) emergency stations, (d) ambulance crews, (e) "first-aid" relief, (f) hospital cars); Libraries and Reading-Rooms; Young Men's Christian Association Railway Branches; Co-operative Stock Sharing Plans; Public and Private (Outside) Provisions; and Miscellaneous Provision.

Eliminating the independent or outside insurance and relief organization with which employees are affiliated, and confining attention to the strictly Railroad Relief Departments, it is found that, unlike the practice commonly obtaining with roads in foreign countries, membership is purely voluntary.

Relief Fund Statistics.

Out of upwards of twenty-four roads conducting insurance plans of different kinds in which their employees participate, nine are interested in strictly Railway Relief Associations, the others being concerned, under varying conditions, in (a) regular life and accident insurance, (b) mutual insurance, (c) endowment insurance, and (d) employees' relief associations or societies, and are not under the direct control nor operated as a department of the railroad companies.

The nine purely relief department roads represented an aggregate of 31,000 miles of roadway, or about 15 per centum of the total railway mileage of the country, with employees numbering 318,000, or about 24 per centum of the total number of railway employees in the United States, and an insurance membership of 206,000 employees, or practically 65 per centum of the total number of employees identified with the roads involved, and this membership percentage would be largely increased were the computations based by excluding non-membership employees who are so because of ineligibility for membership, owing to age or physical disqualifications. The average annual disbursements of these departments aggregate \$2,230,000, while their combined disbursements since organization reach close on to \$37,150,000.

Superannuation provision is confined exclusively to the Pennsylvania System East of Pittsburgh and Erie, Pa.

Railway Pension Funds.

Railway Pension Funds in the United States originated with the pension feature of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, instituted October 1, 1884, participation in which is based on four years' membership in the Company's Relief Department, of which the pension feature is an auxiliary. The operations of the Baltimore and Ohio Fund were originally on a small scale. The Company's annual appropriation up to July 1, 1900, was \$31,000 (consisting of an annual appropriation of \$25,000, and use of the \$6,000 reserve fund of the Relief Department when the same was not needed by that Department); on the date named, however, the annual appropriation by the Company was increased to \$75,000, with reversionary interest in the \$6,000 reserve fund of the Relief Department. It will therefore be apparent that the present standard of the Pension Fund

operations dates practically from the year 1900, from and after which year all of the funds were established on the prevailing scale of allowances.

The objects of the pension departments are to provide for compulsory or involuntary retirement from service at ages sixty-five or seventy years, with service ranging from ten to thirty years, on a fixed allowance, usually computed at 1 per centum of the average pay for each year of service, and voluntary retirement, growing out of incapacitation, between ages sixty-one and sixty-nine years, with a specified period of service.

Data on pension undertakings furnished by eighteen different roads, show sixteen pension funds in operation, and two practically ready for introduction, while, besides, several roads announce plans either under consideration or in course of preparation, the lines of the "Vanderbilt System" being in the latter category.

The roads reporting pension funds embrace upwards of 50,000 miles, or about 24 per centum of the total railway mileage of the country, and close to 500,000 employees, or about 38 per centum of the total number of employees of all roads in the United States.

These funds represent an aggregate annual appropriation not to exceed \$1,350,000, when necessary to make payment of pension allowance, while eight of the roads set aside originally, as the basis of pension or working funds, an amount aggregating about \$600,000. Twelve of the funds have expended since organization an aggregate of \$2,500,000, and the same roads, at the end of the year 1903, were carrying on their pension rolls the names of 3,200 pensioners, while the aggregate mortality among pensioners, since fund organization, had been 1,150.

A prominent characteristic of the railway pension fund is that the undertaking is wholly financed and supported by the railway company concerned, the beneficiaries making no contribution whatever thereto. The financial demands of the fund are sometimes met by setting aside originally a certain amount as an investment, the interest accruing therefrom constituting a pension or working fund, this amount being in some cases supplemented by provision for a maximum appropriation when necessary; in other cases the railway company simply assumes responsibility for a maximum annual disbursement.

Railway Saving Funds.

Saving Funds have not found widespread foothold among the railroads of the country, the three now in operation being identified with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and the Pennsylvania System of the lines East and West of Pittsburgh and Erie, Pa.

The Baltimore and Ohio Saving Fund differs from the Pennsylvania System Funds, in that it provides that the wife, mother, or child of an employee, or the beneficiary of a deceased member of the Relief Fund, may deposit under the same terms and conditions as employee, and the Fund, which was established in August, 1882, also has an important adjunct known as the "Loan Feature," which enables employees members of the Relief Fund to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest and on easy terms of repayment for the purpose of acquiring and improving homesteads.

The combined total of depositors for the three roads as of December 31, 1903, was 14,807, and depositaries 1,895, their deposits and withdrawals since organization having aggregated respectively \$14,877,724.99 and \$10,047,776.47.

Recapitulation of results from investigations made shows that the railroads of the United States are interested in insurance, superannuation and pension undertakings on a very extensive scale, and that these roads represent a mileage aggregating 73,351.76 miles, or 35.8 per centum of the country's total railway mileage, and employees numbering 646,690, or 49.3 per centum of all railway employees, while the combined disbursements, for the features named, run well up into the millions of dollars annually.

Railway Hospital Service.

Hospital service was one of the earliest forms of relief adopted by the railroads on behalf of their employees, the first Hospital Department, as conducted at the present time, having been organized in conjunction with the Southern Pacific Railway, in California, in 1868.

The average monthly contributions by members are 25 and 50 cents, while the railway company usually furnishes the hospital building and other quarters, also free transportation to and from the same, and not infrequently assumes responsibility for financial deficiencies.

Many roads, particularly in densely populated sections, rely upon State, municipal, and private hospital service, and to that end have agreements with such institutions for the treatment of their sick and injured employees on reasonable terms.

There is also in vogue provision for extending first-aid relief to injured persons, consisting of the "First-Aid Packet" and the "Emergency Box"; while the hospital car and the "system of furnishing baggage, wrecking, and maintenance-of-way cars with stretchers" are finding general adoption.

A list compiled from data supplied by thirty-five

railroads with distinctive hospital organizations, represents an aggregate of about 70,000 miles of roadway, and employees numbering upwards of 360,000, the number of cases treated annually approximating 275,000.

Libraries and Reading-Rooms.

Upwards of fifty roads, representing over 100,000 miles of roadway and nearly 800,000 employees, were on record on December 31, 1903, as being interested in library and reading rooms for their employees, these features being very largely associated with the railway branches of the Young Men's Christian Association, the number of volumes involved being about 250,000.

Two notable instances of libraries conducted exclusively by railroads, and wholly dissociated from Association railway branches, are the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company's Circulating Library, with 15,000 volumes, and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company's Mechanics' Library at Altoona, Pa. (at which point are located the principal car and machine works of the Company), with 35,000 volumes.

Association Work.

The Young Men's Christian Association first found lodgment in America at Montreal, Canada, November 25, 1851, and in the United States at Boston, Mass., December 29, 1851.

The Railroad Department of the Association has its principal and most exclusive standing in the United States, the work having started on the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus and Indianapolis Railroad, at Cleveland, O., in the fall of 1872.

On December 31, 1903, roads representing 79 per centum of the total railroad mileage of the country recognized and supported the Association. Investigations concluded for the same year resulted in forty odd roads advising of direct and active operation and promotion of railway branches, embracing, in round numbers, upwards of 100,000 miles of roadway and 785,000 employees, quite 55,000 of whom were identified with the branches, whose annual operative cost approximated \$500,000. The railroads covered by these figures are regular contributors to the movement. There are many others, however, which while not directly identified with the work, are systematic subscribers thereto.

Membership rates are purely nominal, ranging from \$3 to \$5 a year for the privileges extended. The bulk of expenditure is, however, borne by the railroads concerned.

Educational courses, conducted for the most part throughout the fall and winter months, and which are evidencing pronounced increase in the variety and usefulness of the studies comprehended, are growing in popularity and value. These courses embrace in their curriculum those commercial and railroad branches a knowledge of which is of prime importance to the ambitious and progressive employee, and particularly to those employees who would otherwise be debarred from enjoying that encouragement and opportunity for general intellectual training and improvement which experience has shown to be essential for individual advancement in any chosen vocation.

Tuition rates are nominal, while the classes are in charge of specialists of well known ability and highest endorsement.

It is to be noted that one of the prominent features in the success of the movement rests on the fact that it is free from sectarian complications, the religious work being of such a broad general character that it can be participated in without intrenching upon denominational affiliations—being based upon the simple principles of morality that are accepted and recognized by all Christian people.

Stock-Sharing Plans.

Co-operative Stock-Sharing Plans are in operation with the Illinois Central Railroad and the Great Northern Railway Companies, representing an aggregate of 9,900.10 miles of roadway and 64,010 employees, in 1903.

Illinois Central employees are enabled to purchase the Company's capital stock upon an easy payment basis, receiving a fixed rate of interest during the time payments are being made for the shares. An employee may subscribe for one share at a time, payable by instalments in sums of \$5 or any mul-

tipile of \$5, on the completion of which the Company delivers to him a certificate of the share registered in his name on the Company books; and he can then, if he wishes, begin the purchase of another share on the same plan. The rate of interest allowance is 4 per centum per annum. Any officer or employee making payments under the plan, and for any reason desiring to discontinue them, can have his money returned with accrued interest, by making application to the head of the department in which he is employed.

Under the Great Northern plan provision is made for investments by the employees. A certain number of shares of stock was originally issued by the Company's Board of Directors, to be handled by a specially created Employees' Investment Association. Certificates are issued against these shares, in multiples of \$10. The Company guarantees 6 per centum interest on certificates taken out between dividend dates, from the dates of such certificates to the next following dividend date (interest being paid in the form of quarterly dividends); and also guarantees the same rate of interest on certificates redeemed from the last dividend date to the date of such redemption. Between dividend dates the Company guarantees that the holder of a certificate shall receive the same percentage and interest on his certificate as the Company pays in dividends on its stock. At the present time there is outstanding about \$710,000 worth of these investment certificates, and the amount is gradually increasing.



SOME PARTICIPANTS IN THE WELFARE CONFERENCE

Outside Provident Endeavor.

Public and Private (Outside) provision represents provident endeavor through the intervention of capital or its equivalent emanating from sources other than those directly identified with active railway interests. In this class may be enumerated "The Andrew Carnegie Relief Fund," effective January 1, 1902, based upon an endowment of \$4,000,000, the interest on which is applied in providing relief for employees of The Carnegie Company in all its works, mines, railways, shops, etc., injured in its service, and for those dependent upon such employees as are killed; also to provide small pensions or aids to such employees as, after long and creditable service, through exceptional circumstances, need such help in their old age, and who make good use of it.

Another instance is "The Moses Taylor Hospital" (established March 29, 1882; incorporated July 22, 1884), located at Scranton, Pa., and endowed by Mr. Moses Taylor, Sr., and Mrs. C. A. Taylor, the endowment principal being invested in such manner as to net an income sufficient to take care of all operating expenses. Cost of building and equipment was \$355,333.05, and total cost of operation to close of 1903, \$450,524.92; while 3,293 surgical and 1,170 medical cases had been cared for up to the end of the same year. This hospital is conducted principally in the interest of the employees of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company and the Lackawanna Iron and Steel Company. The Iron and Steel Company having removed from Scranton, Pa., to Buffalo, N. Y., another hospital, known as

"The Moses Taylor Hospital of Buffalo," was opened in the latter city during the present year.

The late J. Edgar Thomson, a former President of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, provided in his will that the net income from the estate, after the decease of his wife, was to be used for the education and maintenance of female orphans of railway employees killed while in the discharge of their duties on the Pennsylvania Railroad, as well as on other railroads of the United States, as far as the net income will permit.

In 1882, Mrs. Lavinia F. Thomson, under the will of her husband, started the St. John's Orphanage in Philadelphia, where have been domiciled a number of orphan girls, who have been cared for and given the privilege of a good education. Since her decease in 1903 the Orphanage has been under the supervision of the trustees of the estate.

Efforts of Allied Companies.

In the course of investigation it was deemed advisable to examine into and discuss the methods pursued by Express Companies, Sleeping Car Companies, and the Railway Mail Service, on account of the provident undertakings already mentioned. These interests are closely and inseparably identified with the railways, and are therefore properly subjects for consideration in this relation.

Six Express Companies in the United States,—the Adams Express Company, the American Express Company, the United States Express Company, the Southern Express Company, the Pacific Express Company, and Wells, Fargo & Company,—representing an aggregate mileage operated of 198,503 miles, and 62,574 employees, as of December 31, 1903, are interested in insurance and pension measures, also Young Men's Christian Association Railway Branches and Libraries and Reading-Rooms, on behalf of their employees.

One of the Express Companies,—Wells, Fargo & Company,—has libraries located in five of the principal cities of the United States and in the City of Mexico, carrying a total of 15,523 volumes, and also provides what are known as "Terminal Libraries" at twenty-two points, through the territory traversed by its service.

The Pullman Company, operating over 175,761 miles of roadway, and with 20,398 employees, as of December 31, 1903, encourages its employees to carry good insurance, and has under consideration a pension plan in their behalf. This Company conducts a "merit system" for its transportation men, under the operation of which employees with over five years' service to their credit are rewarded with having placed conspicuously upon their service uniforms "meritorious marks" indicative of their years

of service with the Company. This feature is highly appreciated by the travelling public, as the presence of these evidences of special distinction inspires confidence and security, in that they grow out of long and faithful discharge of assigned duties.

BANKS FOR EMPLOYEES.

By E. Horace Perley, Secretary of the Boston Globe Employees' Bank, Boston, Mass.

When I became an employee of the Boston Globe, nearly twenty-three years ago, one of the first things that impressed me was the very general practice of borrowing money. Some would get their wages advanced from week to week by some fellow-worker. Some would borrow a sum that would tide up their wages for weeks at a time, while some made a practice of borrowing to such an extent that they could never draw their own wages.

Looking around, I found that the same state of affairs existed in all the newspaper offices. As time went on, and I asked questions here and there, I found that to be a condition which existed in almost every establishment where there is a large body of employees. There is always a large class willing—yes, anxious—to borrow, and a smaller class willing to lend—for a consideration. The department stores have it. Among the factories, the shoemakers especially, are noted for it. I know quite a number who derive a considerable income from fellow-workmen on the railroad.

But to get back to my own field. I soon found that the borrowing capacity was unlimited, many taking all they could get, on any conditions; in fact, no questions were asked usually as to interest rate. If a loan could be obtained at ordinary rates it was a "cinch" for the borrower, but the lender was considered anything but bright. The usual rate was five per cent. per week—in fact, I knew one man who, at that time, kept out at that rate between \$600 and \$700 continuously. Ten per cent. per week, however, had no terrors for many, and I think I could have then named persons with quite a number of hundreds of dollars out at that rate.

The newspaper grew rapidly in public favor, and with its growth there was a corresponding increase in the working force, which meant an equal increase in the number of borrowers. When I joined the force there were about a hundred, I think, while now we number nearly an even thousand.

The foregoing will, perhaps, give an idea as to how I have arrived at the conclusion that the workmen, when they want to borrow, will borrow, actually giving no thought to, or seemingly caring nothing about, the cost. Their one aim is to get some money.

About the time I began to form definite ideas on this subject, I took out some shares in a co-operative bank, and, as I grew accustomed to the bank methods and purposes, I advanced quite a stage in my reasoning. I began to ask why it was not possible to get the men to establish a fund and borrow their own money. I argued that they seemed to care nothing about what they paid in the way of interest. Therefore, they would pay a pretty high rate of interest to the fund. That being received, a substantial dividend could be paid from the earnings at stated intervals, and a substantial dividend would be a sufficient incentive to cause the deposit of a dollar or more each week by quite a number of men.

My argument bore fruit. A dozen or more formed an association, and by the end of the first year we had about sixty members. This was about twelve years ago. Now we have 275 members, and the business has grown until now we loan on the average about \$800 each week, and receive as deposits on an average about \$900 each week.

I was, at the outset, chosen as working executive; that is, all the detail of the business devolved upon me, and has continued to ever since. With experience, I evolved a system of keeping accounts that seems to fill the bill perfectly and give satisfaction to all.

Our plan of operation is, in some respects, similar to the co-operative bank, except that we do business weekly instead of monthly. They sell the use of money at auction, and we fix an arbitrary scale. Any employee can join or withdraw at pleasure, the only prerequisite being the payment of the first deposit.

When one joins he agrees to deposit a certain sum each pay-day. He must deposit the same sum, no more, no less, each pay-day. Failure means a fine of two cents on each dollar which should have been paid, and a double payment on the next pay-day. The earnings are divided each six months pro rata, according to the number of dollars each member has on deposit when the books are closed.

To accommodate the borrower who wanted money only for a week, a rate of one cent on a dollar was established. At first \$100 and over was loaned at 12 per cent. per year, \$200 and over at 9 per cent., \$300 and over 6 per cent. Now, experience has proven it is better to have an arbitrary graduated scale, not based on a regular percentage. \$1 to \$25 is 1c. to 25c. per week; \$50 is 33c. per week; \$100, 38c.; \$150, 42c.; \$200, 45c.; \$250, 48c.; \$300, 52c., etc.

The men seem to have no care how much interest they pay, and the only way to attract and keep them is to pay good dividends. These rates have enabled us to pay an average, for eleven and one-half years, of 12 per cent. per annum. Net earnings the last semi-annual term were about \$1,200, and total deposits average more than \$800 each week.

At present we receive, as a deposit, not less than \$1 per week, nor more than \$5 per week. A dividend is paid on nothing above \$350, and no one is allowed to borrow more than \$200 above what he has on deposit, except, as provided by a recent amendment, that he give real estate security. The treasurer is executive in making loans, and the secretary makes all collections and keeps all accounts and records. Deposits are placed in bank so as to require the signatures of both president and treasurer for withdrawal. A depositor wishing to borrow more than \$20 above what he has on deposit can do so only with the approval of a majority of the thirteen directors.

Security is largely the character of the borrower; sometimes the treasurer has the right to draw the man's pay, sometimes a legal assignment of the man's wages is made, in some cases life insurance is

assigned, and, if the borrower is married, the note must bear the wife's indorsement. This latter practice has a tendency to prevent some classes of needless borrowing—husband and wife having a mutual knowledge of the transaction.

As I have said, the men will borrow. Our aim is to control their borrowing, and let them have back the proceeds. The membership has increased constantly and steadily from the beginning. The president receives \$1 per week, the treasurer \$3 per week, and the secretary \$6 per week, the latter volunteering to give the association half of the time necessary for keeping the accounts.

The bank is governed in every particular by the employee members, though in the outset the employers showed approval by assisting financially, becoming depositors during the first two years.

There is a board of three auditors. At least two of them must thoroughly examine all accounts once a month. Each auditor receives \$2 each time he officiates.

The losses have been very few, especially when this method of loaning and the lack of security are considered.

When money comes in faster than it can be loaned, advantage of the dividend period is taken to scale down the capital, returning the surplus cash pro rata to the depositors. Several times the capital has been scaled down a quarter or a third, and once about a half.

When a borrower's deposit, on dividend day, amounts to a sum equal to his loan, the deposit must be withdrawn and the loan paid.

Casualty, perhaps, this plan would seem to indicate that the dividends returned did not compensate for the high rate of interest paid. Still this can be logically accounted for. The average amount out at loan is about \$20,000, and as it is divided among 250 men, it will be seen there must be many of what we call large loans, and therefore at the lower rates of interest charged. (\$250 pays 48 cents per week—10 per cent. per annum.) The "large loans" hardly pay the dividends, therefore, which, as I have said, average 12 per cent. per annum. The small and temporary loans, that is, the \$1, \$2, \$5, \$10, and even \$20 loans, to be paid usually in a few days, which pay one cent for each dollar borrowed, pay the profits of the business, and really reap very little of the benefits—except in the way of accommodation.

All employees are invited and urged to join the bank, that is, become depositors, and participate in all its privileges. There is no let or hindrance to them. They may join at pleasure and withdraw their funds at will. If a loan of more than \$20 is obtained, the borrower must become a depositor. Then if he does not share in the earnings, he alone is to blame. The only rule to be observed is this: "All money that has been on deposit for the three months next preceding the day of the dividend shall receive its pro rata share of all money earned during the six months the dividend day closed." The membership of the bank is coming and going all the time. Some obtain membership that they may borrow for four or five weeks, withdrawing as soon as the loan is wiped out. Many utilize the bank as a place of deposit, because they find themselves unable to withstand temptation to spend when money is in pocket, and then withdraw as soon as they have laid enough away to attain some object.

In fact, withdrawals will average \$250 per week. Many times a borrower will say he does not care for the dividend; what he wants is the money when he wants it. He borrows, pays weekly, and withdraws, repeatedly. Yet I have made it a rule to point out, whenever withdrawal is asked, the loss of dividend by such action, so that all may act with eyes open. These transients will borrow any way and anywhere; if we do not furnish the opportunity, they will go elsewhere and pay five times as much for the privilege. In their coming and going some stick, and the membership grows. We urge the savings idea, and if a borrower, we compel it as long as he borrows. In the several applications, the value becomes gradually apparent, to some sooner, to some later. Of course, there are a few ap-bank, even some of these change their methods and parently incorrigible. But when they awake to the fact that the transients really pay the running of the join the majority, who benefit.

At the last dividend, no depositor had the limit allowed on deposit. Ten or a dozen had \$300 in, and so received \$18 dividend, which was more than they had paid as interest during the term. From my working knowledge of the bank, I estimate that these borrowers who made their deposits regularly during the six months and did not withdraw any portion of their deposits, received a dividend that would average equal to from one-half to two-thirds of what they had paid in interest during the term.

The bank has taught many to save who never before saved anything. It has been of great benefit numberless times to men hard pressed who could

not possibly get money anywhere else. In a number of cases the savings here have been the nucleus of home-buying. Many save here for the larger expenses that come periodically during the year. The chronic borrowers in very many cases, learn gradually the folly of their extravagance. The bank has many times, in promising cases, where a man was nearly overwhelmed with his many obligations, taken his affairs in hand, paid his debts, and let him work it out from week to week until he was again a free man—and the lesson has generally proved salutary and profitable.

The only objection I ever heard to our methods was our high rate of interest. I believe, as I have already said, that the high rate is a necessity. But, to see if others had a similar opinion, I questioned our officers and many members. They were unanimous in saying that the large dividend is a necessity—it is what draws in the deposits, is to some the sole incentive in beginning to save. Even with the prestige of nearly twelve years of success, with all that that implies, only one or two thought it would be safe to reduce the interest rate on even the small weekly loans—those of from \$1 to \$25.

The establishment of an association on the lines of ours, I believe, cannot fail to do much good in any large body of employees.

[The discussion of this paper developed the fact that a Bank for Employees backed by the employer could be operated at a nominal cost and that such a plan would permit lower interest charges for short time loans.—The Editor.]

AN INTERESTING QUESTION ANSWERED.

The following request to the Welfare Department was received from a molder who asked that his name be regarded as confidential:

"Can you not agitate through your publication the necessity of providing relief for molders in the foundries? If the union's business agent approaches the employer on this subject, in our district, he thinks the agent is only trying to stir up trouble and will not listen. For instance, we had considerable trouble because one of our business agents asked to have windows replaced to prevent colds."

"The molders should be enabled to change their working clothes. It makes a great difference in the health of all the men. You can especially notice that the young men age very rapidly, as their clothes are constantly wet with perspiration, and they do not have the opportunities or facilities to bathe."

A reply secured from the National Cash Register Company:

"We think the request of this molder is worthy of the careful attention of every company which has such men in its employ. We believe the moral effect of pleasant environment, which we are trying to establish, is a benefit to both employer and employee, and therefore it should be promoted as a good business policy. With this belief we have made a great effort to improve the working condition of our employees, and we feel the results accomplished show that our endeavors have been appreciated. This acts as an incentive for a continuation of our policy."

"Lockers have been provided for all the foundry employees. Shower baths, with plenty of hot and cold water, have been established; also a number of troughs for those who have not the time or inclination to use the showers. Towels are furnished free by the Company. Ten minutes are allowed at noon and fifteen at quitting time for changing clothes. We have separate baths and lockers for the colored employees."

"A large ice-box has been placed at the disposal of the foundrymen, in which they keep their lunches. Before this was put in use, great difficulty was experienced in keeping lunches free from the dust which prevails in all foundries."

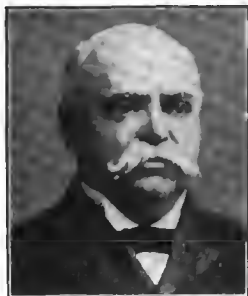
"A milkman supplies his product to those who desire it, settlement being made at the end of each week."

"Employees are permitted to lunch at any time provided they do not abuse the privilege."

"The men in the sand room are furnished with respirators which fit closely over the mouth and nose, effectually excluding the small particles of sand which otherwise would be inhaled. We used a great many windows in the construction of our foundry, both on the side of the building and on the roof. These afford plenty of light and make good ventilation possible. A number of fans are used to aid the circulation. Each furnace has ample space,—a provision which has modified somewhat the extreme heat to which all melters are subjected."

"The effects of this Welfare work are distinctly apparent. The men enjoy better health, they are more content, and therefore give the Company much better service. In no department of our factory has Welfare Work brought better results."

The barons Alphonse, Gaston and Edmond de Rothschild, of the Rue Laffitte, Paris, went recently to M. Trouillot, the Minister of Commerce, to inform him that they would devote the sum of 10,000,000f. to the building of workmen's dwellings, healthy and cheap, and that the income from these dwellings would be employed in social improvements.



MAX REIBENACK



E. HORACE PERLEY

THE VOICE OF THE CHURCH.

(Concluded from page 1.)

brethren to maintain a shop in which no man shall serve except a member of the union. They may not agree with these brethren, but they ought to appreciate their self-sacrifice. The laborer has learned from the capitalist to despise order and break law. He has learned from the churchman to pursue the dissembler with menace and violence. The recent tragedies in Colorado do not follow at a far distance the massacres which in the sixteenth century ensued upon the withdrawal of Holland from the ecclesiastical union.

"While, then, we condemn the tyranny and turbulence of the labor union, and call upon the law to preserve the liberty of every citizen to employ whom he will and to work for whom he will, we deprecate the hasty temper which, in condemning the errors of the unions, condemns at the same time the whole movement with which they are connected. The offenses of the union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands, as the Inquisition is distinct from the Gospel.

"In the face of a prejudice and an hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. It is based upon a sense of the inestimable value of the individual man. The cause of labor is the effort of men, being men, to live the life of men. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

"This report is designedly general in its terms, but there is one matter which we are constrained to commend in particular to the consciences of Christian people. We do not undertake to say how much of the blame of child labor belongs to the employer and how much to the parent. But we do say this, that the employment of children in factories and mills depresses wages, destroys homes, and depreciates the human stock. Nothing is so important in any community as a human being. Whatever interferes with the education of a child, contradicts the best interests of the nation. We call, then, on Christian employers as on Christian parents to endeavor after such betterment

of the local and general laws as shall make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country.

"In the name of our common Master, we ask the attention and energy of the Church to the removal of this and other crying evils. Thus shall we assist in setting forward the kingdom and obedience of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

The Pope and Labor.

The following letter, signed by Mgr. Merry Del Val, Papal Secretary of State, and addressed to the International Society for the Protection of Workmen, indicates the interest taken by Pope Pius X in labor;

"My sublime master, the pontiff, desires me to express to you that, like his predecessor, Pope Leo XIII., he is in hearty accord with all movements intended to benefit workmen.

"The pontiff, in particular, desires it understood that he favors with all his heart any lightening of the burden of the men and women who work with their hands. Work should be so regulated as to conform to the physical ability of the workmen; it should be regulated to fit the sexes; it should be regulated to permit of the stoppage of all work on Sundays.

"The workman should be protected against employment and employers that have no regard for his dignity as a man and a citizen. That endangers his morality and interferes with his family life.

"The holy father trusts that you will devise peaceful means to realize the above ends. If you do, your efforts will be crowned with success, and all good governments will regard them with sympathy. On his own part, the pope will be happy to assist you with advice and prayer."

The National Congregational Council.

The report of the Labor Committee of the National Congregational Council recounts the inquiries into the industrial situation by its members, David N. Beach, Washington Gladden, William J. Tucker and William A. Knight, Secretary. Their investigation has included much correspondence, the study of industrial strife in the field and attendance upon a convention of the American Federation of Labor and a conference of the National Civic Federation. The Committee recommends the appointment of similar committees by each state organization of the church and affiliation with kindred committees of other denominations and with non-ecclesiastical bodies that work for industrial betterment.

Upon the industrial situation, the Committee reports:

"We have a labor problem because we have large freedom, education, democracy, in which aggressive and acquisitive human beings are struggling for personal and social expression and betterment. The deep tendencies and the surface conditions of modern industry result in that consolidation of the forces of the employed, and the forces of the employer, that express themselves in the former instance in unionism, and in the latter in the various types of employers' associations. Apparently unionism is something more than that valuable phase of present-day industry, collective bargaining, for unionism stands for the introduction of democracy into industry, the right of representation in the conduct of business. More fundamental than any other practical question, such as the closed shop or freedom of contract is this underlying demand of representation in the conduct of industrial enterprises. To achieve it is the core of intelligent unionism, which seems fast passing into industrialism, and to resist it is the purpose of much of the counter organization of employers. The result appears on the surface in suspicion, resistance, lawlessness, violence,—the common hard features of much of the present industrial struggle. It is not our part to discuss this phase of the question. We simply state it, as a primary and inevitable element in the present contest.

"We believe that organization of labor and organizations of capital are inevitable, and that these forces are to be dealt with intelligently and humbly, and that any policy that means the utter subversion of one force to that of the other is certain to result immediately in intensifying the already ominous tendency to class division and class warfare. Constructive policies, under the forms of law and tempered by the justly critical force of public opinion, are being framed by conservative leaders on both sides, and for these results we can hopefully wait.

"We urge upon trades-unionists and upon employers in the meantime the right use of power and the cultivation of such a sense of responsibility as will conserve social well-being for the present and for the future. The spirit of the marauder, by whomever shown, should be checked, and industrial organizations both of employees and employers, should become as they may become, strong forces in behalf of law and order."

A YEAR SAVED ON THE SUBWAY.

(Concluded from page 3.)

An example of the good faith with which the agreement was kept, under exceedingly difficult conditions, was its absolute maintenance throughout the six months of general strike in the building trades in New York in 1903. During all that time, when building was at a complete standstill all over the city, owing to labor troubles, the work on the Subway, in which the building trades were largely employed, went steadily and rapidly on.

Again, in May, 1903, there was a strike of all the unskilled laborers, excavators and others, employed in the Subway. These workers, who were not represented in the Central Federated Union and who were not included in the contract, sought the aid, in their strike, of the unions of skilled labor. The Contractors' Association declined to admit the laborers into the agreement, but offered to arbitrate the questions in dispute. The laborers refused to arbitrate. The unions, while presumably sympathizing with the demands of the laborers, stood by their agreement, and the strike of the laborers collapsed.

Experience in the practical operation of the agreement showed that most of the grievances that were brought by unions before the Joint Committee originated with acts of the foremen and other subordinate overseers of labor, such as employing non-union men, or refusing to pay union wages. In every case, the Joint Committee through their secretary, Mr. Douglas, ascertained the facts by thorough investigation. Whatever was found to be wrong was set right; and if the grievance had no substantial basis, it was dismissed. If a union showed symptoms of recalcitrance, the labor members of the Joint Committee acted with the contractor members in insisting upon its compliance with the agreement. Comparatively few unwarranted complaints, however, from either contractors as to unfair union exactions, or from the unions as to attempted violations of the agreement or oppression by the foreman, received the support of a majority of either of the two organized parties to the agreement, which was necessary to bring any grievance before the Joint Committee. That committee adjusted many questions of wages. This was because the rate specified in the agreement was subject to modification from time to time, owing

to changes in the nature and conditions of the work in a given craft. The settlement of such questions grew more and more easy as the contractors and the unions gained mutual confidence in the sincerity and judicial fairness of the Joint Committee. As a result of this feeling not a few of the claims of the unions were waived upon the representation of the Joint Committee that they were unreasonable.

The value of personal conferences received many illustrations. A grievance relating to certain work among the sections caused the Joint Committee much perplexity, until they brought the controversy to the attention of the sub-contractor himself. The sub-contractor went to the heart of the matter at once and corrected the trouble, which had its origin in some arbitrary and unreasonable rule by a foreman. "This is the first I have heard of this matter," said the sub-contractor; "why did you not come to me before?" "Oh, we didn't want to bother you," was the reply of a labor member of the Joint Committee. "But I wish to be bothered about any such trouble. Come to me whenever you think anything is wrong, and if there is a real wrong, I will make it right," announced the "big" boss.

One union largely engaged in the work of the Subway was not a party to the general contract. This was the Housesmiths' Union, which was not represented in the Central Federated Union. Its members drove, with compressed air machines, the millions of rivets that bind together the structural iron work of the tunnel. With this union, the contractors had a separate verbal agreement. Whatever difficulties the contractors had with the Housesmiths, therefore, cannot be charged to any breakdown of the agreement with the Central Federated Union.

The most serious difficulty encountered in the history of this collective contract, and which did not occur until late in the construction, was caused by the interference of a third party. This was the Building Trades Alliance, formed and at that time dominated by Philip Weinseimer, its president. This Alliance admitted to its membership the Amalgamated Painters, a local independent union, not affiliated with the Central Federated Union. To the National Brotherhood of Painters, which was affiliated with the Central Federated Union, the Contractors' Association was compelled to give, under the agreement, the work of painting the Subway or at least the permanent coat. The Building Trades Alliance demanded that the Amalgamated Painters should have half of the painting, and called a strike to enforce its demand. This call was obeyed in the Subway by about 1,000 carpenters, electrical workers, plumbers, plasterers and tile layers. The failure of the Central Federated Union to discipline these unions for violating the agreement is the only blot

on the escutcheon of organized labor during the life of that contract.

The strike called by the Alliance was brought to an end in most of the trades affected through Mr. McDonald's firm attitude. He received a committee of the strikers and told them that he would stand by the Central Federated Union, as that body had stood by its agreement with the Contractors' Association. He maintained that an outside organization, such as the newly-formed Building Trades Alliance, must adjust its grievances through the existing agreement, which had served its purpose admirably and equitably ever since it was signed.

It is calculated that this strike, called by Weinseimer, delayed the opening of the Subway possibly three weeks.

All the members of the Joint Committee, both the representatives of the Contractors' Association and of the Central Federated Union, were throughout the operation of the agreement in thorough accord with the general contractor, John B. McDonald, in the one great purpose of completing the Subway as rapidly as possible. As the chairman of the Labor Committee during more than three years, Mr. John J. Pallas, now President of the Workingmen's Federation of New York State, held frequent conferences with Mr. McDonald.

Mr. Douglas, the Secretary of the Contractors' Association, also served the Joint Committee as its secretary. Many matters were settled by him without the necessity of calling together the Joint Committee, and in those which had to be adjusted by the Joint Committee, his tact and patience usually smoothed the way to an amicable and satisfactory understanding.

Mr. Pallas, the present President of the Park Board, for many years a delegate to the Central Federated Union devoted much of his time to the harmonious working of the agreement.

The constant efforts of the Joint Committee were to forward the progress of the work, so as to remove as rapidly as possible the obstructions to surface traffic along the line of the route. The members always responded promptly and faithfully to the demands upon their time when any question arose that required detailed investigation. Throughout their work they were aided by the support and confidence of their respective organizations. The meetings of the Joint Committee promoted the good fellowship of the representatives of both sides and conducted largely to a unity of purpose to bring this most difficult engineering work to a prompt and successful conclusion. After the opening of the Subway both parties to this agreement pronounced it the most successful collective contract ever made between capital and labor.

A DISSENT FROM SOME SWEEPING ATTACKS UPON UNIONISM.

ITS WHOLESALE CONDEMNATION NOT WARRANTED BY ITS OCCASIONAL ERRORS NOR IN ACCORD WITH ITS BETTER LEADERSHIP.

(By RALPH M. EASLEY, Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation.)

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A series of articles upon the labor question by Mr. John Keith, recently published in *Harper's Weekly*, has been of special interest because they are typical of a mental attitude toward this subject that has become unfortunately frequent among magazine and newspaper writers. The prevalence of this mental attitude is not hard to explain. Up to the time of the anthracite-coal strike the public had paid little more than passing notice to the labor question. The direful possibilities when zero weather loomed up before the nation with empty coal-bins at that time set everybody thinking, talking, or writing on the great labor problem. About the same time some of the most conspicuously offensive incidents in the labor movement cropped out, such as Sam Parksism in New York; picketing funerals in Chicago; expelling union men for belonging to the State militia in Schenectady, etc., etc. These occurrences naturally gave the new students of unionism a very unfavorable impression, as their trenchant pens have since given innumerable evidences. Mr. Keith, in his very interesting articles, whether one of the old students or of the new, evidently was not searching for trade-union virtues; and if there were any excesses he overlooked I do not now recall them. If the view were restricted to the array of hostile witnesses he summons, the reader would be quite ready to believe his conclusion:

"It may be set down as a general truth that the labor-union acts in no way as a spur, but in a thousand ways as an obstacle to the development of the country along the most scientific lines of economic advancement."

But suppose this method of criticising labor-unions were applied to other social institutions, what would be the conclusion? Only the other day there was a hurry call for the police reserves to a restaurant to prevent students of Columbia University from pounding one another into bloody insensibility during a class fight. The week before the daughter of a president of a college in Illinois was dragged out of bed by a gang of hazing students. Only a short time before that, in another institution of learning, a young man was taken out at night, hammered until several bones were broken, and thrown into a pond. Is it fair to single out such instances and to say that, therefore, higher education "acts as an obstacle to the development of the country"?

Again, many writers lay undue stress upon the fact that in isolated cases labor-unions have broken "solemn" agreements with employers. Every trade agreement has in truth all the solemnity of a contract. It is no defence of the gravity of such a condition to point out that "gentlemen's agreements," which railroad officials openly state are "solemnly" made between themselves, are often broken just as quickly as some of the officials can reach the telephone; or that when goods are sold for future delivery and the price falls a large number of buyers—about seventy-five per cent., as stated recently by a prominent wholesale merchant—break their "solemn" contracts through some pretext or other. The point is that while the breaking of contracts by labor-unions is a most serious matter, its occurrence is much less common than the public is led to believe. Where one labor-union breaks a contract there are five hundred broken contracts with which organized labor has nothing to do.

Much stress is also placed upon the assumption that organized labor is opposed to the militia. This assumption is based upon the expulsion from a local union, controlled by radicals, of a member of the New York militia; a similar isolated act of folly in Michigan; and the unsupported testimony of a local witness in Boston. If true, this would be a serious charge. A special point is made of the New York statute forbidding discrimination against members of the National Guard, causing the inference that it was passed to meet an unpatriotic phase of unionism. The fact is not stated, however, that this law was equally directed at employers who had discharged or docked their employes for joining the militia and absenting themselves from business to attend to their sworn duties to the State.

Further investigation would show that many labor organizations have repudiated all spirit of antagonism to military service. For instance, the International Typographical Union voted down an anti-militia resolution by an overwhelming majority.

The rousing demonstration of patriotic enthusiasm that followed the speech of the chairman of the executive committee, a printer from Georgia, in closing the argument against the resolution, would have excited, I am sure, the approval of the most severe critic of organized labor.

Still higher authority was the reply made by

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to a member who asked if a union man could be a consistent member of the State militia:

"Yes, a member of the State militia can be seated in a trade council. In fact, the matter is so obvious that it ought not to be open for discussion at all."

"A man who is a wage-earner and honorably working at his trade or calling to support himself and those dependent upon him has not only the right to become a citizen soldier, but that right must be unquestioned."

"The militia—i. e., the citizen soldiery of the several States in our country—supplies what otherwise might take its place—a large standing army."

"The difference between the citizen soldiery of the United States and the large standing armies of many of the European countries is the difference between a republic and a monarchy—it is the difference between the conceptions of liberty and tyranny."

The critics of labor-unions rarely omit the regulation statement that organized labor includes only a small minority of the wage-earners of the country. The estimate generally quoted to give force to the claim that it is "monstrous tyranny for the small minority to dictate to the great majority of workers the wages, hours, and conditions of their toil" is that labor organizations contain only from eight to twelve per cent. of all wage-earners. But if a union containing ninety-five per cent. of the skilled workers in its craft demands better conditions it is no answer to say that the farm-hands or the washerwomen are not organized.

The comparison most frequently made credits organized labor with a membership of about 2,400,000, which is only eight per cent. of the more than 29,000,000 persons engaged in gainful occupations in the United States in 1900. But an analysis of the gainful occupations shows the fallacy of the comparison. These 29,000,000 include: In agriculture, 10,000,000; domestic and personal service, 6,000,000; the professions, 1,200,000. Practically all of these are unorganizable and should be excluded from the comparison. Included also in the 29,000,000 are the 4,700,000 engaged in trade and transportation. But among these are bankers, brokers, merchants, officials of banks and corporations, bookkeepers, commercial travellers, agents, accountants, foremen and overseers, hucksters and pedlers, livery-stable keepers, undertakers, and miscellaneous workers, who are also unorganizable, and should be excluded from the comparison.

It is repeatedly asserted that there is no community of purpose between the union and the non-union man. The fact is that shorter hours, higher wages, and improved conditions are just as much desired by the non-union workers as by the unionists. Occasional brutal combats do not impugn this broad truth.

When the 6,000 union strikers went out at Fall River a few weeks ago they took with them 24,000 non-unionists, and the two are standing shoulder to shoulder, the families of the non-union workers being supported from the treasury of the union to the best of its ability. When John Mitchell called out his 8,000 members at the time of the anthracite-coal strike in 1900, the 140,000 non-union miners went with them. When the railway brotherhoods contemplate a strike they submit the matter to a vote of all the employes, non-union as well as union, the vote of every man counting equally.

Such experiences are common, and yet many writers would have us believe that unionists and non-unionists are natural antagonists.

Organized labor is charged with "defiance of the mandates of the courts," because Samuel Gompers, in connection with an injunction issued by Judge Friedman of New York, "against interference with non-union cigarmakers," was quoted as saying, "I am here especially to violate the injunction."

What is there in this charge? It may be said that Mr. Gompers was misquoted. But waving that point entirely, Mr. Gompers would have been clearly within his rights if he had uttered the words imputed to him. As a matter of record, the injunction in question was not "against interference with non-union cigarmakers," but forbade locked-out cigarmakers to contribute to their union treasury or to pay money out of their union treasury to assist cigarmakers who were in distress. The injunction was overruled as soon as it was brought before a higher court, thus sustaining Mr. Gompers.

Whether or not the injunction was sound, it is plain that in disputing its soundness, Mr. Gompers was exercising only a right that is brought daily into use in the courts. Was it a "defiance of the law" for President Baer of the Reading Railroad to refuse

to obey a judicial order to testify before the Interstate Commerce Commission, until the Supreme Court had decided that he must? Did the promoters of the Northern Securities Company "defy" the law when the government of the United States was obliged to appeal to the Supreme Court to establish the constitutionality and pertinence of the anti-trust law? Unquestionably they, as well as President Baer, were within their legal rights. Any citizen may test the constitutionality of a law, whether in the form of a judicial mandate or of a statute, by appeal even to the highest court in the land. To assume otherwise would be to assume the infallibility of single court or of a legislative body. To assume otherwise would be to blot out in an instant all the appeals for which judicial machinery is devised.

In considering here the familiar charges against the unions of broken contracts, tyranny of a minority, antagonism to the militia, and defiance of courts, it is not intended to minimize by omission the array of crimes growing out of violence during strikes, ranging from petty assault to women-beating and murder, or the cases of corruption that have been exposed. But these deplorable offences are as opposed to the true philosophy of unionism as were the *auto da fe* and the sale of indulgences to the spirit of Christianity.

Granting all the charges brought against labor-unions to be true, and multiplying them a hundred-fold, what is the result? They would prove that some labor-unions and some labor leaders have committed grave offences against society and against themselves. That proposition is admitted.

But it remains none the less true that the trades-unions of this country, no matter what per cent. of all the wage-earners they include, or what incidental crimes they have committed, have a fundamental purpose which all will admit to be for the benefit of society as a whole. They are striving to improve the condition of the working masses. Organized labor has been struggling for this end, not only alone and unaided, but against the general opposition of employers, individual and organized, and against the misrepresentations of prejudiced critics, when, in fact, it deserved the friendly co-operation of them all. Labor has constantly had to evolve its own leadership. It has made all the mistakes of unskilled generalship and undisciplined following. It makes them still. But the time has come when those who have some understanding of the hardships and misdirections that hamper the advance of labor are extending the sympathetic aid of their superior intelligence.

There are associations of employers who would beat down the advance of labor with a bludgeon. There are other associated employers who would come to terms of mutual understanding. This second method, I am glad to say, receives more and more the approval of leaders of public opinion and of humane and intelligent employers. In the multiplication of concrete examples of relations between employer and employed that are harmonious because they are just, can be discerned a brightening outlook in the entire industrial situation. In this view national prosperity will be coincident with the uplifting of organized labor, so that its admitted errors may become fewer and its sincere co-operation with capital in increasing productivity more frequent. Some hopeful phases of the mutual progress of organized capital and labor in this direction I shall illustrate in a subsequent article.

INFORMATION FOR EMPLOYERS.

The Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation is prepared to furnish, upon request, a consulting agent to study the especial needs of employes in a given plant, advise the best methods of introducing such features of welfare work as may be deemed most essential, direct their installation, and, when required, recommend a permanent agent or "welfare manager" to administer the work.

A central bureau is maintained at the headquarters of the Welfare Department for the exchange of experiences by employers. Information with reference to the latest efforts by employers to give especial consideration to the physical or mental welfare of their employes may there be obtained. Some of the subjects covered are:

- Sanitary Work Rooms;
- Wash Rooms and Baths;
- Hospital Service;
- The Luncheon Room;
- Recreation;
- Educational Efforts;
- Housing of Labor;
- Pensions;
- Insurance Associations.

THREE FOES OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

(Concluded from page 7.)

cuniary gain to himself, in higher wages that may be secured through effective organization. If the Chicago teamsters could have known in advance that their union would succeed in raising their wages from \$7 to \$18 or \$20 a week, it might not have been difficult to induce them to pledge to the union fund as much as twenty-five per cent. of the increase. But the average contribution to the union in time of peace is only nominal.

Jurisdictional disputes are another source of weakness. These disputes between unions, each claiming exclusive right to do certain branches of work, arise with almost every improvement and invention. They are, however, recognized as a source of weakness. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor thus frankly dealt with this weakness two years ago:

"The Executive Council regrets to state that much of its time has been unavoidably taken up with the settlement or attempted settlement of jurisdiction disputes. Despite the fact that your body in convention assembled has repeatedly declared for peace between the unions, and has advocated the submission of all matters in dispute to the arbitrament of third parties, the jurisdiction disputes seem to grow in number and in intensity. We regret to state that while many of the unions so engaged in controversies over jurisdiction are willing to accept any reasonable arrangement arrived at, a number of unions refuse to abide by the decision of an impartial arbitrator and insist narrowly upon their own interpretation of the boundaries of their trade.

"The Executive Council feels called upon to issue to the unions composing this body a solemn note of warning as to the dangers which lie in the continuance of jurisdiction disputes. Many of the unions appear to be more engrossed in the problem of securing new adherents from unions already existing, or to extend the work of their members at the expense of other organizations, than they are in resisting the aggressions of employers, or securing higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions of work."

Since that time, several important jurisdictional fights have been settled, but there are yet some irritating cases, especially when capital is tied up while two unions, so completely organized as to monopolize the craft, battle as to which shall do the work.

The contest between autonomists and industrialists has been a menace to organized labor. The autonomists would organize each craft in national unions. The industrialists would organize in one body all the craftsmen engaged in a single industry, which method proved a failure in the case of the Knights of Labor. Socialists and socialist writers have thought that they saw in this contest a possible wedge to split in twain the American Federation of Labor, and with that motive have urged industrialism with vehemence. But this controversy is adjusting itself in accordance with special and local conditions.

The boycott, the union shop and the sympathetic strike are targets for the shafts of the enemies of unionism. These are questions that are in the process of solution through the evolution of experience. For instance, the boycott ranges from the "white list" of the Consumers' League, composed in part of wealthy society women, which is a negative blacklist, to such extremes as the organized persecution of a physician who ministers to the needs of a dying non-union man, or of the druggist who sells the doctor medicine, or such as parading with a denunciatory banner before a grocery that offers for sale a brand of soap whose wrapper was printed in a non-union shop. Somewhere between these extremes lies the freedom of action that may be justified by its motive. The courts are progressing toward a determination as to how far it is legal to make effective a force that is recognized wherever men associate together for a common object.

But the most perilous internal weakness of organized labor is the apathy of the mass. That is a peril that must be met and overcome if unionism is to endure the stress of concentrated assault or to resist insidious disintegration. The one obvious process of overcoming that apathy, with its evil results, is education. That is necessarily a slow process, demanding patience and persistence on the part of those who teach and awakened interest and faithful attention on the part of the taught. These are the very qualities essential to the life of any democratic movement; and in its development, unionism is industrial democracy.

Organized labor is doing much on its own account to remove its weakness of apathy. There are indications that the number is increasing of those who work for the cause, not spasmodically, or only in times of excitement, but steadily, faithfully, throughout the year. When a question was submitted to the referendum of the International Typographical Union, four years ago, the return showed that only one member in four in the New York local voted. But in another referendum this year, over 30,000 votes out of a membership of 42,000 were cast. This showing is the more encouraging, because it is more

difficult to poll such a vote in a large city than in a smaller community. The cigar-makers' union shows a similar increase in the active participation of its members in its affairs. This participation is encouraged by the development of benefit funds, which stimulate individual interest. It is also true, as a general proposition, that the greatest advance in overcoming apathy is made in the skilled crafts. The more unskilled the calling, the greater the need of education and the greater the difficulty of stimulating ambition among the workers.

That the vital importance of its own education is realized by unionism is shown by the adoption of the following resolution at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Whereas, it is evident that this Nation is destined to take the lead in this grand struggle for better conditions and higher culture; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we hereby recommend to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to have their members study the economic conditions; to have lectures upon these subjects in their lodge rooms, homes, and in meetings set apart for this purpose, and to do everything in their power for the enlightenment and intellectual advancement of the proletariat."

There are other evidences that the unions appreciate the necessity and are gaining the advantage of education. The official periodicals of the railway brotherhoods contain technical articles upon the practical work of engineers, firemen and trainmen. The same statement is true of the stationary engineers' publication, and of the journals of the building trades and of other mechanical callings. Many of these articles are illustrated by diagrams and are sufficiently lucid and simple to interest the lay reader. Moreover, the constant discussion of various phases of the labor question in these and other publications can not fail to enlighten the mass of their readers upon social and economic questions.

An example that merits imitation is that of the International Union of Steam Engineers, that conducts a regular winter course of lectures in New York City. The official journal of that union states: "The prime object of these monthly lectures is to educate our men in all the latest electrical and mechanical devices, so as to fit them to perform their duties in the most efficient manner. It is also our desire to teach the employer that a union engineer, while asking for the eight-hour day and the prevailing rate of wages, wants to give in return a class of service of which the non-union engineer is incapable." That is an illustrative method of how to win the "closed shop" through superior union merit; and it is a practical method also of substituting interest for apathy in the membership.

The organized laundry workers of Chicago have arranged a course of lectures this winter, covering a wide range of subjects. Many of these lectures, like those delivered in the evenings in some of the public schools in the larger cities, are illustrated with stereopticon views. The lectures are so arranged as to stimulate systematic reading at home. The legislation authorizing this use of public school buildings received the earnest support of organized labor.

Other efforts at education aim to encourage the reading of papers and the conduct of debates upon the social and industrial topics at the regular meetings of local unions. This is a movement that the labor press generally favors, and it deserves to receive the approval of all friends of organized labor. The more advanced members of a local union have in this method an opportunity for the guidance of the more backward. It is method of self-help that, properly directed, must result in mental development and in improving the capacity of the mass. It is a method that should go far to meet the cynical assumption that the average wage-earner will abuse the additional leisure that a shorter work-day would grant.

Another force at work for moral education among the unions is their machinery for discipline. Almost every offense for which labor organization provides a penalty is an offense against morality. Its prohibitions are directed against disorderly conduct; intemperance; fraud; non-payment of debts; untruthfulness. The trials of such offenses, especially where there is an appeal from the decision of a local union to a higher body, should afford good parliamentary practice.

Thus do we see that, more or less unconsciously, organized labor is striving to overcome its most dangerous weakness through education and through the establishment of systems of benefits. It is the task of education, as endless as the generations, that organized labor should not be left to perform alone. Labor has had to struggle upward, not only alone and unaided, but through centuries of opposition, even of persecution. But, although its progress has been impeded, it has now reached a point where it is receiving the helping hand of those who realize that the betterment of labor is the betterment of the entire social structure.

As Edgar Gardner Murphy has well said: "The problems of labor and capital, like the problems of science and religion, yield to no precise formulae;

they are problems of life, persistent and irreducible. And yet they are subject to approximate adjustments, increasingly righteous, intelligent and effective, and yielding an increasing measure of social peace, of industrial co-operation, of individual freedom and happiness. . . . Toward the establishment of such a working adjustment of any national problem, it is well to labor, in order that the problems of American life may become the occasions of a keener and more widely distributed sense of social obligation, a larger and saner political temper, a purer civic devotion, rather than the occasions of national demoralization."

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' MESSAGE.

(Concluded from page 4.)

willingness to accumulate funds in the unions, the spirit of fraternity and solidarity, will bring their own reward and the recognition not only of employers, but of the world. It may be safely asserted that as a rule, in our time, those who have no power to insist upon and maintain their rights have no rights to maintain."

Of the advantage of trade agreements, Mr. Gompers said:

"The division and subdivision of labor and its specialization, brought about by inventions of machines and new tools of labor, have robbed workmen of their power of individual freedom of contract with their employers. Their only opportunity for anything like fair or advantageous terms under which to sell their labor is in associating themselves with their fellow workmen in making a collective bargain, a working agreement; in other words, a union and a contract by the union with employers for their labor and the conditions under which it shall be sold."

He thus stated the attitude of organized labor toward international peace:

"True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade-union movement, from its first inception, has been opposed to war. It recognizes that though others may fall, the brunt of war is borne by the working people; not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter which war entails. We cannot be indifferent to, restrain our feeling of horror at, nor withhold our sympathies from, the slaughtered thousands of human beings, even in the far east, regardless of the country toward which our predilections lie.

"International wars have become so destructive of human life and property that the world is shocked from centre to circumference at the holocausts now witnessed in battle. While it may not be a practical proposition to ask for immediate disarmament of all countries, the time and the intelligence of our peoples surely demand that the extraordinary increase in the armed naval and military forces be limited and restricted rather than expanded and extended. We welcomed the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. We recognize that in the last analysis, and in order to prevent any reaction that may lead to greater and more repeated wars and bloodshed, the success for international peace by arbitration must come from higher intelligence and a better conception of the sacredness of human life. Out of these well-springs will flow that kindred and humane spirit that will recognize the best maintenance of our own rights by conserving the rights of others. In the broad domain of human activity there is no force so potent and which will be so powerful to establish and maintain international peace and human brotherhood as the fraternization of the workers of the world in the international labor movement."

The report of the Secretary, Frank Morrison, contained a statement of the numerical progress of the organization that was a surprise to those who had assumed that adverse industrial conditions had lessened its membership. The report said:

"The growth of the American Federation of Labor has been phenomenal; particularly so in many localities. Where organizations spring up within a few months, it must be expected that in adjusting the members into unions, the membership must decrease somewhat from the highwater mark which it reached during the time that the organization wave held sway. . . . My report last year showed an average membership of 1,465,800, while the average membership this year is 1,676,200, clear gain of 210,400. A remarkable increase, when you consider the number of strikes that have taken place, and the organized effort of the citizens' alliances to retard organization and disrupt unions now in existence."

The total receipts were \$307,009; expenses, \$203,991, leaving a balance on hand of \$103,018.

The 109 international organizations composing the American Federation of Labor reported 1,806 strikes, involving 245,174, and costing \$2,860,620. The report asserts that these strikes benefitted 121,340 persons and failed to benefit 18,829.

Sixty-six of these international organizations reported payments for death benefits, death benefits to members' widows, sick benefits, traveling benefits, tool insurance, and unemployed benefits, amounting to \$1,739,796.

National Civic Federation

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TEN CENTS

AN HISTORIC GATHERING TO PROMOTE INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

THE THEME OF AN ASSEMBLY REPRESENTATIVE OF CAPITAL, LABOR, LETTERS, SCIENCE, PRESS, BAR, PLATFORM AND CHURCH.

An event of such character and of such promise of benefit to industry and all society as to make it of high historical significance was the annual dinner of the National Civic Federation, in the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, on the evening of December 15. The striking characteristic of the gathering was its comprehensive democracy. Its vibrant keynote was that of confidence in progress toward industrial peace. Its democracy was illustrated in the composition of the assembly. Both the presiding officer, Samuel

Gompers, the head of the largest labor organization in the world, and August Belmont, the capitalist and employer, whose election to succeed the lamented Marcus A. Hanna as President of the Civic Federation was warmly supported by its labor element, pointed out that in no other country in the world could such a gathering be brought together. Only the democracy of American institutions made possible the commingling in unconscious equality and in conscious co-operation for a common purpose representa-

tives of billions of capital, of millions of wage-earners, of scholarship and letters, of the bar, the press, the platform and the church. The list of speakers is a catalogue of active workers for better relations between capital and labor in the United States. The utterances of men eminent in widely different fields of thought and experience concurred in confidence that the era of industrial peace, with all that it implies for national welfare, is not a dream, but can in a measure be realized. The significance of such



ANNUAL DINNER OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

a conviction shared by such a constituency is tremendous. Its importance cannot be exaggerated.

It was in itself an impressive spectacle to behold this aggregation of capital and enterprise, labor and thrift, learning and literature, presided over by the President of the American Federation of Labor. Democracy was literally in the chair. It was significant of the prestige which this movement for industrial peace has attained, that the President of the United States should commend in virile terms the work of the organization and express ardent hope for its continued and wider success. Happily appropriate was the President's heartfelt tribute to the patriotism and mentality of the late Senator Hanna, who had made the realization of the purpose of the National Civic Federation the highest aspiration of his life. The modest dignity with which August Belmont, in accepting his unanimous election to its presidency, pledged his "best effort"; and the experience of the other officers who are to uphold his hands, are significantly auspicious. Andrew Carnegie, who had shown his interest in the organization by coming from a sick bed to the meeting of the Executive Committee during the day, made a notable contribution. His address was replete with shrewd and philanthropic wisdom garnered in a lifetime of experience as one of the largest employers of labor in the world.

The record of this historic evening is herewith presented verbatim:

Samuel B. Gompers, 1st Vice-President, in calling the meeting to order at the close of the dinner, said:

"I do not know that I can open any remarks that I may desire to make, or that the duty devolves upon me of making, or that I may take pleasure in making, better than to address you as 'fellow-Americans.' On behalf of the National Civic Federation, permit me to bid you a hearty welcome around this festive board. There are a number of gentlemen with us this evening whom, I am sure, you will be much more interested in hearing than you would be in hearing me discuss anything I could say to you to-night. But I feel confident that you would not permit me, in the capacity of acting Chairman and Toastmaster this evening, to take my seat without a few observations.

"Let me say to you this, then, my friends, that I am deeply impressed, as no doubt you all are, at this splendid gathering here to-night. It is doubtful in my mind whether a gathering of this character, with the types of men that are represented round this festive board to-night, could be brought together in any other country on earth. (Applause.) Men in all the professions, men representing the public, men in public office, men high in the churches of our country, great captains of industry and business and of finance, and men of labor,—all are assembled here in social and intellectual communion.

Many of you have traveled more than a thousand miles,—busy business men, busy labor men,—to be here and mingle with the men of affairs of America.

"A few months ago a number of foreign gentlemen called upon me at my office at Washington. They were sent here by their respective governments to make inquiries into the industrial conditions of our country; incidentally, also, to make investigations into the National Civic Federation, its work and its methods. They asked me how they could institute organizations of a similar character in their own countries. And inquiries of this character are frequently made. My answer was this: that it is not an easy matter to form an association such as this. It was not brought about in a day; it was a matter of growth and development, not only in industry, but in intelligence; that it was not only these, but it was the outgrowth of the possibilities of the institutions of our country. (Applause.)

"Men of capital, men of large wealth, employers of large numbers of men, recognize in the National

Civic Federation an honest effort to arrive at just results. (Applause.) The representatives of labor recognize in the National Civic Federation an honest effort to attain just results, and to accord fairness and honorable conditions to all. (Applause.) Before a National Civic Federation was possible in our country, it was just as essential that the contests and contention should have occurred in our industries as it seems to be one of the essentials for infantile growth into youth and manhood that the child should fall and stumble; and the growths and the falls and our contentions have resulted in both sides having a higher regard and a more mutual respect for each other.

"In other countries, the employers of labor have become accustomed to look upon the workmen, not only as their financial inferiors, but as their social and political inferiors. (Cries of 'No! No!') My friends, I do not know that I ought to allow that to interrupt my train of thought, but I will, for a

occupy opposite seats, but they are all round the table, and we discuss and endeavor to find a way out of the difficulties and the problems by which we are confronted, and a solution of this great labor problem,—the problem of the age; aye, the problem of the ages,—with which all former problems in the history of men sink into comparative insignificance. We do not undertake to solve, nor do we imagine that it is possible for us to solve, this labor problem by our National Civic Federation. We realize that, as we meet and endeavor to solve the problems of to-day, we shall be confronted with new problems to-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow's morrow; but that each problem solved makes us jointly better qualified to meet and to solve the new problems as they daily arise. (Applause.)

"There are a number of men whose hearts yearn for a solution of this great problem, with all the difficulties, and something of the dissensions and disturbances that arise, and that often are incidental thereto; but

the men who have laid the foundations of this National Civic Federation, and have been constantly and intimately associated with every effort, know that we do not undertake too much. We realize that any effort to undertake too much, to realize too much, to accomplish too much, will simply lead us into dismal and lamentable failure. We try to be of some assistance to our fellow-men. (Applause.) We know that if an employer of labor, who may have heretofore looked with suspicion upon any organized or associated effort of the working-people, will come to know our men in the labor movement better, he will not have so profound a feeling of hostility and antagonism to them. We feel, and know, that as we have the opportunity of meeting the representatives of the employers, face to face, discussing with them the great questions which interest us and the great public,—we know that the employers are not such modern monsters as they are often painted. (Applause.) We come to look upon each other as human beings, as men with strength of character, with manhood, and integrity, and faith, and an honest purpose to serve our fellows; and when men meet under such circumstances, it cannot but prove to the advantage of all, not only of our day, but of days to come. (Applause.) We are building day by day.

"I welcome,—and when I say 'I,' in this sense, I speak advisedly for the representatives of organized labor,—we welcome the associations of employers. We believe that in modern industries, and under modern industrial conditions, the best results can be and are achieved by associated efforts of employers and organized efforts of the wage-earners. There has been this difference between the associations of employers. Those who, for instance, will brook no interference whatsoever, will regard every overture for consideration, every attempt for advancement, every objection to deterioration, as an effort to be stifled, and who will undertake or attempt to undertake, in our day, to deal with organized workmen or with workmen as if we were living in the medieval ages when a man applied himself to his work with the commonest tools and by hand labor;—on the other hand, the associations of employers who recognize modern industrial conditions and developments as they have come to be in our age, and who recognize that the best interests of all are served by conciliation and agreement.

"The National Civic Federation has done much to cultivate this idea. It has done much to polish down the rough edges of bitterness and antagonism of both sides, and, as I said at the outset, it has made possible this large gathering of representative men in all the walks and professions in our country, around a festive board such as this is to-night.

"I shall not detain you further with any remarks, but I have been asked to read to you to-night the let-



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

minute, to demonstrate the truth of what I say, even in England. England is a country, among other countries, in which the workmen have evolved from slavery to serfdom and wage labor, and the traditions and legends of old are not yet dead, even in free England. The workmen, on the other hand, with the history and the traditions of the past, have not yet been able to free themselves from their mental state of looking up to their employer. In the United States, with our Republic, theoretically, if you please, yet declaring that all men are born free and equal, the workmen have been fed upon that declaration and believe it. (Applause.) In becoming part of, and associated with, this National Civic Federation, no employer, no workman, surrenders his right or his independence. It is, however, an effort on the part of the representatives of employers, meeting with the representatives of labor, and in council with representatives of the public. These come together and, as my friend Marks has so often and appropriately stated, meet around the round table where men do not sit opposite each other. Men do not

ter of President Roosevelt, which was read to the meeting this morning. (Applause.) And, since the letter is equally addressed to the participants at this dinner as it is to those who participated in the conference to-day, it is wholly applicable."

Mr. Gompers then read the letter of President Roosevelt, as follows:

"White House, Washington, D. C.,
"Dec. 14, 1904.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, 1st Vice-President National Civic Federation, New York City:

"I greatly regret that my duties here do not admit my attending the annual meeting of the National Civic Federation which will be held in New York City on Thursday the 15th inst. But though I cannot take part in the conference or be present at the dinner in connection therewith, I assure you that I am in hearty accord and sympathy with the purposes of the National Civic Federation in its effort for the establishment of 'more rightful relations between employers and employees.' It is a movement so praiseworthy and so thoroughly American in conception that it should as a matter of course receive the earnest support of all good citizens who are awake to the vital needs of our nation.

"Views upon economic and sociological problems often differ. There can be, however, no division of opinion that the highest aim of all should be toward establishing on an ever closer basis of mutual respect and friendship the relations between employers and workmen.

"The men associated in the National Civic Federation have already done much in the direction of settling labor difficulties on a basis of conciliation and just dealing. Among those most prominent in this work and largely and intimately associated with all your work was the late Marcus A. Hanna, President of the National Civic Federation, a large employer of labor, a man of extraordinary force of character and great mental strength, who devoted much of his time and efforts to the material improvement of the wage-workers, not only without injury to employers, but to their marked benefit, as well as to the benefit of the people generally. When he attended the last meeting of your body his condition was such that a less consideration of the interests of others would have prompted him to stay away in the interests of his own life and health. But when he saw what he deemed a high duty he never paid any heed to his own physical welfare.

"You are about to elect a President to fill the vacancy caused by his death, and I am sure your wise judgment will enable you to choose some man able to carry on in his spirit and with his power the great work of your association.

"Again permit me to assure you of my entire sympathy with your organization, which has done so much, and which if rightly conducted will, I am confident, achieve so much more in the interests of the people of our common country.

(Signed) "THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

At the conclusion of the reading of the letter, three cheers were given for President Roosevelt.

The Chairman:—Gentlemen: This morning, attending our Executive Committee, was Mr. Andrew Carnegie. I am informed he is rather indisposed this evening and is unable to be with us. I am sure that you share the regret we feel at his enforced absence, and trust that his health may be improved and his life spared for many years more of the useful and good work with which his name is associated. Mr. Carnegie was invited to address you this evening. He prepared his address, and I now have the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Ralph M. Easley, Chairman of the Executive Council, who will read Mr. Carnegie's address." (Applause.)

Mr. Easley read the following address by Mr. Carnegie:

Mr. Carnegie:—"I have been furnished with an admirable text,—'Industrial Peace.' This is the day of Peaceful Arbitration Treaties among Nations to promote 'International Peace,'—a beneficent change, even although these agreements reserve two kinds of disputes for the arbitrament of war in the last resort.

"We should always remember with satisfaction that peace reigns in six-sevenths of the industrial world. There are only seven out of twenty-two millions engaged in gainful pursuits, in mechanical and manufacturing occupations. Now, we hear nothing of war in the agricultural branch, which of itself has more than ten millions of workers. The farmer and his farm-hands co-operate peacefully, and their relations are satisfactory, as we safely infer from the absence of quarrel between them. In domestic service, comprising five and one-half millions, all is peace; perhaps in this department the relations of employer and employed are most satisfactory of all. How very few are the homes with servants in which

probably not more than three million of the seven, from whom the blessings of peace are often swept away by industrial war. That is, out of twenty-two millions of workers, six-sevenths may be assumed to have industrial peace. Only one-seventh employed in huge numbers at the large works or mines are exposed to successive and disastrous outbursts of war, and this chiefly for the reason that employers and employees are strangers to each others' good qualities. It is, therefore, to this class,—employers equally with employees, we of the Civic Federation require to devote most of our thoughts and efforts. I am persuaded that quarrels arise quite as often from the employer's ignorance of the fine qualities of his employees as from ignorance of the workmen of the good qualities of their employers.

"As far as the largest manufactories and mines are concerned, I think the great corporation engaged in a dispute with its men makes a mistake if it adopt the policy, or even consider it, of running the works with new men. First, the best workmen are not idle, and to employ the only class that can be obtained is to lay the foundation of serious future trouble. It does not pay to lose a body of excellent workmen and sober, respectable men, nor to employ the class of workmen whose services can be obtained to fill their places. There is another consideration of much weight. Just in proportion that the workman is earnest and efficient in his pride in his work, he feels that the tools he operates or the furnace he works are in a sense part of himself. He has a personal interest in them and in his job. To compel him to stand by and see an outsider,—almost sure to be his inferior both as workman and as man,—take his place, is to subject him to a trial he should be spared. That the support of his wife and children depends upon his labor, of which he is deprived by another, is the most excruciating thought of all. This is a trial to which no workman should be subjected.

"Even when the employer succeeds in running the work with new men, his victory is really a defeat. He will ultimately lose more by the change than he would have lost had he patiently awaited a settlement with his own men. The fact that there are in any works thousands of men who began there in youth and are now middle-aged, all proud of the works and fond of their owners, is the best preservative of peace and successful operation. It is such works that break records.

"If, in case of a strike, the employer promptly informed his men that they need have no apprehension about their jobs, that he would not have any but his own men and knew that he could not get such men as they, and therefore would wait for them until their unfortunate differences were settled, all would soon be well. I think employers

should make this an invariable rule,—never to employ new men in case of a strike, but to wait patiently for the old men.

"In special branches this policy is impossible, such as in street and other railways and wherever the daily wants of the public are concerned. No doubt new men in extreme cases must be employed, but it is a sad necessity, to be avoided whenever possible. In these cases, public sentiment plays a potent part and hastens a settlement.

"We have another branch to deal with, much in evidence in New York. I am told that a contractor building a residence here employs men from no less than thirty-eight trade-unions. In recent years one or more of these have been constantly at war. Seldom are the thirty-eight all enjoying industrial peace. Saddest of all sights, it is often against each other,—union against union,—that war is waged. Union fighting union must surely give the great fiend exalting rapture.

"I have no personal experience in this matter, but such information as I have been able to acquire from



AUGUST BELMONT,
President National Civic Federation.



CORNELIUS N. BLISS,
Treasurer National Civic Federation.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
1st Vice-President National Civic Federation.



OSCAR S. STRAUS,
2d Vice-President National Civic Federation.

we do not find several old retainers, old nurses or old butlers, old coachmen, old gardeners, who pass their old age in comfort as part of the household and valued friends.

"These facts lead us to the cause of much of the tension and strife found in the manufacturing and mechanical departments. It rests just here: the former bring in the personal equation, and into the latter nowadays that scarcely enters. It is these personal relations, the knowledge of the virtues of the employer and employed revealed to each other, creating mutual regard, that establish the reign of peace in agricultural and domestic service.

"Small manufacturers and contractors, employing each a few men, rarely have trouble with each other. Each man knows the qualities of the employer and the employer knows his men. Naturally they become interested in each other, and mutual esteem, often ripening to affection, ensures not only peace but good-will. Eliminating the class of small employers, there remain out of the seven millions engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits,

some fair-minded employers is to the effect that the fair, competent and quiet workmen do not yet give proper attention to the management of their unions, and that, consequently, these have been hitherto left to the extreme men. This is a stage which organized labor always has to meet, but it often passes that stage, and as the necessity for prudent action is realized, the moderate, open-minded and fair men finally obtain control. In organizations like the Locomotive Brotherhood and other unions of railroad men, we have proof that there is evolved a safe, conservative, fair management, which renders strikes a very rare occurrence indeed. It is not the able, educated workman that favors demands or violent action, but the



ANDREW CARNEGIE,
Capitalist.

ignorant, and just as men become intelligent, there will be greater harmony.

"It were idle to expect that differences between buyer and seller of labor will not arise, for these characterize every kind of exchange. It is naught, sayeth the buyer. It is invaluable, says the seller; and in one point of view the workman sells labor and the employer buys. It is wholesome that capital should be made to pay well for labor, and to pay very high for it when profits are high, and it is inevitable that wages will fall when profits fall, so that we must expect, and not be alarmed at, repeated demands and repeated rejections from both employers and employees from time to time. These are healthy signs. What the Civic Federation should aim at is that strikes or lock-outs should be prevented, and for these I can see no cure so effective as a trade agreement providing for arbitration, after every effort has been exhausted to settle the difference by the employer and his men themselves, as friends co-operating in a vast enterprise to whose success both must contribute, and in the prosecution of which capital and labor are not foes but allies.

"I would not call these conferences ended between employers and employees until not one ray of hope existed, for employer and employee agreeing between themselves is the best proof of mutual respect, esteem, yes, and of regard,—surest foundation of all upon which any enterprise can rest. The employer who does not estimate the cordial co-operation of employees, because their hearts are with him, as worth a very considerable advance in wages does not share my opinion.

"Gentlemen, the most cheering feature in the relations of capital and labor is that there seems a law at work which rejects the extreme men of both employers and employees and slowly evolves the reign of the fair-minded element which continually makes for industrial peace. The mission of our Federation is to bring these together in friendly conference and prove to them that there are always two sides to all disputes, and also many kindred virtues and an earnest desire for harmony upon both sides; that there are fair employers as there are fair workmen, and that it is a bad day for both capital and labor when they fail to settle themselves peacefully any dispute that arises between them."

The Chairman read the following telegram from Chauncey H. Castle, President of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association:

"Your association is accomplishing great things by nearly ideal methods. I regret that I cannot attend."

The Chairman read also the following letter from the Rev. Washington Gladden:

"Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 12, 1904.

"Mr. R. M. Easley, Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation:

"I am very sorry that it will be impossible for me to attend the reception and dinner of the 15th inst. To meet the distinguished men whom you announce,

and to hear what they will have to say, would be a great gratification.

"From the abuse which extremists and destructionists on both sides are heaping upon the Civic Federation, I judge that it must be doing some good work for industrial peace. There are, it must be confessed, a good many people in this country who do not want industrial peace; who will be satisfied with nothing less than the subjugation of those with whom they find themselves at variance. There is an element among the workmen of whom this is true; and there are, I am sorry to say, quite a number of employers who are so unjust and unfair that they are ready to deny to their employees the liberty they claim for themselves. I trust that against both these contending tyrannies the counsels of the men of good will may ultimately prevail, and I hope that what is done at your supper may have the effect to make the Christmas bells tell a little more clearly of Peace on Earth.

"Very truly yours,
(Signed) "WASHINGTON GLADDEN."

The Chairman:—"To-day I was informed that I made a very eloquent presentation and argument and urgent appeal to our reverend friend, Archbishop Ireland, and found, after I had concluded my address, that he was not present. However, he is here with us to-night in the flesh and in the spirit, and I ask our friend, Archbishop Ireland, to address this gathering now."

Right Reverend Archbishop Ireland:—"I believe I can, in all truth, address you all as fellow-workers and fellow-Americans. Upon those two titles I would willingly build arguments that would lead to a pacific settlement of all the difficulties arising between labor and capital. I have supreme faith in America—(applause)—in her institutions; in the spirit which her institutions create and foster; I have supreme faith that those problems that can be solved by men, will be solved; and if any social question cannot be solved and is not to be solved in America, I despair of its solution anywhere.

"Fellow-workers,—we are all fellow-workers. I have contempt for a man who does not work, who does not believe that his first duty here on earth is to do something for the general good. (Applause.) It matters not what be the precise nature of the work: the important thing is that it be work conducive to the welfare of his fellow-men. It is a maxim of highest philosophy, as well as of highest religion, proclaimed by the great St. Paul, 'If a man does not work, neither shall he eat'; and this formed the truest social philosophy, in theory assuredly, if it were not always carried out into practice, of the old and the medieval times when it was laid down as a vital principle that a man who owned the property and who lived from his property owned it only in order that he would have greater leisure to serve his fellow-men. We should be all workers. Let it be the work that cleans our streets, let it be the work of him who makes use of his pen for the general information of mankind, let it be the work of him who is seated in the President's chair, or who leads the armies of his country in its de-



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
President Pittsburgh Coal Company.

fense. Work because it is work, and because it is serving the general good, is honorable.

"It seems to me that this gathering is an indication, Americans and fellow-workers, that those problems which at times seem to affright people are surely on the road to solution. The two things needed most for the solution of those problems are here made manifest,—intelligence and sympathy for one another. The problems that come before us in the name of capital and labor are the result of a hundred social complications. It is only by serious

thought that we can reach the root of the difficulties. It is only by large-mindedness that we can see the trend of difficult problems. Those problems are to be solved mainly through principles, and it takes mind, it takes thought, to study out and investigate those principles.

"To-night we have with us the representatives of thought in America. I salute with very great pleasure the new Department of the National Civic Federation opened to-day: that of Industrial Economics. We have the representatives of the journals and the professors. They are the ones who give thought to all these questions, who study them in all their relations to put them before us in living form.



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers' Union.

I believe supremely in intelligence, and the hope of the day is this: that the humblest laborer to-day is a man of intelligence. We have educated our people; it is largely because they are educated that they see the difficulties under which in the past labor has often suffered. But the same intelligence will lead them on to seek practical remedies for those conditions which they are anxious to remedy. Let us all approach the study of these questions with thought, with calm, dignified thought, and then let us approach them with sympathy for one another. This is the lesson of America: that a man is a man, and manhood in him demands respect. Whoever he is, we should feel a brotherly love for him, and see that all his family is provided for. We should look one another in the face. This is the great result of the National Civic Federation. Were this meeting of to-night multiplied a hundredfold, or a thousandfold, through the country, it would be well for the country. For this is a meeting which brings men of all kinds together, in which the poorest laborer, because he is a man, is received as a brother by the richest employer,—a meeting in which we are all brothers, whatever otherwise be for the moment our social conditions.

"It has been said that this meeting could be with difficulty reproduced in other countries. There is much truth in the statement, and one of the difficulties in other countries is this: that classes are divided one from the other; that in one class men do not know, do not come to another class, do not shake them by the hands, do not look them right into the eyes; and here is where the democracy of America is accomplishing wonders. It has taught us that it is no crime to be poor, and no crime to be rich. It has taught us that property is to be respected, because property is the very life-blood of the individual. It is the output of his own energies, his own talents. The respect for manhood in America has opened the way for us to meet and believe in brotherhood, and in love for one another. When we do come to honor them, and feel that we cannot build up our own interest without building up the interest of the laborers, we are very near victory. We must realize that we live not merely for ourselves, or for our immediate fellows,—we live for our country. We must know that it is our God-given duty to build up the whole social structure, and no country is safe, no country is prosperous, where there is not a livelihood for all. No country is safe where any one class of citizens has a reasonable grievance, a reasonable cause for complaint; so, the more we know one another, the more all these so-called causes of division disappear. Who among the employers, with a heart in him, is not anxious to know that his fellow-American has a comfortable home, and wife and child growing up to the possession of American liberty and American opportunity? (Applause.) And who among the laborers does not understand that his own interest is linked with the talent and the energy of the employer? We all know that society is a complex institution. It is an army;

some must lead, some must follow, and the more intelligence we have, the more we understand this complexity of society. I am very sure that the soldier marches to battle with much more hope and confidence when he knows that he has as a leader an officer who is sympathetic, who is skilled, who watches out for opportunities of victory; and so it is with the representatives of labor. They are not jealous of their employers; they know they must have employers; they know that they must put men in the front to seek out openings for capital; otherwise there would be no industry, no occupation, for the laborer. And when we work together, we all know that there must be safety for our

JOHN IRELAND,
Archbishop, Roman Catholic Church.

earnings, whatever they are. We talk sometimes of capital as belonging to an especial class. Why, I trust there is not a laborer in America who is not a capitalist. I think there are few industrious workmen who have not an account in the bank. Well, the workman with a bank account is a capitalist, and if he attacks capital in others because, perhaps, he thinks the others have more of it than he has, he attacks by that his own capital. He loses for his own arm, for his own energy, the protection of the law. I mingle much myself with capitalists and the laborers, and sometimes the question is strong, Whither are we drifting in America? Well, from my knowledge of the laborers of America, I have not much fear of the menace of anarchy. (Applause.) I know very well that each laborer wishes protection for his own little cottage, and to feel that his savings belong sacredly to himself and to his family. If there were some danger of this wild socialism, it would come from those who are not industrious, who do not respect themselves; and it is the duty of the employer and the more powerful elements of society to reduce the number of those who own nothing, who have no stake in the country. I know no better solution for all these threats of anarchy or socialism than this: to teach them all to love and revere the Star Spangled Banner. (Applause.) This is a great and blessed country. Those who are employers to-day were themselves employed yesterday. The richest among us, whose name has been applauded,—Andrew Carnegie,—says that the time was when he worked hard for a few dollars. Now, this is the country of opportunity for all. All cannot possibly be in the front, but all may aim at being in the front, and none can say that hard-drawn classifications held them back. We are watched by all the nations of the world; watched with love and watched with fear. We are watched with love by those who cherish the institutions of liberty. There are those who would wish to see America torn to shreds, because America's freedom is a menace to conditions in their countries which they would fain maintain. It is our duty to hold ourselves as exemplars before the whole world. Throughout all nations it is said the one peril of America is the labor question, because there the labor people, having universal suffrage, understanding their power, would be willing to tear down the institutions of America to satisfy their own personal ambitions and greed. We who know the American laborer have no such fear. At the same time capitalist, laborer, writer, minister,—every one,—should feel that one of the great questions of the day is decidedly this of industrial peace, and should bind himself with the best instinct of his soul to its solution.

"Before all else, we are fellow-men, brothers, and fellow-Americans. And with those titles thoroughly understood, and the meaning of them permeating our minds and hearts, we can look up at the flag of our country and rejoice that it is lifted over a great democracy, over a government of the people, by the

people, for the people. May that flag ever wave over free men and over happy men and over men whose motto is Peace and Brotherly Love." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"Gentlemen: The next gentleman who will address us is a man also well known to the people of our country,—aye, to the world,—a great financier, a large employer of labor, one of the employers of labor who, by his assistance and co-operation in agreement with organized labor, made it possible to save a year in the construction of that great engineering work, our Subway of New York. I have the pleasure to present to you the Honorable August Belmont. (Applause.)

Mr. August Belmont:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: You have called upon me to say something. On the rolls of our Association I am designated an Employer. I take it, therefore, I am expected to speak from that standpoint. Of the thirty years I have been in active business, my association with transportation companies as an executive officer, dated my commission back only fourteen years. I see around me this evening many veterans of great experience, to whose superior wisdom I bow; and recognizing their grasp of affairs and knowledge of conditions, I address you with diffidence from the standpoint of an Employer.

"One idea has impressed me, this evening, more than all others,—the unequalled value of American citizenship. We must recognize that citizenship is evolution. Its distinctive merit and qualities are the product of social, industrial and political conditions fostered, nurtured and made possible by social, industrial and political institutions which are peculiar and individual to our nation. These find their roots in the principles of democracy; indeed, they are the outward and visible signs of democracy, and, therefore, when revealed in the practical affairs and contacts of life they present in American citizenship a picture of life as shown nowhere else in the world. In no other country, I venture to say, would it be possible to bring together in an unrestrained atmosphere of equality, such a company as we find here assembled. Here are the representatives of Scholarship and Science; Capital and Labor; Enterprise and Thrift.

"Our national life, our national character, our national wealth, our national progress, stand as a structure upon what YOU represent. This company typifies the great democratic idea of co-operation between citizens in all walks of life, that in the end the betterment of all society may be attained. In this idea,—the betterment of all society,—is the inspiration of the Civic Federation. It aims to bring together citizens of every vocation,—all who are interested in 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' so by a united effort it may be possible to improve the relations between the so-called Employer and Employed. It enlists the support, and I am fully convinced, the enthusiasm of all gathered about these tables to-night, and draws to its banner from distant points, thousands concerned in great and diversified interests.



SAMUEL MATHER,
Great Lakes Shipper.

"It has been well said, 'Blessed is the nation that has no history.' Unfortunately, history is too often the record of war, of turbulence, of disaster. What is most prized in Peace! Statesmen of all nations unceasingly labor to maintain Peace,—Peace with Honor. To that end the Civic Federation labors in the industrial world. It is patent to all, employer and employed that nothing so profits labor and capital as Peace with Honor. One of the methods advocated by this organization for the prevention, and when required, the cure, of industrial controversies which threaten a breach of Industrial Peace,—the prolific mother of Misery,—is a Conference having in view new, or revised trade agreements, and it

further stoutly maintains that such trade agreements must be conscientiously lived up to by the signatories. Good faith and honest dealing are the basic principles upon which such trade agreements must rest to be enduring and such contracts must be equally binding upon employer and employed.

"I am glad to testify to the efficacy and efficiency of face to face conferences with honorable employees. I pronounce it a practical method of reaching a common understanding upon points in controversy, from which harmonious agreements are possible; and, if I may refer to my own experience, from such conferences, over controverted points, followed a better understanding and a harmonious



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
President International Longshoremen's Association.

agreement in the conduct of a great public service corporation.

"Brains and Muscle; Money and Material are the essentials of a successful transportation company. There are those who find the ways and means for construction, equipment and operation; those who provide engineering, mechanical and technical skill; and those who furnish labor. Capital, labor and material must lie dormant until utilized by brains and muscle, which, controlled and regulated by executive ability provide the energies essential to the profitable employment of capital and labor.

"In the great business of transportation, human beings can only be conveyed from one place to another by the co-operation of other human beings. Human energy, or labor, therefore, is as essential as steam or electricity. This labor is divided between the executive on one hand, which assumes the responsibility for invested capital, for faithful service, and the regulation of subordinates;—and the great army of employees on the other, who discharge their important duties in their respective functions. These two divisions, representing capital and executive management on one hand, and labor on the other, are bound by a common tie,—the success of the corporation. For success implies the capacity to earn wages and pay for the use of invested capital. From which I mean to say the relations between employer and employee are reciprocal.

"Trade agreements, or by whatever name contracts between employer and employed may be designated, should be entered upon in good faith, and maintained by each with scrupulous integrity. The employer, by reason of this contract embarks the capital of the investor, and the employee his capital,—namely labor. Each is essential to the other. Neither is independent. From profitable co-operation flow the conditions which convert the desert into a garden, and confer blessings of life, liberty and happiness. Such contracts are binding alike on employers and employed, and they should be so regarded. They may be likened to a promissory note, which involves the credit of the maker and endorser. Employees making contracts for labor should establish their credit by living up to their contracts,—and it goes without saying,—employers must be equally punctilious.

"It is a pleasure to believe that organized labor is learning more and more the lesson that its share of responsibility for a contract is equal to that of capital. The dignity of labor equals the dignity of capital, where labor adheres as strictly as capital must adhere, to the obligations of a trade agreement. I would emphasize to the leaders of organized labor the prime importance, the absolute necessity, of fidelity to contracts. When they have made a collective bargain, it should be impressed upon all workers whom they represent that the individual honor of every man is pledged to abide by the terms and spirit of that contract. When employers feel assured that the making of a contract with organized labor is as reliable as any of the transactions in the

business world to which they are accustomed,—as I am glad to learn is becoming more and more the case,—then the trade agreement will carry its own recommendation, as an effective solution of the labor problem.

"Gentlemen,—I thank you for your courtesy and attention." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"Gentlemen, I desire to divert your attention for a few moments to a formal matter which I think will be agreeable to all here assembled. At our former meeting a committee was appointed, and the number of that committee was augmented by the executive committee meeting to-day. The committee was entrusted with the im-



HENRY PHIPPS,
Director U. S. Steel Corporation.

portant mission of submitting the names of gentlemen for the officers of the National Civic Federation for the coming year. The chairman of that committee is Mr. Franklin MacVeagh of Chicago, and I ask Mr. MacVeagh now, and in the presence of this assemblage, to make a report to this committee." (Applause.)

Mr. Franklin MacVeagh:—"Mr. Chairman: I am directed by your committee on nominations, a committee of twelve, to make their unanimous report, first for the position of President of the National Civic Federation. They have considered this nomination with a complete sense of the very great importance of having just the right man to fill it, and their unanimous nomination for the presidency is Mr. August Belmont." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"For the moment, we shall enfranchise all those assembled and empower you all to vote."

Mr. MacVeagh:—"If you will permit me then, Mr. Chairman, I move the election of Mr. August Belmont."

The motion was seconded by William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, and by Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The Chairman:—"It has been moved and seconded that Mr. August Belmont be elected president of the National Civic Federation. I shall ask you gentlemen to vote by rising. All in favor of the nomination will signify by standing."

The motion was unanimously agreed to by a rising vote.

The Chairman:—"I take pleasure in announcing the election of Mr. August Belmont as president of the National Civic Federation for the ensuing year." (Applause.)

President Belmont:—"Gentlemen: This honor has come to me as a great surprise, and the sense of its responsibility I feel very deeply; more so, when I think of my predecessor, the great work which he did, and the position which he occupied with you and throughout the country. I can only say that I will lend to this work my best effort. I do not exaggerate when I say to you that I hardly feel myself capable of filling it in the manner in which I think it should be filled; but it being your desire, I cannot refuse, and I thank you and appreciate the honor gratefully." (Applause.)

Mr. MacVeagh:—"Mr. Chairman, I now report to you the nominations for the remaining positions: "First Vice-President, Samuel B. Gompers; Second Vice-President, Oscar S. Straus; Chairman Ways and Means Committee, Henry Phipps; Treasurer, Cornelius N. Bliss; Chairman Conciliation Committee, Charles A. Moore; Chairman of Welfare Department, H. H. Vreeland; Chairmen of the Trade Agreement Committee, Francis L. Robbins, John Mitchell; Chair-

man of the Executive Council, Ralph M. Easley; Secretary, Samuel B. Donnelly.

"Mr. Chairman, I move the election of these gentlemen."

The motion was seconded, and the question being put, the above-named gentlemen were unanimously elected to fill the respective offices.

The Chairman:—"Having disposed of the election, I think I may assume the function for a moment to say to you who are not members of the Executive Committee that you are disenfranchised herewith. (Laughter.)

"We have had gentlemen address us this evening, who have been accustomed to bear great responsibilities and deal in large affairs, men who have shown their capacity, and their faithfulness to duty to their fellow-men. I now have the pleasure of presenting to you one who has had dealings with large affairs, and large interests affecting his fellow-men, one who has proven his worth by his work. I refer to Mr. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America." (Applause.)

Mr. John Mitchell:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I esteem it a very great privilege to be afforded this opportunity of speaking to you, however briefly, upon the question of the relationship of capitalists and laborers. It has been my fate, or my duty, to take part in many of the disagreements, as well as the agreements, between employers and employees, and because of my experience and because of my observations, in the industrial affairs of our country, I am here.

"I am glad to be a part of this peace movement. (Applause.) I think it must be obvious to every observant person that we have in America a labor question; that in some departments of industry the relationship between these two forces of our society has become strained almost to the breaking point. It must be apparent to every good citizen of our beloved country that there is a duty devolving upon every man who cares for the progress and the perpetuity of this republic that something be done to bring into closer and more harmonious relation these two apparently antagonistic forces.

"I am very glad to be here for another reason. It is just four years ago to-night since the Civic Federation was born. Four years ago to-night a small committee, some six or seven in number, met in the city of Chicago and proposed the formation of a Civic Federation,—proposed a movement that they believed would do something to minimize the labor disturbances, to lessen the number of strikes, and reduce the number of lock-outs. Even the most optimistic among the number who gathered there had no idea that the Civic Federation would grow in influence, that it would prosper as it has done, and that four years later we would meet here with the representative men of every walk of life in America. I say the Civic Federation has done well. Its work, its efforts and its purposes should commend it to every man who cares for industrial peace.

"I sincerely hope that all those who have met with us to-night will do something, however little, to establish peace within the industries of our country. I want to say to you that from my observations and my experience, it requires something more than resolutions; that resolutions, however eloquent, will not settle the labor question. If the labor question is to be settled at all, it must be by men having courage and honest purpose. It must be settled by men who will not stand upon their supposed rights. It will not be settled by men who are unwilling to give credit to the other man for honest purposes and to concede to him what is his just due.

"I am a firm believer in the trade agreement. I have had many years' experience in the coal industry. I want to say to you, gentlemen, that where the representatives of the employer, the coal operator, have met with the representatives of our association, where we have sat down and talked the matter out, where we have reasoned together, we have been able to avert strikes; we have been able to maintain peace, peace not by surrender on the part of capital, not by surrender of the part of labor. There has been no surrender of fundamental rights. We have met and talked it out. We found, gentlemen, it was better to talk for a week than strike for a year. (Applause.)

"I wish to emphasize, if it is necessary, this fact: I do not think that any employer or any workman will accuse me of being afraid to strike or of not striking hard enough when we have to strike; but, gentlemen, there are many methods better than striking. Peace is preferable to strikes, although, as I have stated in these meetings before, I hope the time will never come when the workmen of this country will surrender their right to strike. (Applause.) I hope the time will never come when the employers of labor will surrender their right to close their mines, their mills, or their factories. I believe the best safeguard, the greatest assurance of peace, is our ability to fight. (Applause.) But strikes, lock-outs, black-lists and boycotts should never be resorted to so long as there are other methods of maintaining peace.

"I hope, gentlemen, to live long enough to see the time when we shall understand each other's rights sufficiently well to be willing to concede those rights. I hope to live long enough to see the day when

strikes and lock-outs and black-lists and boycotts will be unknown. I believe the Civic Federation, denounced as it is by some, not only capitalists, but laborers, is doing more to establish confidence, to bring into closer and more rightful relations the interests of capital and labor, than any other institution in this country.

"It is growing late, gentlemen; there are a number of other speakers. I thank you for the attention you have given me, and I sincerely hope in closing you will join with the Civic Federation and its Executive Committee in making this the recognized tribunal of peace in the industrial affairs of America." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"The next gentleman who will



P. H. MORRISSEY,
Grand Master, Railroad Trainmen.

address you is one well-known in our own country and the world over, conspicuous in his efforts for international peace and the high science and art of diplomacy, and who is using and has used for a number of years past his high gifts and attainments to contribute much to establish peace in the industrial affairs of America. The gentleman who will address you now is the Honorable Oscar S. Straus." (Applause.)

Hon. Oscar S. Straus:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have only a word to say. We have been engaged in our meetings and in our conferences since half-past ten this morning. I have had occasion to say everything that I ought to say, and I will say very little to-night. The great American who stands very high in my calendar of saints made the wise statement, 'What are all these strifes and struggles about but for larger dishes and bowls of porridge?' He was Roger Williams.

"Our object is to lessen the struggle between man and man and, instead of that struggle, to unite in a struggle against the unrelenting forces of matter. That is the object of our Civic Federation. The object is to teach the man who stands at the head of great employing forces to have a wider conception of the relations of man and man than may be gathered from the size of dividends, and at the same time to teach the labor leader that he has a larger responsibility than may appear to him from the four walls of his workshop,—the responsibility to the community at large. And it is for this reason that we have constituted the Civic Federation, composed of three groups, the one group representing the employers, the other group representing the wage-earners, and the third group representing the general public. And if we can harmonize the interests of these three groups, we have solved the problem of industrial peace.

"We are doing our best in that direction. We have often succeeded in bringing about peace, and there are times when we have lamentably failed. But we ask you to be patient with us. It was only recently that the Civic Federation entertained the members of the Interparliamentary Union, who visited this country for the purpose of international peace, especially those members who were at the same time particularly interested in industrial peace. We conferred together for the purpose of learning from them, and if possible, teaching them, the best methods of preserving industrial peace. I can tell you here that these Parliamentary delegates from the fifteen most enlightened countries in the world, and members of high standing in their Parliaments, were of one accord that they had not discovered a better method to work out this problem than the one that has been evolved by the National Civic Federation. (Applause.) Criticise as you will,—and we welcome criticism; find fault as you will,—and we are conscious of committing fault. But when you do criticise, we ask you to give us a better method than this one, which is not entirely satisfactory, the one that we have adopted in the Civic Federation. We are searching for it.

"We have to-day organized a department of scholars, of writers, of the leading contributors to our magazines and newspapers, to help us work out the great problem that we have assumed, and in all modesty we ask them for their co-operation and for their aid, in educating the public,—the laborer and the capitalist, and the general public,—in understanding our work, and in contributing whatever they can in order to throw light upon our path. This is our object and this is our aim, and it is for this that we are groping along. If we could present you to-night the result of a year's work, and you could know the scores of important industrial conflicts that we have peaceably brought to an adjustment, I think



CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President of Harvard University.

you would feel some encouragement with me in the work that we have undertaken. It is only the tragic cases, the cases that resolve themselves into strikes, that make an impression upon the public mind, which does not know the scores of cases that are quietly adjusted by bringing together around our council table leaders of industry and leaders of labor, and looking into each other's eyes and plainly setting forth their grievances and their complaints. It is in this way that we have brought about the preventive methods which in so many cases have avoided serious and important industrial conflicts. This is the part of our work that we cannot make public, because it is very often upon the pledge of silence that we can bring the two sides together; but we have established a platform, a natural platform, that no man who wishes to do justice is afraid to come to. There he will receive equal treatment without conceding anything, or without lessening his position, until he finds he can do so in justice and in agreement and in accord. This is the main work, the work of conciliation, and not, as is generally believed, of arbitration, that the Civic Federation performs.

"Finally I wish to say this. Deeply as I am committed to and, of course, interested in industrial peace, there is no surer guarantee of international peace than contentment among the nations themselves. In other words, industrial peace is one of the greatest guarantees for international peace. (Applause.) In the name of the National Arbitration Conference, that is to assemble to-morrow night at Carnegie Hall for the purpose of making known to our Senators in Congress the deep feeling of the peace-loving people of this great country for international peace, and in order to let the Senators know that the treaties of arbitration that our government has negotiated and is negotiating with the civilized powers of the world, which will soon be laid before them by the President of the United States,—that they will be interpreting the mandate of the peace-loving people of this great country, not only to confirm them, but to confirm them expeditiously. I invite you heartily, most cordially, to be present at that meeting to-morrow night at Carnegie Hall. Mr. Andrew Carnegie is to preside, and our Mayor, Mr. McClellan, is to be the temporary chairman, and distinguished speakers will present the subject to you. I feel entirely justified, Mr. Chairman, in connecting the two subjects together at this great gathering of peace-loving, patriotic citizens, laborers and employers of labor and the representatives of the general public, that with the inspiration of this meeting they will come to the meeting to-morrow night and unite with us in the great work of international peace." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"The next gentleman who will address us is one who also has been for a number of years entrusted with large affairs connected with an important branch of the railroad industry. Without further ado, I have the pleasure of introducing to you

Mr. P. H. Morrissey, the Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen." (Applause.)

Mr. P. H. Morrissey:—"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen,—Being notified but a short time prior to the assemblage of this evening that it would devolve upon me to fill a place in the program, I feel somewhat like the colored gentleman who was recently tried in a United States Court. He had been charged with selling liquor without a license. The government had made a pretty strong case against him, and his attorney turned to him and asked him if he cared to go on the witness stand in his own defense. The son of Africa replied: 'Boss, I think I had better remain neutral.' (Laughter.) And so, after the very able addresses to which we have listened, I think I had better remain neutral.

"The organization which I represent is committed to the policies and principles enunciated by the National Civic Federation,—(applause)—viz., conference, conciliation, mediation and arbitration. Mutual conferences between employer and employee, with feelings of confidence that should always be evident, form the very keynote of industrial peace. Organized labor has come to stay. No matter what its errors may have been in the past, no matter whether or not it may have been at times economically and ethically wrong, out of this turbulent past it has evolved into an industrial factor which is recognized by thinkers everywhere, and which fixes its permanency in our industrial life. It must be satisfying to every workman who has identified himself with a labor organization to know that no less a person than the President of all our people so recognized the influential force of association and organization among workingmen, that he saw fit to make it an important part of his last message to Congress and the American people.

"Labor organizations will be approved or disapproved by the press, by the public, by our government, and by the courts, just as they conduct themselves. If they are law-abiding, if they show as respectful a regard for the rights of others as they demand for themselves, they will be recognized; but when they evolve themselves into a force that becomes unlawful, they will be disapproved not only by the law-making bodies of the country and its courts, but by that always present factor known as public sentiment. We of the railroad have in the years of the late past tried the Civic Federation's method of solving these differences, and they have been in the main successful. You have not heard of many strikes on railways in the past ten or twelve years. We had not entirely tried the Mitchell formula of talking the strike idea to death,—(laughter),—but we have met each other face to face, established terms of mutual conference, represented in trade agreements, whether known as contracts, schedules, agreements, memoranda, or in whatever form.

"I am glad, indeed, as a representative of organized labor, to add a hearty endorsement of Mr. Belmont's estimate of the duties of organized labor toward the employers in relation to trade agreements and trade contracts. In years gone by, when organized labor was in a more crude state than it is now, we used to accept all of the advantages that would go with organization in increased wages, shortening of hours, and other helpful conditions, and when a difference arose, it was hard indeed to find the responsible party. When labor was called upon to make good its side of the contract, there was considerable evasion and pleas of expediency. Much sentiment was indulged in, and it got to be a serious question with employers whether or not a labor agreement amounted to anything. But out of that came labor's guarantee that its word was good, that a contract made by it would be kept inviolate, for we realized that any other course meant nothing less than labor's dishonor.

"I do not know of any place where you could find as cosmopolitan a set as is assembled here to-night, unless it might be on an elevated train or on the Pike at St. Louis. The gentlemen who have assembled here this evening, coming from the different walks of life, all have influence in their respective spheres. We sincerely hope and trust that with the guarantees that have been given to you to-night of the purposes and desires of the Civic Federation, it will receive your hearty and unqualified support. We believe that it is one of the forces that make for good in our industrial life. We do not expect that it will prove to be a panacea for all of our industrial ills, but as its principles are extended, and as the things that it stands for become fixed in the public mind, we have no doubt that its influence will spread accordingly. As organized labor forms a section of it, we ask you to treat it for the good it promises. It cannot be questioned but organizations properly conducted are helpful agencies in a country like ours; that any movement that is for the betterment of human kind, that will build men up morally, and teach them the requirements of good citizenship, that will make their labor less oppressive and more remunerative, must surely be for the welfare of the whole people, and as such should receive substantial encouragement." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"Gentlemen, among those here assembled there is perhaps no one who has been

called upon to deal with such large affairs in industry and public life as the gentleman I have in mind. It is true he has not come as a public speaker, but I am sure even a few words from him will be welcomed by you and by us all. I refer to Mr. Henry Phipps, of Pittsburgh—and elsewhere." (Applause.)

Mr. Henry Phipps:—"During the evening I have thought of some of my own experience in business. I remember going out with Mr. Carnegie one afternoon, late in December, to see some of the workmen, and talk over the matter of adjustment of wages for the coming year. One of the men took me aside, and said: 'Now, Mr. Phipps, it seems very hard that in this season of the year, when we ought all to be



WILLIAM D. MAHON,
President Street Railway Employees' Association.

happy, we are most anxious and alarmed. And do you not have the settlements the first of January in order to reduce us in our wages or to keep us from getting better wages?" I told him it was a very fair inquiry, but if he heard the facts of the case, I thought he would not entertain that opinion. I told him the rails were ordered usually in the autumn of the year, and were distributed over some eight months. We bought our ore in the autumn, so they would dig the ore during the winter, and we had to provide money for that. We could not sell our rails unless we knew we had the ore; we could not get the ore unless we had the labor, and we were just as helpless as we could be. He said: 'I never understood it before, Mr. Phipps; I have a better opinion of the employers than I had before.' I only mention this to show how often misapprehension will arise between us when there is really no reason for it. A little explanation will remove it.

"I cannot leave you to-night without expressing the very great gratification I have had in being with you. I cannot help thinking how much nicer it is to be in business to-day than it was when I was a young man. Then it was war. We did not know what was going to happen on a July or January settlement. Now we know there is arbitration, and that there will be peace; that no anger will start up and impulsive action taken. It is real civilization. The other was barbarism. (Applause.) I do not know when my heart has been more touched than at this meeting. I feel that we are really a band of brothers, and I hope we shall each think of the interests of the others as well as ourselves. I thank you very kindly for this opportunity to make these very few remarks, and my heartfelt wishes go out to this gathering." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"We are all of us more or less eloquent, even those who are supposed to be unable to say anything. We have just had a demonstration of how eloquent one can be. (Applause.) I regret that we cannot sit here in a sort of perpetual session, or take an adjournment and meet some other time. There are a few more gentlemen upon whom I wish to call, and I trust that you will all be enabled to remain with us until the close of the meeting. I take pleasure in presenting to you now a gentleman who is very largely interested in industrial affairs, who has traveled a very great distance to be with us and to spend part of the day and evening with us. I refer to the Hon. James Kilbourne, President of the Kilbourne & Jacobs Manufacturing Company, of Columbus, Ohio." (Applause.)

Mr. James Kilbourne:—"Mr. Toastmaster and Gentlemen,—I am an optimist on the labor question. For more than a third of a century I have been manager of a company between whom and its employees, both union and non-union, there never has existed even the slightest difficulty. When they march together on Labor Day, they carry a banner that has upon it two clasped hands and the words 'Capital

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PRESIDENT AUGUST BELMONT.

August Belmont, the new President of the National Civic Federation, has been associated with its work for two years, during which time he has shown his active interest by prompt response, by day and by night, to every request for his aid in putting its principles into practice. He was first attracted to the New York branch through the quiet effectiveness with which it averted a controversy and brought about an agreement with employees at the time the Elevated railroads in New York passed into the ownership of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. At the semi-annual meeting of the Executive Committee last May, Mr. Belmont accepted the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee. Since then, he has had personal experience, during a critical period on the Elevated relating to terms and conditions of employment in the new Subway, of the practical value of conference in adjusting labor difficulties. His attitude throughout that controversy so combined dignified insistence upon the rights of the company with patient discussion of the claims of three national labor organizations, presented by more than a score of representatives, as to command for him the respect and confidence of both capital and wage-earners; while at the same time he showed a keen sense of his official responsibility for the public convenience. It was this happy combination, together with his modest but earnest share in the successful efforts of the National Civic Federation to prevent industrial discord in a number of other highly important cases, that attracted the unanimous support of his name, for President of the organization, of all its three groups. It is significant that his nomination was seconded by two of the national labor leaders with whom, as an employer, he had conferred. Mr. Belmont's speech of acceptance, with its appreciative reference to the high character and standing of his devoted predecessor, is filled with the spirit of quiet and effective executive ability.

FOUR YEARS OF PROGRESS.

A higher and broader conception of its mission was conspicuous throughout the fourth annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. All of its proceedings were inspired by this wider view and a determination to put into operation plans to realize larger possibilities. Incidentally, it became evident that there is growing to be a more accurate public understanding of the purposes of this organization. The popular misconception that the sole end of the National Civic Federation was to settle strikes and lock-outs, that it was to be a kind of voluntary tribunal of arbitration, is yielding before the persistent reiteration that arbitration is not one of its functions as a body, although its individual members may upon request act as arbiters; that its ultimate aim is industrial peace; that such an ideal state can only be approached in the great industries through a series of adjustments; that the trade agreement has proved the most practicable method of securing harmonious relations between capital and labor; that, in general terms, the National Civic Federation would examine the underlying causes of industrial conflicts and search for their remedies.

Its definite aim,—the promotion of more rightful relations between employer and employed,—it has become apparent, involves the entire field of industrial economics,—a science so far-reaching as to extend into every department of human life and endeavor, and at the same time so technical as to demand the closest study for the correct ascertainment of facts and the keenest analysis to determine their inter-relations and their interpretation.

The past year has witnessed much work accomplished by the Departments of Trade Agreements and Conciliation and Arbitration in encouraging collective contracts and in avoiding labor troubles. The Department of Welfare Work has been organized, and is in active and practical operation. The reports of these Departments, which appear elsewhere, speak for themselves.

The members of the Executive Committee expressed their confidence that the new Department of Industrial Economics will be a most effective educa-

tional agency. Its periodic meetings, which will discuss specific topics, will be reported verbatim in THE MONTHLY REVIEW, and will thus evolve a body of industrial literature of distinctive quality and high value. The participation in the discussion by economists, sociologists, professional writers and speakers and hard-headed men of affairs must bring about a combination of theory and fact that should confirm or modify recognized principles. The membership of this Department is of a character that warrants its high aims.

The proposed Trade Sections, whose task will be to consider the best solution of especial problems relating to the employment of labor in particular industries, will produce definite results through special investigations and conferences. These technical studies may be carried into all of the great industries.

The formation of an International Industrial Committee may have a practical bearing upon the internationalization of great industries and the development of international unions. Oscar S. Straus suggested an association between this movement and the prevalent desire for arbitration treaties when he said: "Industrial peace is one of the greatest guarantees of international peace."

The four years that have passed since the birth of the National Civic Federation have brought to its founders and promoters ample reasons for faith in a future of progressive usefulness. The organization has endured all the strains which both the scoffing and the doubtful predicted. The labor leaders have found that some of their demands have been defeated, and large employers have learned the necessity of concessions. In the various disturbances with which the body has had to deal. Yet each element has adhered to a movement that has survived the period of excessive sentiment as well as of decided reverses, and that is to-day stronger than ever in the confidence and support of the general public.

AN EVENING OF MEMORABLE ADDRESSES.

The speeches delivered at the dinner of the National Civic Federation were worthy of the occasion and of the highly representative gathering to which they were addressed. In their complete form, as presented in this issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW, they will reach a wider audience. The address of Andrew Carnegie may well rivet the attention of employers everywhere upon his conviction, born of experience, that "the great corporation engaged in dispute with its men makes a mistake if it adopt the policy, or even consider it, of running the works with new men." The reasons he recites for this proposition are at once humane, sympathetic and business-like. In truth there are victories so dearly bought as to be defeats.

The Toastmaster, Samuel Gompers, whose graceful and pertinent introductions served to place the speakers and the hearers upon reciprocally agreeable terms, thus evinced a singular adaptability. He infused the spirit of good cheer, mingled with high philosophy, into a brilliantly democratic social evening with as much tact and readiness as he displays when, as President of the American Federation of Labor, he directs the annual proceedings of the delegated representatives of nearly 2,000,000 organized wage-earners. The retired ironmaster and active philanthropist and the aggressive leader of the largest labor organization of the world, are but two of the striking figures that by turns dominated the profound attention of an unparalleled assembly. An appreciation of that gathering can best be gained by a glance through the list of those who accepted invitations to the dinner. It is an array of names that made inevitable the comment that in no other country in the world would such a gathering be possible. It is remarkable for the variety of successful achievement that it represents.

TWO IMPRESSIVE WITNESSES.

Representing the largest employing corporation of its kind in the world, whose business of mining and transporting fuel extends from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, enlists \$135,000,000 of capital and employs 75,000 men, Francis L. Robbins, President of the

Pittsburgh Coal Company, gave the eloquent testimony of facts, at the dinner of the National Civic Federation, in favor of the trade agreement. He cited the agreements of his company with the miners' and the longshoremen's unions as typical contracts between a combination of capital and organized labor, accompanied by a system of profit-sharing, insurance and pensions and productive of peace and prosperity throughout a vast industry and a territory imperial in extent.

Representing the largest labor union in the world, whose membership of half a million delves and toils above and below the surface of nearly every State in the Union, John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, matched the testimony of capital with the testimony of labor in favor of the trade agreement. Each of these striking witnesses dwelt upon the necessity of conference as a prelude to agreement, and each recognized good faith and mutual respect as essential to conference. Mr. Mitchell expressed the wish that labor would never surrender its right to strike or employers their right to lock-out; but he put a fundamental trait of human nature into his epigram: "The best safeguard of peace is our ability to fight."

THE CONCILIATION DEPARTMENT.

The report of the Committee on Conciliation, presented by its Chairman, Charles A. Moore, to the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation, was a striking exhibit of effective prevention of industrial conflicts during the past year. The record is one for congratulation. The work involves such confidences and affects such delicate relations that its publication might impair the future effectiveness of the committee.

AN HISTORIC GATHERING.

(Continued from page 7.)

and Labor.' I believe that fully represents the feeling which has always existed between us, and I know of no reason why, if just consideration is given by one to the other, these relations should not be those of labor and capital everywhere.

"I do not believe at all in this theory of an irrepressible conflict between them. I am happy in the belief, on the contrary, that industrial peace in this country is more nearly at hand than is generally supposed. There will always, doubtless, be differences more or less acute between individual employers and their employes, but such serious and widespread disturbances as have occurred during recent years, threatening the general peace and welfare, will, I believe, in the not distant future, become a thing of the past in this country.

"I also believe that the accomplishment of this result will be largely due to what, in the opinion of many, was the chief cause of the violent disturbances referred to, viz., the organization of labor. Before the time when labor became thoroughly organized, wages and working hours in this country were far from what they should be, and the conditions which then surrounded working men and women would to-day be deemed intolerable. Perfection has not yet been attained,—far from it. Labor will ultimately receive a still larger share of the joint proceeds, and capital will have to content itself with less; but a great advance has been made.

"Organized labor has increased wages to the benefit, not to the injury, of the general public; it has shortened the hours of work, not to the advantage of working men and women alone, but of the community at large; it is fast doing away with child labor, to the ultimate improvement of the race, both physically and morally; it has caused the enactment of laws which make it comparatively safe to work in factory and mine when formerly death was always waiting for its victim; it has, in many of the States, amended the fellow-servant law so that the responsibility for death or injury by accident is placed where it rightly belongs. It has so educated public opinion that it is no longer reputable for one man to buy the labor of another as he would merchandise, at the lowest obtainable price, with no other restriction than the supplying of the means of bare existence; it has, in a hundred ways, improved the conditions of working men and women.

"I say that organized labor has done these things. They would have, perhaps, been done in time without it, but the progress would have been slow and halting, with many a backward step.

"As it is, organized labor, while its work is not completed, and perhaps never will be, has removed or greatly lessened the most serious causes of discontent, and thus made possible an industrial peace

which otherwise could not and should not exist. It has also demonstrated to the employer that it is neither wise, profitable, nor safe to defy a public opinion which demands for the workers safe and healthful surroundings and a fair day's wage for a fair day's work.

"In bringing about these results, its methods have not always been commendable; quite the contrary has at times been true. But it is better in the end that disease should be eradicated even by unnecessarily harsh methods. I believe thoroughly that, notwithstanding all the strife and bitterness and injustice that has at times marked the course of organized labor, it has paved the way for an early coming of industrial peace in this country which, but for it, would be long delayed.

"That this is so is owing in no small degree to the able, honest, and unselfish leadership of some of its representatives present here to-night. (Applause.) God grant that they may be strong enough and big enough to put aside all personal ambition, all thought of personal aggrandizement, and continue to use the power their position and the devotion of their followers gives them to seek only the right, with charity, and so hasten the end of strife.

"Amongst the obstacles in the way of an early establishment of industrial peace, there are two which seem to me of prime importance, and in speaking of these I may give offense to some of those present. One is the insistence upon the part of some unions for what is commonly known as 'the closed shop.' I know that these unions say that is a misnomer, but it represents the conception by the general public as to what is demanded. It is not my purpose to discuss this matter now, but merely to read the statement of two members of organized labor as reported some time since in the public press, which statements seem to me to breathe the true American spirit and to be unanswerable. One of these is reported to have been made by a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the other by Mr. Warren S. Stone, Chief of that Brotherhood, who is present, and can correct the statement if he is incorrectly reported.

"A representative member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is quoted as follows in an interview given to the 'New York Tribune':

We wish it to be distinctly understood that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers takes the stand that, as our forefathers gave us all equal rights we have no right to decide that we will not work with non-union men. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers or its members as a body never said that they should work with none but members of the Brotherhood. What we have insisted on, and will always insist on, is that the standard of union wages be observed all along, whether the men be union or non-union men. We hold that a non-union man has as good a right to work as a union man, if he gets the same wages.

"This declaration was supplemented by the following statement by Mr. Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood:

That is true, and it applies not only to the Engineers but also to the four railroad Brotherhoods. In this respect we differ from most of the other trade and labor assemblies. The Constitution of the United States guarantees every man a right to work, and the railroad Brotherhoods have never objected to working with non-union men so long as they were paid union wages and worked under union conditions.

"Now, there is one thing I would like to say right here. In my early manhood I passed a great deal of time in the Hocking Valley, and I saw a great deal of the miners, and was very much interested in their conditions. I made up my mind then, and the conviction has grown with the years, that however it might be elsewhere, so far as the mines were concerned it was better, not only for the miner but for all the operators, that every workman in the mines in this country should be a member of the miners' union.

"The second obstacle in the way of peace to which I referred is the veiled, but in my judgment apparent, purpose of some—not all—of the several employers' associations to disrupt and break up entirely labor organizations. None of them, so far as I know, openly avow such a purpose at this time,—they sometimes, indeed, deny it,—but it is impossible to read their literature and the speeches of those most influential in their organizations without being convinced that such purpose, however concealed for the present, nevertheless exists.

"Any effort in that direction, in my judgment, will be futile, and should be. When united action of the workers is no longer necessary to secure justice, unionism will cease; but that time has not yet arrived. While public opinion is improving and is coming more and more to the laborer's side, while instances multiply of just and kindly relations existing between the employer and the employed, proving by their results the benefits to each of the recognition of the rights of the other, and making in some cases unions unessential; yet in a majority of cases union organization is still necessary in order to secure just wages, and what is of equal, if not greater, importance to American workmen, the acknowledgment of equal manhood. (Applause.)

"As I said some years ago upon an occasion similar to this, the onward march of labor cannot be permanently prevented. The overwhelming weight

of public opinion is on its side, and will be as long as it seeks its rights in lawful ways. Let the laboring man remember that liberty under the form of law is his greatest earthly inheritance; of more importance to him than it is to the rich. Let him be careful, as careful of the rights of others as he is of his own, and in the end he will surely be triumphant, helping the coming of that day, which may God speed, when strikes and lock-outs shall be no more, because all men shall recognize the obligations that pertain to the universal brotherhood of man." (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman:—"I am sure we shall all be interested in hearing a few remarks from a representative of, I think, the largest holding of mining in this or any other country,—a gentleman who believes in trade agreements, and who has done much to help reach the full fruition of the idea for which the National Civic Federation stands. I refer to Mr. Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburgh Coal Company." (Applause.)

Mr. Francis L. Robbins:—"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I am not going to attempt at this late hour to make a speech, and yet if I did not say something it might be misunderstood. Jointly with Mr. Mitchell, as Chairman of the Joint Trade Agreement Committee, of the National Civic Federation, and having represented for a great many years the mining industry on the part of the operators, as he has upon the part of the miners, and therefore speaking not as a mere theorist but from actual practice and actual knowledge, I believe that the interests of capital and labor are reciprocal, and that they are best served by combinations of capital and by organizations of labor. I believe so, because I think it is far more advantageous, far more profitable to deal with the leaders of organized labor than with the rank and file. Leadership tends to conservatism. It makes men think, and because of that, because of the conservatism of the leaders who have preceded Mr. Mitchell,—and none of them was his superior,—the joint trade agreement between operators and miners stands to-day as the most representative trade agreement of this or any other country. I can bear witness to the fairness with which we have met Mr. Mitchell and his colleagues. The interests have been very large. At times there has been a great tension, but at no time was there ever an intimation on the part of either side that the other was not desirous of doing what, in his interest, he felt represented his rights.

"There is another organization which we meet in like manner,—the 'Longshoremen's union, of which Mr. Keefe is the worthy president. In each organization, by unanimous vote, it has been declared that any agreement that was reached should be inviolate, and that under no pretext whatever should any sympathetic strike occur.

"As far as our companies are concerned, the old saying that corporations have no souls is certainly not true, because we have endeavored to and have introduced the profit-sharing system with our employes, which has been most favorably received and has been of great benefit. We have also aided in a death and accident association, in which the company and the men jointly provide for death and accident funds. We are also jointly building up a pension fund, so that to-day in our great army of employes, stretching from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, in every port, and on nearly every craft upon the river, and stretching over all the Great Lakes and in every important port of all the Great Lakes, there is not to-day a single disagreement between the company and its employes. (Applause.) In this way we have endeavored to do our share in wiping out that scathing indictment,—scathing because it is true: 'Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,' and we have supplied the other doctrine in place of it: 'Peace and good-will to our fellow-men.'" (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"Gentlemen, as I stated a few moments ago, we have a number of gentlemen from whom, of course, we should all like to hear, but the hour is growing late. There is one gentleman who has traveled all the way from Detroit to be with us this evening,—a representative of labor,—and I shall call upon him now. He is a gentleman who is dealing with a most important industry, or rather a most important traffic. Mr. William D. Mahon, president of the street railway men's organization of America." (Applause.)

Mr. William D. Mahon:—"I want first to correct the Toastmaster. I did not travel from Detroit. I left New Orleans to attend this meeting, and I put in some forty-eight hours' hard riding to try and be present at this meeting, and arrived here late tonight. With a great deal of anxiety I traveled all this day, and I want to assure the Archbishop that I fasted all day, because we missed our connection and had no dinner. (Laughter.) My reasons for wanting to be present were that I have been connected with this organization for some time, and I had an anxiety as to its future. We have lost our distinguished president, Mr. Hanna, since the last meeting that I attended, and I was worrying as to who would lead this organization in the future. It

so happened that the late president was a street railroad man, and I worried about the future of the organization for fear they would not select proper officers. But when I arrived here to-night I was highly satisfied. I found they had chosen another railroad man to direct the future of the organization. (Applause.) So my anxiety was all for nothing. But I think it was due to my prayers during the day, while I fasted, that the committee made their wise decision, and selected the gentleman they have to represent us during the coming year.

"I realize that the hour is late; but it is a little later than this that we street car men usually hold our meetings. We usually hold them until four



HENRY C. POTTER,
Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.

o'clock in the morning. So I am prepared to hold you here from now until four o'clock. (Laughter.)

"I am pleased to be at this meeting and to have listened to the gentleman who preceded the last speaker, Mr. Kilbourne. I remember, years ago, the first attempt that I made to address a public meeting in defence of trade-unionism. The distinguished gentleman, Mr. Kilbourne, was chairman of that meeting. He expressed the same sentiments then that he has to-night, and it is gratifying to find such men engaged in this work. (Applause.) The world has not gone to pieces yet. There are some men, on both sides of the fence, who are interested in its future welfare, and they are working hard for it.

"I was told, after coming here to-night, that the subject for discussion was the question of industrial peace. I was gratified to know that was the subject up for discussion. I was also gratified to hear the president-elect say, 'peace with honor.' I assure you, upon the part of those I represent and the trades-union men of our nation, we are interested in industrial peace, the industrial peace with honor to all alike, regardless of whether we are captains of industry or the toilers of the land. Archbishop Ireland said that it was no disgrace to be poor, but those of us who happen to be on that side of the line find it, sometimes at least, disagreeable. Yet with all of that, with all our environments, we never forget that we are American citizens, striving, not for wealth, not for riches, but to improve our conditions as American citizens; and I assure you, upon the part of the wage-earners of this country, of whom I know something, and whom, in my lifetime, I have come in contact with, and worked with, that the great army of labor is also interested in industrial peace,—interested in seeing the wheels of progress roll on, and men rise higher and higher to better conditions.

"So, my friends, I congratulate this organization to-night upon its good work in the past. The Civic Federation has done a good work, and at this time, when there are rumors of war and of strife between men of capital and the men of labor, this organization stands out as a bright star, pointing the way to true industrial peace. I have not time to relate the good work which I know the Civic Federation has done for the cause of labor and the cause of capital jointly, but it is doing a noble work, and upon the shoulders of the men engaged in this movement rests the future, under the circumstances and conditions that now surround us, of leading both capital and labor to a better understanding, and the establishment of industrial peace in our country.

"I have just come from a long campaign. Seven weeks ago I left my office, and I have been among the workers of this nation from that time until to-night. Once in a while we condescend to associate with you captains of industry, and this is one of the occasions. (Laughter.) There are times when we would hesitate to meet you. I know something of the feelings that exist. A few nights ago, after closing

an address at a public mass meeting largely attended, there came to my room in the hotel a committee of earnest men. They came to talk of the industrial conditions, of the threatenings of the Citizens' Alliance. I listened to their story attentively, and when they had got through I said, 'Gentlemen, now be collected; do not have any alarm. First of all, realize this fact: We have got our organizations; we have established them after a long and hard-fought battle. They are here. They are here to stay. We have not only our organizations, but we have our labor press. Every organization controls—or almost every one—a journal. We have got our batteries back of us to defend our position. We have established them in the face of opposition, and they are here to stay. You cannot remove them.' Their proposition was that, on account of the alarming situation, we form secret organizations and do battle against the opposition. I said, 'Gentlemen, no. We want no secret organizations. We are American citizens. Our rights are clearly prescribed by the Constitution of our land. We are interested in its welfare. Every act, and all we do, we have no objection to any man knowing. Our doors are open. We lay everything bare to the world. We need not establish any such organizations, and I will tell you why: Because, gentlemen, the leading men of industry are not engaged in any such a movement. They recognize in this industrial age, in this industrial hour, the necessity of an organization. They form their organizations, and the broad-minded men, the broad-minded representatives of capital, recognize and concede to us the right to organize. That is the organization that will lead and will direct the forces of capital and the forces of labor, and it will go on with its work, its influence and its efforts when the Citizens' Alliance shall sleep in its unknown and forgotten grave.' (Applause.) So I said to them, 'Gentlemen, do nothing of the kind, but stand up for the rights of your organization. Stand up as manfully in the future as you have in the past. Let the leaders of your organization direct its affairs, and you will find them around the consultation boards settling the questions with the leading representatives of organized capital in this nation.'

"So I say to you, my friends, this is my faith in the Civic Federation, and that is the work that is before it to-day. And that is the work it is doing. I doubt if half of you realize the great work that has been done by the few men in this organization,—such men as my friend Kilbourne, such men as MacVeagh and others have done, secretly and unknown. The good work has gone on, and I say to you, if we all determine here to-night to put our shoulders to the wheel, to work as men interested in the welfare of our nation, in the welfare of our homes and our firesides, we will bring industrial peace with honor that will be a credit to this great nation, and the great people that we are so proud of, that we are part and parcel of. There is work, let me say, for all of you, whether you are on the side of labor or of capital. We only want what is fair; we only want what is just.

"I have not time, nor would I take it at this late hour, to attempt to tell you the work of the trade-unions. I know what they have done. I read one article, which I commented on in a speech the other night, which told me volumes as to what the trade-unions are doing, and I thought of it when my friend representing the coal mining industry was speaking a moment ago. The other day it was announced that 2,500 children, under the legal age of 14 years, would be taken from the mines of Illinois and forced to go to schools. (Applause.) I wish that such a law might have been in effect thirty years ago, and then I might have had an education, and I might have been a Belmont, or something like him. (Laughter.) My friends, we have volumes to argue in favor of trades-unions and our organizations and their movement. Do not misunderstand us. We are going to stand by them and, if forced to, we are going to fight for them; but, on the other hand, we stand ready as the representatives of our organizations, as business men and as citizens of this great republic, to meet you around the consultation board, and there to represent our organizations, and,—let me say to Mr. Kilbourne and others,—there to fight out the question of the open or of the closed shop. We do not come to fight it out here. We will discuss that with our employers. We will settle that question with them. The press of this country, the pulpits—no one else can settle that. We will settle that within our own organizations, and with our own employers, around our consultation boards. (Applause.)

"I say to you, friends, again, we are standing for peace, as the chairman of this meeting said, 'honorable peace'—the peace that shall be granted to American citizens, men striving for the rights of their homes and their firesides. That we stand for in our organizations. That we shall insist upon—a fair interpretation of all that peace means. And when that is granted to us you will find us side by side—you, the representatives of capital; we, the representatives of labor. We recognize that the great army of men and women must always be the brawlers of wood and the drawers of water, but we insist upon civil-

ized conditions for them, and when that is granted you will find us in harmony with you for peace." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"As I have already indicated, I shall call upon a gentleman well known to us all, one whose great attainments and whose great work commend themselves to our earnest consideration,—the great president of that great seat of learning, the University of Harvard, President Elliot." (Applause.)

President Elliot:—"Mr. President and Gentlemen: I am very sensible that I have been listening to oratory on this subject for thirteen hours to-day,—(laughter)—and therefore I propose to be extremely



JAMES DUNCAN,
Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union.

brief. I have the honor to represent in the constitution of the National Civic Federation a vague body known as the public. (Laughter.) It is, however, a body very much larger than all the labor-union men and all the employers in the country. (Laughter and applause.) It is a body at the lowest estimate five times as large as all the union men and all the union men's families and all the employers and all their families. (Laughter.) The total number of the employers, the union men, and their families, in the United States does not exceed 20,000,000. The population of this country approaches, if it does not surpass, 80,000,000. I say, therefore, that I have the honor to represent three-quarters of the American people. (Laughter and applause.)

"Now, I have heard all day and many days before about this strife to which one-quarter of the American people seems to be committed, but where did these two combatants get their power to fight? Where did they get it? They got it exclusively from the fact that free institutions have been created in this country. (Applause.) It is only about fifty years since the first corporation was established in England with limited liability in industry,—only about fifty years. The first American corporation with limited liability,—and that is the root of all corporate action, of course,—was created a few years earlier in this country. But it has only been about fifty years since the liberty was given which has created the army of the employed and the opposing army of the employers. This is a very recent phenomenon, indeed, in the history of the world, and this power of association came to us out of the public liberties of England and America.

"Now, I say that we want something more than industrial peace as the result of the conflicts between these two minorities of the American people; and we want something more than peace with honor, the honor of the combatant: we want peace with liberty. (Applause.) Now, the closed shop and the boycott and the union label will never give us peace with liberty. (Applause.) Never! Those are the means of building up the monopolies. The monopoly of a labor-union is perfect when the union has succeeded; the monopoly of a trust is perfect when it has succeeded. And we have conspicuous examples of the perfect success of both these monopolies in this country. I say, therefore, speaking for the American public,—three-quarters of the American people,—that we want to get out of this Civic Federation peace with liberty, as well as peace with honor. Liberty gave you, the combatants, your chance to fight. Let liberty regulate freedom. Let liberty regulate monopoly. There are a great many natural and inevitable monopolies, and there are a number of gentlemen in this room who are creating with all their might artificial monopolies. (Laughter.) Now, let liberty,—which we all, I trust, love,—deal with those monopolies.

"In the little State of Massachusetts we have

learned how to deal with some monopolies,—railroads, for example,—steam railroads, electric railroads, gas companies, electric light companies. We have learned, I say, how to deal with them. Now, free institutions must learn to deal with all monopolies which are concerned with the necessities of life. These necessities are plainly food, fuel, light, transportation,—we have got to learn to deal by the national government with all those monopolies, and because the monopolies themselves are national in scope. And I am very thankful to see that the present government of the United States is beginning to think how it can deal with a monopoly—the monopoly of transportation. There is the way in



H. H. VREELAND,
President N. Y. City Railway Co.

which progress lies. There is the way where peace lies, and honor, and freedom." (Applause.)

The Chairman:—"Gentlemen: May I ask your indulgence for a moment? I desire to make just one remark which I believe I ought to make, and that is that the laborer for centuries has been a slave until he has developed into a wage-earner and a free American citizen; that any associated effort that shall give the laborer a shorter work-day,—which means larger leisure, more opportunities for the cultivation of his mind and his body, more opportunity to devote his attention to the well-being of himself and his fellows and his family,—any associated effort that shall tend to the uplifting of the wage-earner must of necessity tend to the improvement of the conditions of all the people; and that this means larger liberty and opportunity; that there is no such thing possible as the improved material conditions of the working people involving slavery or the loss of freedom; that freedom, as Heine has put it, is bread; that bread is freedom, and that without bread there is no such thing as freedom and liberty. I would not feel called upon to say this, were it not that the statement made this evening was a repetition of one made to-day, upon which I felt then called upon to express my dissent. I have at this time nothing further to say, and regret that I even felt the necessity of making the remarks that I have.

"I want to thank you for your attendance here this evening. It is good that even these differences of opinion should come up. An exchange of opinion, even though we differ, brings forth the best that is within us and leads to a better conclusion. I am glad and proud of my citizenship in this republic; proud of President Eliot,—(applause)—proud of his independence and his freedom to express his views as he holds them. I am proud of my right as an American citizen to express my dissent from the views of so profound a scholar and thinker.

"Again I want to thank you all for your attendance this evening. I am sure that this assemblage this evening, and our meeting to-day, will contribute much toward the bringing about of better relations between not only the employer and the worker, but between all our people; and after all, that is the great purpose for which we are associated.

"I thank you all for your attendance, and bid you all good-night." (Applause.)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BUSINESS.

Proceedings at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Central Body of the National Civic Federation.

The Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation held its fourth annual meeting in the Park Avenue Hotel, Dec. 15, 1904, amid circumstances of unusual interest. The meeting attracted general attention because of the growing appreciation on the part of the public of the scope and work of the organization.

There was wide popular interest and some concern as to the selection of a President to succeed the lamented Marcus A. Hanna. The business transacted by the Executive Committee disclosed an extension of the activities of the Civic Federation in many directions, and developed broad plans for the future. Andrew Carnegie received warm greetings upon this, his first attendance at a meeting of the Executive Committee, since his election last Spring.

The Executive Committee received and referred the reports of the Chairman of the Executive Council and of the Chairmen of the several Departments; elected August Belmont as President, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Marcus A. Hanna, and elected the other general officers; discussed favorably the formation of the new Department of Industrial Economics; amended the by-laws so as to define the Executive Council as consisting of the officers and heads of departments, having the direction of affairs of the National Civic Federation between the meetings of the Executive Committee. The recommendations in the various reports, referred to the Executive Council, included the appointment of a special committee to study the situation presented by the simultaneous expiration in 1906 of the trade agreements in the bituminous and anthracite fields; an inquiry and public report into alleged conspiracies against the public interest in the building trades; the formation of Trade Sections for the special study of labor questions in particular industries; the organization of branches in seven industrial centers, covering the entire country; the employment of conciliation commissioners, an organizer, a business manager for the MONTHLY REVIEW and a Secretary of the Department of Industrial Economics, and the creation of an International Industrial Committee. The financial report was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, and an auditing committee, consisting of V. Everit Macy, Franklin MacVeagh and Daniel J. Keefe, was appointed, at the request of the Chairman of the Executive Council, to examine the accounts of his office.

The following resolution, presented by Marcus M. Marks, was, on motion of Oscar S. Straus, referred to a committee composed of Mr. Marks, Charles W. Eliot, John Mitchell, H. H. Vreeland and Mr. Straus:

"WHEREAS our practical experience has proven that most labor troubles originate from misunderstandings caused in many cases by misconception of the terms in ordinary use in the labor world by either employers or workers, or both; and believing that education is the greatest power in helping to solve the labor problem,

"RESOLVED, That the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation recommend that the schools throughout the country add to their curriculum, as soon as feasible, a short course of instruction on the labor question, and that free lectures on this subject be generally encouraged."

The Executive Committee transacted its business at morning and afternoon sessions, at which nearly all the members were present. The election of officers was effected during the annual dinner in the evening, the guests participating in the election, which was unanimous. The Committee on Nominations, appointed at the semi-annual meeting of the Executive Committee in May, was composed of the following:

Employers—Franklin MacVeagh, Francis L. Robbins and Charles H. Taylor, Jr.

Labor—John Mitchell, Daniel J. Keefe and P. H. Morrissey.

Public—Right Rev. Henry C. Potter, Isaac N. Seligman and V. Everit Macy.

To these were added, at the morning session of the Executive Committee on December 15: Employer—William H. Pfahler; Labor—Warren S. Stone; Public—Archbishop John Ireland.

The complete list of officers reported by this committee and unanimously elected appears in the report of the dinner.

Among those who addressed the Executive Committee, during its morning and afternoon sessions, were Samuel Gompers, 1st Vice-President, who presided during the business sessions; Samuel Mather, of Cleveland; P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland; Andrew Carnegie, New York; John P. Freye, Editor of the "Iron Molders' Journal," Cincinnati; Charles A. Moore, New York; William H. Pfahler, former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia; Oscar S. Straus, 2nd Vice-President, New York; Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburgh Coal Company; James O'Connell, President of the International Association of Machinists, Washington; Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland.

By invitation there were present several members of the Executive Committee of the Welfare Department, including John S. Huyler, President of Huyler's, New York; Harold F. McCormick, Vice-President International Harvester Company, Chicago; B. J. Greenbut, Treasurer Siegel-Cooper Company, New York; Edward A. Filene, Treasurer William Filene's Sons Company, Boston; Henry L. Higginson, head of the banking firm of Lee, Higginson & Co., Boston; James Kilbourne, President The Kilbourne & Jacobs Manufacturing Company, Columbus, Ohio.

The several reports received by the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation appear in this issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS.

Organization of a New Department of the National Civic Federation for the Study and Elucidation of Industrial Problems.

The formal organization of the Department of Industrial Economics was begun at a meeting of its members, immediately following the afternoon session of the Executive Committee. In adjourning that body, Vice-President Gompers announced the first



WARREN S. STONE,
Grand Chief Locomotive Engineers.

meeting of the new Department, and at his suggestion Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, was made the Chairman of the preliminary meeting. Oscar S. Straus explained that the purpose of the meeting was to consider the possibilities of the Department and to take steps toward its practical operation in the elucidation of industrial problems.

Dr. Eliot said in part:

"This Department, as is obvious from its composition, is intended to give instruction to the public, in the first place, as to the facts of industrial strife. I have always felt that one of the calamities attending this strife was the secrecy of it; the separation of the public from the discussions and debates which take place among the separate contending parties, until the strife actually breaks out in view of the public. Now, this Department of the Civic Federation is going to be the means of giving great publicity to all the elements of industrial strife, and I for one believe that the Civic Federation, in its Executive Committee to a man, believes that publicity will be an enormous gain for the general movement in promoting industrial peace. We see in this Department a strong means for a just and rational publicity. We also see in this new Department the means of educating public opinion in the reasoning of the trade-union on the one hand and of the employers' association on the other. The conditions of the industrial strife are very new since the Civic Federation came into existence. The organization of employers is now attended with the firmness and comprehensiveness which before characterized the organization of labor-unions. Under these new conditions, the public needs to be informed concerning the reasoning and the sentiments of both parties to this strife. Here are a hundred or more men in this Department, who will have the means of putting before the public both reasoning and sentiment, and thereby leading public opinion on this greatest of public questions,—far greater than any political question now before the country, far greater than any probable or discernible question of foreign warfare, because this warfare is at home, and because it touches in the most intimate way the very truest interests of human society."

It was announced that there had been received one hundred acceptances of membership in the Department, but that it had not been practicable to gather all the members at this preliminary meeting. Upon motion, the acting Chairman of the meeting, Dr. Eliot, was authorized to appoint an executive committee to take charge of the work of the Department, and to arrange the time of holding the meetings and the topics to be discussed.

Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, head of the Department of Political Economy in Columbia University, in response to a request for his view of the work of the Department, said:

"It is the fact that the great ideas which guide a

movement are not always realized at the time. Mr. Straus in his remarks spoke of modesty on the part of the Executive Committee and of the Federation in general. So far as I venture to represent the guild of economists, of which there are far more prominent representatives here to-day, I would say that we are much more inclined to be modest, because it is precisely in dealing with these great questions of industrial economics, of the relations between capital and labor, that economists have in the past perhaps made their most significant and signal blunders; and now, perhaps, we have been recalled to a sense of what is a little more near the truth, so that I think it will be found that the economist is willing to learn from men



CHARLES A. MOORE,
Manufacturer of Machinery.

of affairs and practical men on both sides.

"In all great industrial questions there are two points. One is a knowledge of the facts,—something which is absolutely necessary to the solution of any problem, economic or otherwise. The other point is the attitude. What attitude are you to take as to the facts? Now, the great value of economists, as I understand it, and the only excuse for their presence in such a body as this, is that they are not themselves conversant with the facts, but must learn them from the men intimately acquainted with the question,—the employers and the employees. But what the economist and thinker can do is to give you an attitude, a way of looking at things which comes from their habit of regarding every action in industrial and social life from the point of view of what has happened before, namely, the historical point of view.

"If there is anything that is home in upon the student of the labor problem, it is that all changes come by imperceptible gradations. Those who live in a certain age are almost unable to see the changes that are going on. It is only after the lapse of a decade, or a century, or a period, that we can see that we have really made great progress; and that is the reason the economist is declared to be a conservative, for it is born in the fact that from his study of history he perceives that all changes are the result of small and almost imperceptible steps."

C. T. Root, Editor of the "Dry Goods Economist," and John A. Sletcher, Editor of "Leslie's Weekly," dwelt upon the value of publicity in elucidating industrial questions.

Prof. F. W. Taussig, of Harvard University, expressed his confidence that economists can approach the subject from the point of view of what conduces to the prosperity of the community. He said that economists in dealing with the labor question are hampered by a lack of familiarity with the constantly changing facts and rapid development of the situation; but that they have one advantage, and that is the sincere desire to contribute to the welfare of the whole community. That should be the constant purpose of this Department.

Chairman Elliot, in adjourning the meeting, stated that he would announce the Executive Committee of the new Department after careful consideration.

REPORT OF CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

By Ralph M. Easley.

The past year has been the most successful in the history of the National Civic Federation. It has witnessed marked progress in the growth of the organization and a higher and wider conception of its scope and plan. Moreover, it has been a year of recovery from depression in the industrial world. A revival of production, consumption and exchange now brightens the skies of the future. We meet amid conditions in sharp contrast to those of a year ago. Then the outlook was oppressively gloomy. A large

part of our discussion turned upon the prospect of general reductions of wages as well as a threatened increase in the number of the unemployed, during a period of general depression whose effects were already apparent. But that period has passed without serious or general disaster. The tide of industry has turned toward prosperity, and material reasons multiply for making still more numerous contracts of peace such as have successfully withstood the trials of the recent past.

What progress has been made since a year ago in the general cause of industrial peace? I believe that it has been such that it would rejoice the soul of our late President could he be with us to-day.

Never before have there been so many evidences of the growth of a spirit of broad conservatism on the part of large employers and on the part of organized labor. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor throughout its proceedings presented to the country the spectacle of the chosen representatives of nearly 2,000,000 wage-earners repressing radicals and fanatics and giving to the serious questions involved in the labor problem, not the limited view of partisans, but the broad, careful consideration of economists. This is a high estimate to make of any body chosen from the ranks of a very large and democratic organization, subject to all the prejudices of locality and the inherited resentments of past conflicts and laboring at the same time under the necessity of maintaining a militant attitude. But that the estimate is not exaggerated will be acknowledged by any candid observer of the actions of that convention, as indeed it has been generally conceded by a not always unprejudiced press. The millions of lives dependent upon the vigilant efficiency of more than a million engineers, trainmen, signalmen and trackmen are made safer by the discipline and conservatism of the great railway brotherhoods.

On the other hand, the employers who have to deal with large masses of workers in the great basic industries and in the largest enterprises exhibit a constantly growing disposition to approach questions of labor in a spirit of justice. Such employers relax not a whit the zealous fidelity with which they administer vast investments. But these great captains of industry appreciate that intelligent and fair adjustment of the relations between capital and labor is not inconsistent with the prosperity of their enterprises, but actually conducive to their success. The report of our Department of Trade Agreements, whose membership represents on one side hundreds of millions of active capital and, on the other side, millions of wage-earners, affords concrete results of this spirit. The report of our Department of Conciliation reveals a most gratifying readiness among large employers to respond to its overtures for face-to-face conference as a method of adjusting or averting controversies with bodies of employees.

The report of our Department of Welfare Work shows a growing appreciation among employers of the importance and the obligation of improving the physical, mental and moral conditions of workers. Many employers have come into touch with the National Civic Federation through this Department, who would not have become affiliated through any other branch of its work. That antipathy to our general policy has been changed into sympathy through this Department will be indicated by the presence of several such employers at our annual dinner to-night.

Our conception of the mission of this organization has widened. We have all learned that the great purpose of the National Civic Federation is not alone to settle strikes and lock-outs, but to reach and disclose the sources of industrial disturbances and to search for their remedies. The settlement of a strike or lock-out may not prevent its recurrence; but the process is educational to all the participants. Fundamental truths should be our further aim. We strive for peace, but we would ascertain and make clear the underlying causes of war. We must study the phenomena of incessant readjustment of wages, profits and prices. Behind these lie economic laws, whose reading varies widely from different points of view. It is our task to examine first the facts and to make deductions afterward. These studies should be for the elucidation of the public at large as well as of those directly concerned.

It is a significant and encouraging sign that from all sides rings a demand for economic education. This cry comes from the extremists as well as from the conservatives. Those associations composed of employers hostile to trade-unions and "citizens' alliances" prone to the vigilante method of settling honest differences of opinion are incessantly proclaiming the importance of education. Simultaneously, the American Federation of Labor has formally adopted the policy of introducing systematic instruction in social, political and industrial economy throughout its 25,000 local unions; while the periodicals of the railway brotherhoods and of the mechanical occupations are filled with valuable technical articles designed to enhance the practical skill and earning capacity of their readers. All of the crusade against child labor, as well as the movement for the shorter work-day, have the importance of education, as well as of sound physique, as their primary justification.

This demand for education must be met. But with what meat shall this hunger for knowledge be fed? Shall it receive the fads, vagaries and utopian theories of sentimental sociologists and unsound economists? Or shall it receive the sound and nutritious pabulum of whatever economic science the experience of all civilization has been able to evolve?

The relations between capital and labor must be studied through their phenomena; but it would be superficial to observe only the concrete fact without discovering its relation to a general and controlling principle. A fact that excites frequent and vehement objection is the placing of artificial restrictions by union labor. Many of these restrictions may ap-



JAMES KILBOURNE,
Kilbourne & Jacobs Mfg. Co.

pear arbitrary, unfair, and even ridiculous, but there is back of nearly every one of them a reason, whether good or bad, that has its root in some fear that the permanence of and compensation for employment are imperiled. For example, the limitation of apprentices is to prevent the overcrowding of the craft. In other words, the impulse against destructive competition underlies this restriction. But when we thus arrive at competition, we advance from the single fact of restricted apprenticeship into a wide range of phenomena.

That excessive competition is an evil is recognized by every one when it occurs in his own business. It is recognized by capitalists, by farmers, by the professional classes and by wage-earners. The epithets used to describe it testify to the dislike of it. Excessive competition is "destructive," "unfair," and "cut-throat." The "price-cutter," "underseller," and "re-bate giver" are as unprincipled in the eyes of the merchant and railroad manager as the "non-unionist" and "scab" in the eyes of the trade-unionist. When excessive competition occurs in the field of capital, it shows its havoc by depression of trade, long and risky credits, bankruptcy, and "demoralization." When it occurs in the field of labor, its consequences are the sweating system, long hours, low wages, the "exploitation" of labor, unsanitary and dangerous work places, miserable homes and other phases of poverty. And the two series of results are usually found together, for the ruin of the employer's business means the destruction of employment and the exploitation of labor means the survival of the unscrupulous employer.

Volumes might be filled with accounts of the efforts and methods both of capitalists and laborers to do away with destructive competition. And interesting enough is the fact that the methods of the two classes are similar. They all agree not to compete with their fellows beyond a certain point and to deal effectively with those who will not join in the agreement. The capitalists call themselves an "association," an "exchange," a "pool," a "corporation," or a "trust," and the workmen commonly call themselves a "union." The capitalist organizations, of course, differ widely in details, but so do the unions. All originate in what they consider the absolute necessity of preventing ruinous competition, and all are open to the temptation of carrying their methods, which originate in self-protection, over into monopoly and public menace. They have all been legislated against in varying degrees of penalty. They have been haled before the courts, and the courts have handed down hopelessly contradictory decisions. They have been sustained in one State and overthrown in another, and the same courts have reversed themselves, leaving the ultimate policy of the country toward combinations unsettled. Whether they are criminal is not our present concern. We are exercised only with the economic fact that they have sprung into being to meet the real evil of mutual destruction through over-competition.

Thus we have seen that an isolated fact,—the restriction of apprentices,—when its relation to an underlying motive is discovered, leads to the operation, in both capital and labor, of a tremendous and far-reaching principle. If we were to treat of such other isolated facts as the open or closed shop, or the boycott, or the restriction of machinery, or piece-work and day-work, or the shorter work-day, or wages and cost of living, or trade agreements, we would arrive at the more general and immensely more important problem presented by the operation, throughout our industrial and social system, of the same principle.

It may well be asked, in view of these universal efforts to regulate or eliminate competition, What is to be the outcome? and, What should be the policy of the general public toward combinations? We may



WILLIAM H. PFAHLER,
Stove Manufacturer.

ask, Shall all combinations be suppressed and all industries be compelled to submit to the unregulated competition of anarchism? or, Shall these combinations continue to grow and competition be entirely eliminated in the state of socialism? If neither of these extremes should be followed, what shall be the middle ground where competition may continue without being destructive and where the public shall not be exploited by monopoly of capital or monopoly of labor?

The eternal presence of these questions, so vital to all society and to the progress of civilization, invites the most searching and devoted study. If they are insoluble and irreducible, there may be found adjustments that would prove effective so far as they accord with principles. It is for the ascertainment of these principles that the new Department of Industrial Economics has been organized. This addition to our educational agencies should prove the most comprehensive and far-reaching movement ever inaugurated for economic education. Its membership comprises the editors of the daily press and of politico-social magazines, trade papers and labor journals, economic and legal authors, the clergy, lecturers, financial and commercial experts, and university professors of political economy. Their interchange of thought will lead them, as they in turn will lead the public, to a better comprehension of the interwoven problems that they will examine.

Trade Sections.

I wish to renew my recommendation of last year for the working out of trade sections. I am more and more convinced, as I examine this subject, that along that line is going to be some of our most valuable constructive work.

In the metal trades, the problems that arise receive a significance of their own from the fact that there is an intimate connection between the methods of production in this country and the limitation to our so-called invasion of Europe, of which we are hearing so much.

In the building trades, or the public service corporations, the question of competition with Germany and England is not important, but in the surplus manufactured products which must win in competition with the rest of the world, there must be care that no handicaps are to be placed on the manufacturer at home.

This does not mean that the American machinist and molder and blacksmith and boilermaker, and other metal trade craftsmen shall be rushed to death by pacc-makers, or shall compete in wages with the low-priced labor of Europe.

But it does mean that any arbitrary restriction whose purpose is to increase the number of jobs, should be removed.

There is so much to be said on both sides of the problems arising between employe and employer in

the metal trades, that only conferences of men thoroughly familiar with all the technical conditions can make much headway in dealing with the evils, real or fancied.

The labor problems to be met and treated in the manufacture of textiles are totally dissimilar from those in the building trades, or in the metal trades, or in the street railway service, or in mining, or in the reduction of iron and steel. The construction of a building necessitates industrial relations whose adjustment is especially delicate and difficult. There are involved as many as thirty-seven highly organized crafts and an equal number of employers' associations. There must be considered the interdependent relations of the several crafts, including jurisdiction of disputes that arise with almost every improvement and invention and that concern the masters as frequently as the men. The thorough organization of both employers and workers in the building trades in all large cities places their relations in a distinct class. The relations of labor to public service corporations are of peculiar importance. An engineers' strike in a gas or electric plant may plunge a city into darkness. A strike on a street railway may throw into confusion the commercial and social activities of a community. It is expected that the technical studies of these sections will ultimately be extended to all important lines of industry.

Organization.

In regard to local branches, I wish to state that the experience we have had in the past year shows conclusively that it is not a practical proposition to rush out and organize local committees indiscriminately in the large cities.

Eventually I believe that we can have branches all over the country, but it must be worked out slowly and thoroughly. There must be an especially equipped first-class organizer in charge of the work, and this organizer must not only keep closely in touch with every local branch, but keep everlastingly at it.

Instead of attempting to scatter local organizations promiscuously, I would recommend that we establish branch offices at seven large industrial centers, covering as many general divisions of the country. Each center should have a paid secretary, whose whole time should be devoted to the work of organization. As for instance, Boston is naturally the center for New England, and that territory is ripe for organization; preliminary work has already been done. New York is another natural center, including New Jersey and Connecticut. Pittsburgh is the center of the great iron industries. From Chicago as a center, Indianapolis, Detroit, Milwaukee, Kansas City and St. Louis can be dealt with. At Denver we strike the mining world. The growth of transportation in north and south lines parallel to the Mississippi makes New Orleans a center of increasing influence radiating through the South. San Francisco is geographically and commercially a center for the Pacific Coast.

From these centers the question of local committees can be worked out. When once organized, the educational possibilities are great. For instance, the Industrial Economic Department can work out a programme for each center and furnish the ablest speakers in the country, and, if necessary, draw on the Old World. But there is a surprising amount of talent in every locality which could be utilized in such an educational movement. A local organization in a city where they are having practically no strikes, feels that it has nothing to do; but the development of the work of industrial education by these branches will be far more in accordance with the purpose of the National Civic Federation.

International Industrial Committee.

I invite your consideration to the projected formation of an International Industrial Committee. There is progress in the formation of international organizations of labor, and there is also an increasing tendency to the internationalization of production. Some employing members of this organization have plants in a number of countries. The correspondence at our headquarters includes a steadily growing number of inquiries from foreign countries concerning our work and many requests for our publications. The interest thus manifested in our methods found further and sympathetic expression when members of the Interparliamentary Union were your guests in this city on September 26. The nations represented in the Interparliamentary Union are those in which constitutional government is most developed. Its purpose of promoting international peace is in essence dependent upon the good will of peoples; and that in turn depends upon industrial peace in each country. The establishment of industrial peace is therefore precedent to the discouragement of war. The present activity in negotiating arbitration treaties and the organized movement in this country for their ratification, which includes many distinguished citizens who are in accord with the National Civic Federation, have drawn attention to the striking parallelism between prevention of international war through diplomacy and arbitration and the prevention of industrial war through conciliation, conference and arbitration. The advocacy of trade agreements is consistent with the advocacy of international treaties.

The terms of diplomacy and of industrial conciliation are, with slight modifications of verbiage, etc., interchangeable. Movements for the organization of Civic Federations are making progress in England, France and Germany, and in Canada. Their success might logically lead to the creation of an international body to improve the condition of wage-earners and their relations with employers and to forward economic education throughout the world.

REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AGREEMENTS.

By Francis L. Robbins and John Mitchell, Chairmen.

The Department of Trade Agreements, which was organized at the conference upon that subject held



JOHN F. TOBIN,
President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

in New York City last May, is able to report a growing appreciation of the trade agreement on the part of both organized employers and wage-earners as a practical method of securing and maintaining industrial peace. There have been several important additions to the more than fifty trade agreements already existing in great national industries, and an extension of their local application. It should be observed that as trade agreements are frequently the outcome of conciliation and conference, the work of the Department upon those subjects is closely associated with the work of this Department.

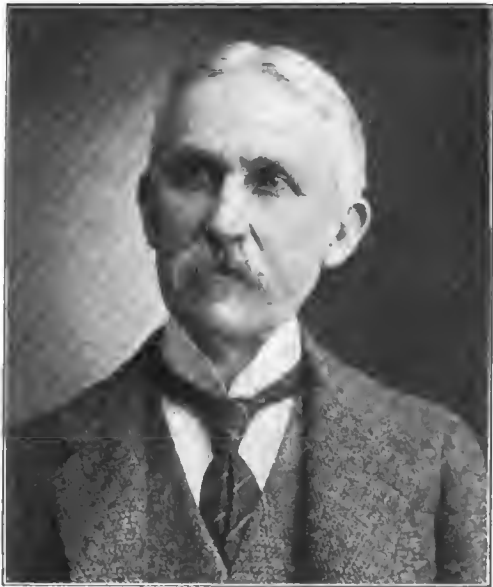
The experience of this Department has confirmed our conviction that there is nothing so important for the future of this country as the trade agreement as a method of reaching harmonious relations between capital and labor. The trade agreement, in our opinion, offers the most practical way to avert difficulties, dangers and possibly disaster in the industrial world.

Quite as important in some of the great industries as the creation of new collective contracts is their preservation under strong temptations to their dissolution. There was no more important industrial event of the year than the renewal by the organized bituminous mine workers in the four States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois of their agreement with the operators' associations. The acceptance by the miners' organizations of the compromise as to wages, that had been rejected and then submitted to a referendum by the Indianapolis conference, made a red-letter day in the calendar of the current history of the relations between capital and labor in the United States. Not only did the renewal of that agreement prevent a strike that might have literally stopped all the wheels of transportation and production in the country, but it taught the lesson, itself of incalculable moral value, that organized labor has the business sagacity to accept a reduction of wages, forced by lower prices for the product and other adverse conditions of the trade. No longer need silence meet the allegation that the trade agreement, when put to the test, would prove to be an arrangement that would work always in the direction of a share for the employe in larger profits of an industry, but never in the acceptance by the employe of his share of the privation caused by smaller profits. Against that allegation can now always be cited the conspicuous example of the acceptance of a sacrifice by the miners' organizations after they had been convinced of the necessity of the reduced scale.

The conference which resulted in this bituminous agreement was itself an unusual body. Upon the side of the operators were men who, while standing firmly for what they maintained were the rights and necessities of capital, asserted freely their hope that the interstate agreement might not be terminated. Upon the side of the miners were delegates whose appearance and manner bespoke the constant uplift

of education, and whose words were sustained arguments, of course in support of their contention, but in large degree animated by a response to the friendly expressions of employers and inspired by an apparent desire for co-operation. In the debates over the terms of the agreement there were moments of dramatic earnestness, when none might tell how a passionate utterance, a misplaced word or a verbal collision might have widened the breach that it was the effort of the conservative leaders on both sides to bridge.

The agreement between the dock managers at Lake Erie ports and the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association was



FRANKLIN MACVEAGH,
Franklin MacVeagh & Co.

strengthened this year by a resolution adopted at the annual conference between the representatives of those bodies. That resolution thus emphasizes the inviolability of collective contracts:

"That any and all contracts made between the local manager and the men directly involved shall be held inviolate for all work not specifically covered in exhibits attached to and made part of this contract, and that any one trying to break such agreement, or in any way interfering with its performance, shall be barred as a representative, and shall not be permitted to work under this contract, and in all cases work shall not be interrupted on any account."

This agreement covers an immense territory, and embraces thirty-nine divisions of trade. It is not only for the navigation season of 1904, but includes winter work until May 1, 1905, when every influence of this Department will be exerted for its renewal, as this contract has proved conspicuously effective in preventing strikes and lock-outs.

Members of this Department attended many of the protracted and arduous conferences between representatives of the Lithographers' Association and of the employed crafts, which resulted in a national trade agreement that includes practically all of the industry. After the formation of that agreement, a dispute arose at Cincinnati and San Francisco over its construction, which was referred to a member of this Department. Both sides accepted his decision as satisfactory. A second contention arising under the same agreement in St. Louis, Chicago and Cleveland, each side selected a different member of the Civic Federation, and they chose a third member. This arbitration committee rendered a decision mutually satisfactory to the contestants.

A somewhat difficult and highly interesting case to handle was that growing out of the controversy between the Theatrical Managers' Association and the Musical Protective Union. The conference in this matter extended over a period of several months, frequently resulting in no progress, but finally the members of the Conciliation Committee handling the matter succeeded in bringing the two sides to an understanding which resulted in the introduction of the trade agreement into the new field of the production of grand opera, other musical entertainments and the drama. This trade agreement, national in effect, extends to every place of public amusement in the United States. Here the value of frank and free discussion was disclosed by the fact that when the parties came together many of their grievances proved fanciful. For instance, the managers complained that at rehearsals and performances green substitutes frequently appeared in place of players familiar with their part. They were surprised to find that the union itself had provided in its by-laws against this evil. As they had never before conferred with the union leaders, the managers did not even know of the existence of these by-laws, which afforded them an instrument to correct the evil.

A member of this Department is the chairman of

the labor committee of the United States Brewers' Association. This committee was formed to deal with all the labor difficulties arising in that industry. It has already formed several trade agreements with unions, and is preparing to sign others. Its chairman has been active in adjusting differences as to agreements in Washington, D. C., and Buffalo, N. Y.

A threatened strike of organized teamsters that would have stopped the wheels of every truck in New York City, and have caused inconceivable inconvenience as well as distress throughout the city during the past summer, was not only prevented but was converted into the first trade agreement ever entered into between the parties concerned. This agreement was signed at the headquarters of the Civic Federation by representatives of the New York Truck Owners' Association and of the Teamsters' Brotherhood and witnessed by a member of the Department.

This Department recognizes that trade agreements are not without defects. One of these is an occasional provision that an employers' association shall employ only members of the union, who in turn shall work only for members of the employers' association. Such exclusive reciprocity can not survive adverse judicial decisions. The agreement between the Journeymen Stone Cutters' Association and the Employing Stone Cutters' Association, recently decided by a magistrate in New York City to be a conspiracy in violation of the penal code of the State, is an example of an effort to restrain trade for the mutual profit of the interested contractors and craftsmen, at the expense of the public. This agreement, according to the admitted facts submitted to the court, actually provided for a "rake-off" of 10 per cent. upon all contracts and the distribution of 10 per cent. of the "rake-off" among the union workers on the day before Christmas. Bids for contracts were compared, and only those above an established average were allowed to be submitted. The Stone Cutters' Union was used under this agreement to force independent contractors to join the association, contribute to its treasury and share in its methods of bidding, under penalty of a strike. The union was also used to force an employer to pay his alleged debt to another.

This Department is ready at all times to promote the formation of legitimate collective contracts and to furnish to that end to any intending negotiators the information which it has collected concerning their terms and their operation in many industries. Applications for such information are constantly received and answered. Recently a large employers' organization sent its secretary to our headquarters to study the various devices for arbitration contained in these agreements.

REPORT OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

By H. H. Vreeland, Chairman.

It will be remembered that practically the last official act of President Hanna's life was the appointment of a committee to organize the Welfare Department as authorized by this National Executive Committee, in the belief that its efforts to better the relations between employers and employees would be materially aided by the promotion of Welfare Work. In a personal conference, Senator Hanna requested me to act as Chairman for at least the first year. I was led to consent, because I had had to do with work in the ranks and had gained an experience, upon both steam and street railways, which had a certain value with reference to Welfare work.

The first meeting of the committee on organization was attended by representative employers from various sections of the country, and it developed that that was the first time employers giving especial consideration to the welfare of their employees had been brought together. The interest in the exchange of experiences was so great that the entire day was spent in discussion, and it was necessary to await an adjourned meeting a month later to determine upon a plan of work for the Department.

As a result of the first invitation to employers to accept membership in this Department, we have over one hundred and twenty-five members. When I can say to you that we find employers "not only willing but anxious" to become members, you will understand the enthusiasm that is being shown in this work. We have not limited the membership to employers who are promoting Welfare work, as we desire to extend the influence of the meetings to those who have not yet given it consideration.

Under its plan of work the Welfare Department undertakes to educate the public as to the meaning and value of Welfare work, which is understood to involve especial consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed; opportunities for recreation; educational opportunities; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes. Plans for saving and lending money, insurance and pensions are also included in Welfare work.

The Department interests employers to give especial attention to the physical or mental welfare of their employees, through conferences, the publication of reports, and of illustrated articles in THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

Upon request, a consulting agent is furnished to study the peculiar needs of employees in a given plant, to advise the best way of introducing such methods of Welfare work as may be deemed essential and to direct their installation. When desired, a permanent agent or Welfare manager to administer the work is recommended.

A central bureau is maintained to furnish information relative to the success or failure of experiments in Welfare work, the causes of either, and with reference to the latest efforts of employers in this direction. Some of the subjects covered are: Sanitary Workrooms; Washrooms and Baths; Hospital Service; Luncheon Rooms; Recreation; Educational



ISAAC N. SELIGMAN,
Banker.

Devices; Housing of Labor; Pensions and Insurance Associations.

Conferences and Educational Work.

We have held two conferences this year, their great value lying in the fact that those who participated in the discussions were practical workers and employers promoting Welfare work.

The first conference gave a general view of Welfare work, and the report, which contained illustrations of practical efforts, has not only proven a great revelation, but has stimulated many to undertake similar work. An interesting illustration of the value of this report came from one employer who requested eighty copies to distribute among his foremen, who had been inclined to "knock" all his efforts along this line, the employer having found that those who had read his copy had radically changed their views.

Our second conference dealt with specific subjects, such as Insurance Associations, Banks for Employees, and the Labor Department; and this plan will be continued. In addition, plans have been made for holding local conferences in large cities where we have a number of members, this being by special request and to give publicity to such work in those communities.

In response to appeals from members of different trades-unions, we have begun a series of articles in THE MONTHLY REVIEW on the needs of employees in certain industries. The purpose of these articles is also to show employers how Welfare work has been carried forward in such industries, with beneficial results. Marked copies of such issues are sent to employers in these trades.

For instance, one of the business agents of the International Iron Molders' Association appealed to us to emphasize the necessity of providing relief for molders, stating that any effort on the part of the union to secure these physical comforts was regarded by employers as only an effort to stir up trouble in the absence of any other excuse. He pointed out the need of a place for the men to change their clothes, and how they suffer in the winter, when they are obliged to work in places where there is no heat and there are broken windows, because the work necessitates the removal of their outer clothing. He dwelt upon the desirability of providing baths, and of an opportunity to change the clothing, stating that when the men are through casting, no matter what the temperature may be, ordinarily they have to leave the shop wet with perspiration, simply throwing on an overcoat, and that the outer air strikes them with a deadly chill.

The following letter from a business agent of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association will illustrate this point:

"There has never been any work looking to the interest of the first trades that are employed in the erection of buildings and in such structural iron work as bridges and viaducts, where no other mechanics are employed. The other trades are in a

measure looked after, inasmuch as a building generally has taken some definite shape before they are long at work, and a room can be set aside within the structure for storing their street clothes in the day and their gloves and overalls at night. Wage-earners in the iron industry would be grateful to your worthy organization if you would get some of the largest contractors to supply us with portable rooms in which to store our street hats and coats in the day time and our gloves and overalls at night. This is our first need, as our clothing is constantly stolen. Second, a place to wash up with sanitary toilet accommodations; and third, an emergency hospital room."



JAMES O'CONNELL,
President International Association of Machinists.

A business agent of the International Association of Machinists has gone so far as to prepare a list of questions, which has been sent to unions throughout the country, asking the men what conveniences have been furnished them. He has appealed to us, however, to aid in securing these comforts, which, from the answers to these questions, seem to be pressing needs.

A high officer of the International Association of Pulp and Paper Makers, has represented to this Department that the sanitary conditions of the wage-earners in his industry in many mills in this country are exceedingly bad, and has asked that his statements be confirmed by an investigation. The purpose of the inquiry would be to bring friendly influence to bear upon employers to improve the conditions, if they are found to be such as reported. This investigation will be made.

A very large corporation, whose operations cover a great extent of territory and employ a variety of nationalities, has, during the last year, had on its hands a serious strike. Despite this fact, which might be expected to create animus against the corporation, a prominent labor leader came to the office of this Department and personally urged the publication of a report prepared by an officer of the corporation on its Welfare work. This labor leader was broad enough to urge that the publication of such an article from such a source would exert a far-reaching influence in encouraging the introduction of the work elsewhere, and would be of benefit to unknown numbers of employees. This union speaker was especially appreciative of the educational features of Welfare work, which he desired to be as widely extended as possible by example.

Information Furnished.

Our Secretary, who has had practical experience in Welfare work, has been called for consultation to a number of large plants.

In one plant, with 11,000 employees, the plans for a luncheon-house, capable of accommodating 1,000 persons, were developed in detail.

Two months were spent in an establishment employing 7,000, investigating the needs of the employees and making recommendations.

Detailed help was extended to a manufacturer who has 10,000 employees, in formulating plans for housing hygienically a large proportion of the employees.

In another manufacturing community all the recommendations made by the Secretary of this Department were adopted.

In one large city visits have been made to establishments, each employing several thousands, for the purpose of giving advice as to the application and administration of Welfare work; while in another, advice has been given with reference to initial steps for Welfare work in several factories. In both cities the Secretary has been requested to pursue the work further.

A prominent manufacturer who had heard of this Department only through its bureau at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, wrote a request for counsel during his erection of an entirely new plant, his purpose being to provide facilities for Welfare work in every department and also to erect sanitary houses for the families of his employees upon satisfactory terms.

We have furnished a large mining company with accurate information as to the introduction and conduct of savings banks by other employers, this company desiring to act upon the lessons taught by their experiences.

The management of a department store requested similar information in regard to the experience of others in the same State in creating insurance funds as well as in establishing savings banks.

In response to a request we have supplied a Welfare Manager, who is a woman, to supervise the Welfare work in a department store having 4,000 employees. It is believed that the success of the Welfare work in this instance will lead to its introduction in many of the 1,400 other department stores in the United States.

In response to a request from the management of a factory where there are 10,000 employees, we have recommended another Welfare Manager, in this case a man.

One manufacturer obtained the first idea of organizing a Men's Welfare League, and thus making the work of his company less paternalistic, at one of our conferences; and our Secretary was not only able to recommend to three of the men, sent on for consultation, immediate work, but she personally conducted two of them through some plants where these recommendations found support in practice.

In addition to this we have not only supplied various written suggestions where requested, and photographs of luncheon-rooms, workers' houses, bath-rooms, club houses, and other features of Welfare work, but innumerable consultations have been held at our headquarters.

It is impossible to enter into a detailed report of the assistance that has been rendered along this line; and that we have gone into even a wider field is illustrated by a request from a large manufacturing town for advice in formulating a plan of work for a committee of citizens who desire especially to promote social welfare work in their community.

World's Fair Bureau.

A unique effort of this Department was the promotion of a World's Fair Bureau. Circulars were sent to employers throughout the country, informing them as to how their employees could visit the World's Fair within their means, and giving a tabulated statement of daily expenses under our plan. In addition to this, agents of the bureau at St. Louis met arriving employees at the trains and conducted them to their lodgings. They were also furnished with a six days' itinerary that their expenses might not be swollen by losing time in trying to learn what to see. In this way large numbers of wage-earners were enabled to receive the educational benefit of the great Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Future Work.

Aside from continuing the policy of promoting conferences, both national and local, and our educational work through THE MONTHLY REVIEW, we shall respond to requests for illustrated lectures in such cities as Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. We shall also continue to build up our Bureau of information at the Civic Federation Headquarters. Only to-day we have had a letter in which the employer says, "I am desirous of doing the right thing by our people, but do not know just where to begin." It is just such requests as this that are constantly received at our Bureau.

The work of the Welfare Department represents the humane as well as the human side of industrial economics. Nevertheless, its conduct must be intensely practical. It is a realization of the necessity of preserving this practical characteristic that has made of our conferences assemblages of business men, who, while not insensible to sentiment, are thoroughly aware of the practical results of Welfare work in improving the physical, and elevating the mental and moral conditions of the mass of wage-earners. Welfare work is essentially altruistic, but those engaged in it have had repeated to them through experience again and again the lesson that Welfare work is also intensely practical.

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Professor in Harvard University.

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 Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, Ohio.
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TEN CENTS

ANOTHER GREAT LABOR CONFLICT AVERTED BY CONCILIATION.

OFFICIALS OF THE GREATEST RAILWAY CORPORATION IN THE WORLD SOLVE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS BY FACE-TO-FACE CONFERENCE WITH ORGANIZED EMPLOYES.

ANOTHER conspicuous example of the value of the method of joint conference, between representatives of employers and wage-earners, in solving a great labor problem, was the success of the recent negotiations that averted a strike on the Pennsylvania Railroad. There are some employers, whose pay rolls include perhaps hundreds of men and whose business demands thousands of capital, who still cling to the obsolete notion that they will have nothing to do with any but their own men about hours or wages or conditions of work. But here we have the spectacle of the executive officers of a corporation whose railway system, with its alliances, represents a capitalization of nearly two billions of dollars, a mileage that would nearly girdle the earth and employs men in army corps numbering hundreds of thousands, holding conferences day after day with the officers of an organization of labor, not confined to their system, but embracing in its membership employees of all the other railroads of the country.

Even after these conferences had been protracted to the point where they seemed to have reached a deadlock, the General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, W. W. Atterbury, welcomed a request for their continuance from P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Mr. Atterbury did not say to Mr. Morrissey, "You are not an employe of our company; we will manage our own business in our own way." Instead, the conferences were resumed and repeated until an agreement was reached, satisfactory to both the corporation and the vast number of its employes. The conferences illustrated also the practical value of this method in reaching the truth as to disputed questions of fact. As will be seen, it was widely varying assertions as to the effect of a regulation upon earnings that greatly complicated this difficulty. But when the truth was made plain, the way to agreement was cleared, again illustrating the fact that most labor troubles have their root in needless misunderstandings.

It is needless to say that had not these conferences resulted in agreement, the consequent strike, probably involving all the other employes as well as the trainmen, would have tied up the entire Pennsylvania system, causing enormous loss to both the largest railway corporation

in the world and its army of wage earners, as well as incalculable inconvenience to the public and costly interruption to commerce.

This outcome was prevented entirely through the

ward brakeman on freight trains should go into the engine cab to assist the regular fireman during the pulls up heavy grades. This had long been the custom on the Pennsylvania, which employed one more brakeman

per train for that purpose than was the practice on other roads. But with the adoption of air-brakes on 50 per cent of its freight trains, as required by law, the Pennsylvania had found the employment of the extra brakeman for firing no longer necessary and had issued a regulation that the regular forward brakeman should assist the fireman up grades whenever required by the engineer.

Members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen objected to this requirement because they claimed that it exposed the forward brakeman to extremes of heat and cold, and because they regarded the increased pay of the brakeman for firing as inadequate. The company, on its side, claimed that the sanitary objection was more fanciful than real; that the increased pay was fair; and offered to add the time served in firing to the seniority of brakemen when promoted to be firemen.

There were involved other questions relating to the wage scale of trainmen in large yards and near terminal points.

These questions had been a subject of futile discussion for months between minor officials of the company and local representatives of the Brotherhood. A demand was formulated and presented by W. G. Lee, Vice-Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, to Mr. Atterbury. This demand, which related chiefly to extra pay for brakemen when required to assist firemen, was preceded by a referendum vote of the trainmen east of Pittsburg and Erie upon the question of whether or not to strike if the demand were refused. By 8,365 to 611 the trainmen voted in favor of a strike in that contingency.

This vote precipitated a critical situation. Had the vote meant immediate action, 10,000 trainmen would have been affected directly. It was claimed that the first strike order would have paralyzed the freight service. But had a strike been declared by them, it was thought probable that all other employes of the road would be at once called out. It was at this juncture, on January 18, that both sides to the controversy began preparations for the threatened



A. J. CASSATT,
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P. H. MORRISSEY,
Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen.



W. W. ATTERBURY,
General Manager Pennsylvania Railroad.



W. G. LEE,
First Vice-Grand Master Railroad Trainmen.

conferences between General Manager W. W. Atterbury, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and representatives of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The main point at issue was the requirement by the company that the for-

ward brakeman on freight trains should go into the engine cab to assist the regular fireman during the pulls up heavy grades. This had long been the custom on the Pennsylvania, which employed one more brakeman

rupture. A corps of electricians equipped the Philadelphia office of General Manager Atterbury with special telegraphic wires, connecting directly with all points on the Pennsylvania system east of Pittsburgh and Erie. At the same time, Vice-Grand Master Lee sent to officers of each of the eighty-five locals of the Brotherhood in the territory affected explanations of cipher telegrams directing the action of the men under various anticipated conditions. This action was taken by Mr. Lee in conjunction with the Committee of Adjustment, composed of sixteen members of the Brotherhood from as many divisions of the road. A strike could be ordered only by their vote and the signature of the Grand Master.

But just at this time it became known that the heavy vote of the trainmen in favor of a strike might not have been cast had the exact status of the negotiations been more generally known. This lack of knowledge was not caused by concealment on the part of any of the negotiators, but by the fact that proposals and counter-proposals had been exchanged with such rapidity that their final form had not become fully understood by all the trainmen throughout the system when the vote was taken.

Grand Master P. H. Morrissey, of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was notified at his home in Cleveland by long-distance telephone of the crisis. He started at once for Philadelphia, informing Mr. Lee that he had in mind a compromise suggestion. The day before Robert Pitcairn, first assistant to President A. J. Cassatt, was summoned from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia for consultation with Mr. Cassatt.

In order that all trainmen might understand the position of the company, Mr. Atterbury had his latest propo-

sition, which he regarded as more liberal than had been understood, printed and posted on the bulletin boards at every terminal and station and distributed to the employees.

Mr. Lee made public a general review of the issue. He pointed out that the brakemen dress to withstand cold weather, and "when compelled to alternately brake and fire, they subject themselves to the risk of contracting pneumonia, or, at least, heavy colds." It was also stated that the increased pay offered by the company would in many instances net the brakeman serving as firemen only \$1.50 a month. Subsequent calculations showed that Mr. Atterbury's proposal would cause an average increase in the earnings of such brakemen of \$6 a month. The clearing up of this fact doubtless did much to bring the subsequent negotiations to a successful result.

Grand Master Morrissey reached Philadelphia on the night of January 19, and arranged for a renewal of conferences with General Manager Atterbury.

Both Mr. Morrissey and Mr. Atterbury openly expressed their desire to prevent a strike if possible, and their determination to exhaust every means of reaching an agreement. Mr. Morrissey made the reopening of negotiations possible through suggesting that the company place firemen's helpers at points along the road where the services of brakemen as firemen were needed.

The subsequent negotiations consumed many hours on January 20 and 21 and were concluded on Monday, January 23, when Mr. Atterbury and Mr. Morrissey issued the following formal joint statement:

Mr. Atterbury has accepted Mr. Morrissey's proposition on the Jersey City situation, increasing the wages of the conductors and brakemen in the Jersey City, Harsimus Cove, Greenville,

Meadows, Newark and Waverly yards, to the standard rates of New York harbor, together with other working conditions.

Mr. Morrissey has accepted Mr. Atterbury's proposition of January 7, as amplified by the results of the conferences of the last few days, in regard to brakemen assisting the firemen, both to go into effect as of January 1, 1905.

Mr. Atterbury will, in addition, take up and put into effect within a reasonable time such other measures of relief, not only to the brakemen, but also to the firemen, as have been discussed and offered by Mr. Atterbury and suggested by the committee.

Mr. Morrissey said, after peace had thus been declared:

"The concessions are accepted in the generous spirit with which they have been tendered. Mr. Atterbury has given his word that the relief of the firemen from unusual strain will be his first regard.

"The stationing of extra men at ash pits, which, I understand, are about thirty miles apart on the middle division, the putting to work at junction points of men who have been laid off, when need for such extra services shall be demonstrated; these are some of the concessions made by the company.

"It was my first meeting in conference with Mr. Atterbury, and I was much impressed by his kindness and his disposition to hear patiently and judge fairly."

By increasing wages for trainmen within a radius of twelve miles of New York harbor, the Pennsylvania company accepts the higher scale recently adopted by the New York Central, Lackawanna, Staten Island, Long Island, Central Railroad of New Jersey and Lehigh Valley. It is estimated that the total increase amounts to more than \$300,000 a year and affects about two thousand men. The negotiations resulting in this increase have been in progress between Messrs. Morrissey and Lee and officials of the several roads since early in December.

ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION RECOGNIZED IN THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

GOVERNOR DOUGLAS, OF MASSACHUSETTS, MANUFACTURERS AND LABOR REPRESENTATIVES GET TOGETHER IN ENDING FALL RIVER'S ORDERLY, HISTORIC, TEXTILE STRIKE.

"REGARD the recognition of the principle of arbitration as the most important element in the settlement of the Fall River strike," was the significant statement made by Gov. W. L. Douglas of Massachusetts, when that long struggle between the owners and the operatives in the cotton mills of that city was brought

to agree. The arbitration exercised by Gov. Douglas relates to an average margin between the cost of raw material and the price of the product, upon which the manufacturers are to pay a dividend of 5 per cent. upon the wages earned between the date of the end of the strike and April 1. If this arbitral decision prove satisfactory

played in the cotton goods industry, having about three times as many employed as any other State. * * * No single strike in the textile industry in this State has reached such proportions as to duration, number of operatives thrown out of work, financial loss to employees and employers, and such large disbursement of aid



NATHANIEL B. BORDEN,
Cotton Manufacturer.



W. L. DOUGLAS,
Governor of Massachusetts.



JAMES TANSEY,
President Textile Council, Fall River.

to an end, through his mediation, on January 18. Gov. Douglas expressed the hope that the seed of arbitration, thus planted, would grow in a few years to a strength that would prevent a "recurrence of these demoralizing and pitiful strikes." The agreement for the end of the strike was signed by Gov. Douglas, Nathaniel B. Borden, on behalf of the manufacturers, and James Tansey, President of the Textile Council of Fall River, on behalf of the operatives.

The arbitration, whose introduction Gov. Douglas regards as so hopeful, relates to the future adjustment of the wages of the operatives to the margin of profit between the cost of raw cotton and the selling price of manufactured goods. An annual adjustment similar to this has long been made in the cotton manufacturing districts of England by committees representing the manufacturers and the organized employees through conference, although there is a provision for arbitration in case of a failure of the representatives of the two sides

to both sides, it may result in the introduction into the textile industry in New England, and ultimately in the United States, of the principle of the sliding scale. That principle has proved successful in this country in the manufacture of iron and steel and in coal mining.

One of the manufacturers was quoted as saying:

The reduction has been accepted and the strike has been declared off. We have simply done to-day what we have been prepared to do at any time; that is, to treat with the operatives on future wage advances if market conditions warranted it and we could afford to do it. The labor leaders have conceded that we could not pay more wages under conditions prevailing July 25 and that is what we have contended for. In my opinion we will be able to do something about a permanent marginal scale of wages as a result of what has now been accomplished.

The Fall River strike is historic. The latest bulletin of the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor (December, 1904) pronounced it "unparalleled in the history of the textile industry in Massachusetts, which ranks as the first State in the Union in the number of operatives em-

ployed in the cotton goods industry, having about three times as many employed as any other State. * * *

The strike began July 25, 1904, the date of the 12½ per cent. reduction in wages. The strike was ordered by a vote of the five textile unions. That vote was 1513 for a strike and 396 against. About 25,000 operatives, of whom less than one-fifth were members of the unions, thus followed the lead of 1513 organized workers.

The State Labor Bulletin said: "The Fall River strike stands by itself in the manner in which it has been conducted. On all sides the labor leaders have been characterized as being intelligent and conservative men. The mill operatives have proved themselves to be law-abiding citizens. There have been no riots, mobs or acts of violence, such as have been attendant upon all strikes of such magnitude throughout the country."

The strike affected 33 corporations, closed 72 mills; tied up \$21,665,000 of capital and caused a weekly loss of wages of \$150,000 and to the corporations of \$23,000.

“THAT VAGUE BODY KNOWN AS THE GENERAL PUBLIC.”

ITS MEANING AND ITS RELATIVE IMPORTANCE DEFINED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS WALKS OF LIFE.

MUCH comment was caused among professional scholars and writers, as well as among labor leaders, by the remarks of President Eliot of Harvard University, at the annual dinner of the National Civic Federation, concerning “a vague body known as the public.” He estimated this body to be “five times as large as all the union men and all the union men’s families and all the employers and all their families.” He added: “The total number of employers, union men and their families in the United States does not exceed 20,000,000. The population of this country approaches 80,000,000. I have the honor to represent three-quarters of the American people.”

Among those who seemed perplexed by this utterance was a Chicago member of the Carpenters’ Brotherhood, who wrote this question: “According to this, I am not a member of the public because I am a union man. But did not the coal strike affect my bin just as it did Dr. Eliot’s? When the street car strike was on in Chicago, I had to walk just like Dr. Harper of Chicago University. Just who compose the vague body known as the public?”

This carpenter’s inquiry, accompanied by Dr. Eliot’s remarks quoted above, was sent to a number of the readers of THE MONTHLY REVIEW, with a request for answers for publication. Some of the most pertinent replies are herewith presented. The varied interests represented by the writers indicate the wide concern felt in a question that some regard as abstract, or even finical, but whose economic importance is generally appreciated. Definitions are of first importance in discussion. Agreement upon terms is essential to profitable debate. This symposium, including the opinions of both theorists and practical men, representative of both parties to the industrial struggle and of its critical observers, therefore deserves the perusal of economic students.

THE PUBLIC ARE THE OUTSIDERS.

H. C. Watson, Editor Dun’s Review, New York:—While the word “public” in itself possesses no ambiguity the peculiar application in connection with industrial or financial problems is calculated to confuse, and it is not surprising that the Chicago carpenter felt neglected. As used in relation to the Civic Federation, the word “public” is intended to apply to the bystanders or non-disputants in the industrial strife; those who get no direct benefit from the higher wages obtained by a protracted strike, but who suffer all the inconveniences during the controversy. The public differs from the bystanders in that it is possible for the spectator to vacate the scene if the bullets fly too thickly in the case of a street fight, but there is no avoiding the suffering that follows suspension of coal mining.

Strictly speaking, I should think that the carpenter was of the public when there was a coal or street-car strike, but not when his particular craft was holding up a job on a building. It is to be hoped that the Chicago carpenter will not get the impression that those who represent the “public” on the various committees of the Civic Federation are not “workers.” Probably the third class works harder than the organized laborers; certainly its hours are much longer, but it finds time to help keep the peace and to protest against injustice. The “public” often lacks intimate knowledge of facts in regard to many disputes, which leads it into erroneous judgments, but the growing tendency toward publicity is making the conditions much better in this respect.

THE UNION MOVEMENT ALL-COMPREHENSIVE.

John B. Lennon, General Secretary Journeymen Tailors’ Union of America:—The remark of President Eliot made at a recent dinner in New York that he represented a body known as the public five times as large as all the union men and all the union men’s families, and all their employers and all their employers’ families, struck me as a strange remark as soon as I read it. I wondered if old Harvard had departed from that sound democracy upon which her foundation was laid, and had taken up in lieu thereof a belief in class distinctions to separate and divide the people into different sections in this the United States of North America as they are divided in some of the other older countries of the world. There is no such thing as a general public that the trade unionists and the employers of the country are not

a part of. President Eliot himself is a part of the trade-union movement, and from it he cannot escape. It is education that has made our modern trade-union movement as effective and successful as it is. Where ignorance reigns supreme there is no labor movement like we have in the United States, and so long as Harvard University and the other colleges and universities of the country, together with the public schools, continue to enlighten not only the children, but all the people of our country, the trade-union movement will continue and will become more and more successful; and whether we will it or not, we are all a part of the great labor movement of the world, for there is no other movement that from the earliest dawn of civilization has worked for progress, for enlightenment and for a higher life. No matter what form it may take, whether it be that of the plebeians in ancient Rome, or of the serfs in the middle ages, or of the trade-unions at the present time as the foremost factor of this labor movement, there is no possibility for any one to escape being a part of it. While our friend President Eliot may think that he represents some distinct entity from the trade-unionists of the country and from their employers, your humble servant thinks he is mistaken, and that he only represents in part the great mass of the people of our common country.

“THERE IS NO OUTSIDE PUBLIC.”

George Gunton, Economic Author:—Much is said about the interests of society being superior to the interests of either labor or capital, but this is more sentiment than fact. Competitive struggle between large and small corporations for survival and supremacy, and the contest between laborers and employers over wages and conditions, is not limited to the particular contestants in a given struggle, but includes the interests of like units and all the active economic elements of the country. Those who speak of society as something superior seem to imagine that there is a great world constituting an overwhelming majority of the nation outside of the economic elements interested in the industrial contest. Such is not the case. The so-called public not interested directly or indirectly in the profits and conduct of business, on the one side, or the income and conditions of labor, on the other, is too small to be considered. Outside of office-holders, teachers and professional persons, no such public exists. Of course, the purchasers of coal are affected by a coal strike, but these are all either laborers or employers, or people depending upon laborers or the income from the profits from industry. This struggle may be to-day in the coal mines, to-morrow in the cotton factories; or it may be to-day with the railroad corporations, to-morrow with the iron or steel or cotton or woolen or other corporations; but every struggle for industrial adjustment is a part of the general struggle of all society, and there is really no such thing as an outside public. Therefore, it is not true to say that the interests of the public are more important than the interests of capitalists and laborers. There is no public that has any such preponderant interest.

A QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL AND PUBLIC RIGHTS.

Thomas F. Woodlock, Editor Wall Street Journal, New York:—Every individual is a component part of the public. His social and business life largely consists of an adjustment of conflicting rights, as against other individuals, taken singly or in common. The public has some rights against him as an individual, and he has some rights as against the public. When there is a question as to the public rights against him, he is not one of the public. When there is a question of his rights as against another individual, the public is not concerned. When there is a question of the rights of the public against an individual other than himself, he is then part of the public.

THE INTERESTS OF ONE THE INTERESTS OF ALL.

R. R. Bowker, Editor and Publisher Publishers’ Weekly, etc., New York:—On the inference that out of our 80,000,000 population 20,000,000 are engaged in or dependent upon occupations in which union men constitute the great body of workers, it is of course evident that the whole 80,000,000, as consumers, constitute “the public” in the economic sense, of which three-fourths are affected only as consumers and citizens by the relations of unionism with industrial activity, prices and public order, while the other fourth are concerned both indirectly as consumers and directly as wage earners. So far as unionism tends to increase prices by increasing wages, all consumers are affected alike, and one of the most notable features in strikes has been the willingness

of union men in other occupations, as part of the consuming public, to bear, with cheerful self-sacrifice, their part of the deprivation or burdens resulting from the strike of fellow workmen in another industry. It is not to be taken for granted that a rise in wages means an increase in prices, for though this may be the immediate result, the ultimate consequence of raising the standard of living and of productive skill may be, and should be, to decrease cost and prices. The economic mistake of unionism, from which it is probably emerging, has been in restricting the output of the increased productivity of the more skilled or more competent workers, so that the economic good results of labor organizations have been in some part offset by the ill results of restriction. It is evident, here as everywhere, that the interest of one is the interest of all, and that the union man, as a member of the general public, must share whatever benefits or disadvantages come from union policy. When prices, whether of rent, fuel, food or other necessities of life, rise in disproportion to the increase of wages, as has perhaps been the case in this country in recent “boom” periods, the result is hardest on people of small earnings, and the man who earns \$600 a year instead of \$500 is no better off if it costs him \$600 for what before cost him \$500. It is the whole public of 80,000,000 people, including union men, who suffer by any mistakes of the unions; it is the whole public, outside as well as within the unions, who should benefit by wise and uplifting policy on the part of labor organizations.

EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD.

C. A. Rook, President The Dispatch Publishing Company, Pittsburg:—Who is the public? Why, the public is the public—every man, woman and child is the public. The union man, the non-union man, the working woman, girl and boy. The boys and girls who have rich fathers and mothers and who can lie in bed until noon and stay up all night and never have to give a thought as to where they will eat and sleep, they are the public. The poor little boys and girls with hearts and ambitions as big and great as other boys and girls, but who know not where they will eat and sleep, if at all, they are the public. The man or woman who is trying to get a fair day’s pay for a fair day’s labor, whether union or non-union, is the public. In fact, the whole 80,000,000 persons who live and labor in this great and grand country of ours, whether he is employed or unemployed, capitalist or laborer, is the public. If I were an employe instead of an employer I would belong to that great public which is called union. If the employes of this great United States would follow the Golden Rule, there would be but little need for unions. When President Eliot of Harvard, either through error or intention, excluded the union men from among the public, then President Eliot makes one big, grand mistake, for they are and will remain a part of our public.

THE PUBLIC MEANS ALL CONSUMERS.

Edward J. Wheeler, Editor Literary Digest, New York:—My understanding of Dr. Eliot’s words is that he included in “the public” the Chicago carpenter and all the rest of the population; but inasmuch as the employers and employes have special interests that may be supposed to transcend in their cases the general interests common to all “the public,” he did not assume to represent them, but to represent the rest of “the public” not affected by the special interests. For industrial purposes, “the public” consists ordinarily of the entire body of consumers of industrial products. That means everybody.

RIGHTS OF THE PUBLIC NOT PARAMOUNT.

D. L. Cease, Editor Railway Trainmen’s Journal, Cleveland:—Who compose the “vague body known as the public?” can be answered by saying, the general people. What are the rights of the public? which I think is the question wholly in keeping with the source of the first inquiry, seems to need more of explanation.

It is admitted that one-fourth of the people, or that percentage of the “vague public,” is affiliated with the organization of labor, either as master, workman, or dependent upon either. A body so large naturally deserves consideration, regardless of the fact that it is not in the majority.

If we will eliminate from the calculation those engaged in agriculture and domestic service, who have not been reached by organization, we will find that one-fourth of the public, so far as its organized representation is concerned, to be materially increased. If we add to this increased body that other portion of the “vague public” which is receiving higher wages and

shorter working hours, secured by labor organization action, we will find that at least one-half of the "vague public" is either thus represented or indirectly affiliated.

If it were made known to the "vague public" that only such employes as were affiliated with the labor organizations would receive the wages and hours that had been granted through labor organization effort, the one-fourth of the "vague public" now allotted to organized labor would visibly swell, and, I believe, would become three-fourths. There are some employments that have not been directly reached by labor organization. Farm and domestic labor has not profited from direct organization of each class, but both classes have benefited from the increased wages of the other occupations, because higher wages must be paid to hold them in their class of service.

I believe that when the entire question is figured out that, aside from the "submerged tenth," the representative portion of the public that stands for itself and apart from the labor organizations will not be three-fourths by any means.

And now as to the rights of the public. This, I take it, means to what extent can the other man make his fellow serve him, and under what conditions can he quit his service without disturbing the rights of the "public."

This question naturally involves service and the leaving of it. A strike naturally inconveniences the public; this includes those on strike just as much as it does those who are not; it disturbs business, embarrasses the employer and perhaps makes the striker suffer from want. But in the question of his responsibilities toward the public, let it be understood that the man who leaves the service does not do so for the purpose of hindering or injuring his employer; he does not aim to inconvenience the rest of the public; he seeks to better his own condition; his relation, or duty, to the public is absorbed in the question of defending that part of the public with which he has been classed from the impositions of another part of the public, or his employer.

If this were a world wherein men sought to assist each other at the expense of themselves, this condition would not maintain; it could not exist; there would be no reason for it. But it is a condition governed altogether by self interest, in which no part of the public rightfully can be expected to sacrifice its well being for any other part. It must be the judge of its duty toward the remainder of the "vague public," and it is asking too much to expect that one part of the general people will sacrifice its welfare for the benefit of the remainder. If this were done, as the question of the duty of labor organizations toward the public is sometimes understood, we would very soon pass from the period of self sacrifice to that of the branding iron, the ball and the chain, in which case the three-fourths of the "vague public" now standing aside would join in the "public" demand for a better condition.

VAGUE TERMS UNDESIRABLE.

James E. Freeman, Rector St. Andrew's Memorial Church, Yonkers, N. Y.:—There is so much vagueness and ambiguity about many of the trite terms and phrases that we employ in every-day speech that we need to exercise greater caution in our utterances. For instance, we talk about that misty, difficult-to-be-defined corporate body, which we call the "public," as though it were a something that were capable of exact limitations. Again, we speak about "Public Opinion" or "Public Sentiment," as though it were an arbitrary and definite object, susceptible to analysis.

We take it that a reasonably clear and adequate definition of what constitutes the "public" is that *whole* body of people of every sort and kind, without reference to occupation or station, who, in the aggregate, make up the body political and the body social. A "public interest" is one that is coterminous with every near and remote concern of our corporate life. We venture to think that it is a somewhat dangerous thing to segregate our people by undertaking to classify them, thus making it appear that their interests are in any way divorced or inimical.

If I understood Dr. Eliot correctly, he was seeking to emphasize, for the purposes of discussion merely, the several elements involved in a common cause; he was not seeking to emphasize points of difference, but rather points of resemblance. Our whole people, of whatever sort or kind they may be, constitute segments in that corporate wheel we call the "public," and the more this cardinal fact is emphasized and understood, the greater will be the responsibility of each, and the more secure the prosperity and peace of all.

A QUESTION OF USE OF WORDS.

Amos K. Fiske, Editorial Staff, Journal of Commerce, New York:—It seems to me that the National Civic Federation has by its own organization established a certain distinction between employers, wage-earners and the public, not meaning that employers and wage-earners are not included in the public in a general sense, but meaning by the latter the mass of those not comprised in the two classes named and having a somewhat different interest in the controversies between capital and labor, or between employers and union workmen in particular. In that sense, it seems to me there is a distinction, which is that recognized in the representation

of the Civic Federation and that intended by President Eliot, and the question of the Chicago carpenter appears rather carping. Of course, "the vague body known as the public," strictly speaking, includes all producers and consumers alike, just as producers include consumers and consumers include producers, but there may be parts of that body which not only have interests different from those of other parts, but interests different from the mass of those who do not belong to those particular parts. In so far as employers of labor, having control of capital, are able to arrogate to themselves any special advantage or any special or excessive part of the common product of labor and capital in their particular industry, and in so far as wage earners by organization are able to arrogate to themselves any special advantage or any arbitrary portion of that common product, they establish interests apart from those who are not included in their own ranks, and may impair the fair share of the rest who do not control productive capital and who are not organized, and may encroach upon their rights.

CONTESTANTS ARE OF THE PUBLIC.

Frederick H. Cooke, Lawyer and Author, New York:—I find that in my treatise of "Trade and Labor Combinations," published in 1898, I had substantially anticipated the phrase used by President Eliot, for I there speak (p. 17) of "that vague combination known as the public," adding, "that is to say, the inhabitants of a given town, city, state or country, as the case may be, or even of a region not limited by mere political boundaries." It is said elsewhere that the word public "may refer to the whole body politic, that is to say, to all the inhabitants of the state, or to the inhabitants of a particular place only" (23 American and English Encyclopedia of Law, 2d ed., p. 303).

This being, I take it, the ordinarily accepted meaning, the Chicago member of the Carpenters' Brotherhood, referred to in your letter, is right. The "public" affected by the coal strike constituted, generally speaking, the entire population of the United States; likewise the "public" affected by the Chicago street-car strike, constituted, I take it, the entire population of Chicago. In each case the Chicago union carpenter was one of the "public."

The real question of difficulty I understand to be whether, in case of a contest affecting the public interests of a given community, the parties to the contest are, if themselves inhabitants of such community, to be regarded as a portion of the public affected. This is a question of words rather than substance. I am inclined to think that they are to be so regarded. Ordinarily, however, the interest of such a person as party to the contest is by him, at least, regarded as far more important than his interest as a member of the public.

DR. ELIOT SUSTAINED.

Henry D. Estabrook, Solicitor The Western Union Telegraph Company, New York:—President Eliot's use of the word "public" to distinguish the people generally from those belonging to unions, was a correct use of the word. Every individual is himself one of the public as a whole, but if he wishes to distinguish himself from the people en masse he would use the words "I and the public." A corporation composed of thousands of stockholders would do the same, and a union composed of millions of adherents would do the same. The purpose is to distinguish a particular or individual interest from a general or universal interest.

"FOUR-QUARTERS OF THE PEOPLE"

Henry W. Farnam, Professor of Political Economy, Yale University:—The question seems to me simple. The word "public" includes in general four-quarters of the people. If, however, one-quarter consider their special interests to be more important than the general interests of the people as a whole, a man who speaks for these general interests would naturally only claim to represent the remaining three-quarters.

MILITANT UNIONS SEPARATE FROM THE PUBLIC.

Charles T. Root, President Textile Publishing Company, New York:—If the Chicago union carpenter feels afflicted by President Eliot's intimation that the unions and the public are distinguishable bodies, he and his associate unionists have themselves to thank for the impression thus indicated. When the unions set themselves apart not as a merely peaceable, mutually helpful association of individuals, but as a militant, quasi-governmental institution demanding universal obedience, willing or unwilling, to all its edicts, and ever ready to turn the homes of non-combatants into the battlefield upon which they wage their desolating struggle for supremacy, they cannot complain and should not wonder at the growth of the feeling that they are, from the industrial point of view, no more the public than the Russians and Japanese are Manchurians.

Whenever, and in so far as the unions themselves feel themselves to be vitally related parts of the public body and not themselves the "whole show," to whom injuries of the public body are of inconsiderable concern, compared to the enforcement of their own rules and demands, then the state of affairs indicated by President Eliot and recognized by the National Civic Federation

in the form of its own organization will give place to actual solidarity in which, in its highest and best sense, the injury of one will be the concern of all.

LIBERTY AND LAW BEFORE THE UNION.

Slason Thompson, Manager of News Bureau, Railway Exchange, Chicago:—There is nothing to the query of your Chicago member of the Carpenters' Brotherhood. President Eliot said that he represented a vague body known as the public, which he estimated to be five times as large as all the union men, etc. Subsequently he divided the public into 20,000,000 union and 60,000,000 non-union. The union had been represented by the speakers who preceded him to the neglect of the non-union portion of the public. He undertook to speak for the three-fourths of the public, which had not been heard from, and also for the whole public, which included union and non-union.

In any republican assembly the man who speaks for three-fourths is entitled to speak for all. In my opinion President Eliot spoke on behalf of liberty for the Chicago member of the Carpenters' Brotherhood as well as for those of the great majority who agree with every word he said.

Yours for liberty, law and union,
But for liberty and law, union or no union.

ONLY DIVISION ONE OF INTEREST.

J. W. Jenks, Professor of Political Economy and Politics, Cornell University:—Members of trade-unions are, of course, members also of the "vague body known as the public," unless, by their actions, they put themselves in opposition to the interests of the public. In that case, they should for the time being be considered no longer members of that body. It can be readily seen that the interests of the member of a union may for the time being be greater in the acts of his union than in his association with other members of the body politic. The unions should keep continually in mind the fact that they are members of the body politic, and so far as possible should make the acts of the union beneficial to the whole of the body politic as well as to the members of the unions themselves. In my judgment, they very generally do keep this in mind, but sometimes they certainly do not. It was doubtless some instance of the last case that President Eliot had in mind in his address.

ALL PURCHASERS AND CONSUMERS.

Franklin H. Giddings, Professor of Political Science, Columbia University:—President Eliot's use of the phrase "the public" was, I think, misleading and unfortunate. From the standpoint of any given individual, combination of individuals or corporation, "the public" is simply everybody else, and there are as many "publics," therefore, as there are individuals and combinations thereof. President Eliot set "the public" over against the corporate employers and their wage-earning employees; but from the standpoint of any one of the farmers or shopkeepers making up President Eliot's "public" the corporations and their employees are themselves a part of a "public." Speaking in terms of economics, it would be approximately true to say that "the public" consists of everybody considered as a purchaser and consumer, as distinguished from everybody considered as a producer. It would not do, however, to push such a definition to far, or to construe it too literally.

AN HISTORIC COMPARISON

S. M. Sexton, Editor United Mine Workers' Journal:—The only parallel to the statement of Dr. Eliot that he represents three-quarters of the American people can be found in an incident that occurred in London in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The people and politicians were greatly disturbed by a manifesto which demanded certain radical reforms. The manifesto began with: "We, the people of England," and had it the support of a considerable body must have borne serious results. But an investigation revealed that "We, the people of England," consisted of "Three Tailors of Tooley Street," and they were snickered down by the whole city. It is highly probable that President Eliot has magnified matters as hugely as the "Three Tailors of Tooley Street."

A UNIONIST ACCEPTS DR. ELIOT'S TERM.

Frank K. Foster, Typographical Union, Boston:—While each person making up our 80,000,000 of the population is undoubtedly an integral part of the "public," yet President Eliot is also fully justified in using the word "public" in the sense he did by the Civic Federation itself, a portion of whose executive committee is selected "on the part of the public."

THE PUBLIC IS EVERYBODY.

Hamilton Holt, Managing Editor The Independent, New York:—I would say that my idea of the "public" is everybody—employers and employed, "scabs" and middlemen, etc.; but I suppose in the sense of the National Civic Federation, the "public" is all that remains after deducting the representatives of organized capital and the representatives of organized labor from the whole population of the United States.

A CONSERVATIVE APPEAL TO THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

PRESIDENT MITCHELL, TRIUMPHANTLY RE-ELECTED, REVIEWS THE COAL INDUSTRY AND ADVISES HIS CONSTITUENTS TO STRIVE FOR PEACE IN NEXT YEAR'S CRISIS.

THE re-election of John Mitchell as President of the United Mine Workers of America, announced at its sixteenth annual convention in Indianapolis, proclaims the continued confidence in its chief leader of the largest body of organized labor in the world. It sets the seal of approval by that body upon the policy of President Mitchell last year in advising the bituminous miners to accept the compromise reduction of 5.55 per cent. in wages offered by the operators at the Indianapolis conference.

Other general officers elected are:
Vice-President, T. L. Lewis (re-elected); secretary-treasurer, W. L. Wilson (re-elected). Dele-



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers of America.

gates to the American Federation of Labor—John Mitchell, T. L. Lewis, W. L. Wilson, W. D. Evans, Patrick Dolan, John Fahy, John Demase. Delegates to International Mining Congress—W. H. Haskins, H. C. Perry,

The importance of this convention is widely recognized, because of the fact that a year from next April the biennial contract with the bituminous operators' association and the award of the anthracite strike commission expire simultaneously. The annual report of President Mitchell thus spoke of this impending situation:

"It may not be amiss at this time to call your attention to the fact that one year from next April our joint agreements expire in practically every coal-producing district—both bituminous and anthracite—in the United States. Reference to the reports of commercial agencies and trade journals seems to indicate an approaching revival of business and a period of industrial activity. If these predictions are realized, we should be able to regain the loss in wages sustained one year ago and to improve conditions of employment in those districts in which no reductions were forced upon us. It is, of course, unnecessary to say that our ability to make further advancement—or even to retain our present standard of living and wages—will depend in no small degree upon the strength and solidarity of our union, and in making preparations for that time we should not only strive with all our energies to perfect our organization numerically, but we should also make provision for the maintenance of our people, should we be so unfortunate as to become involved in a strike.

"I am, of course, hopeful that we shall be able to reach a satisfactory settlement upon the expiration of our present contracts, but, nevertheless, there is always the possibility of disagreement, and as far as I am personally concerned, I have determined that—under normal conditions—the present scale of wages, the present standard of living among the coal miners of this country, shall never be lowered with my consent. There are times when workmen are called upon to and should share in the loss of profits which follows periods of industrial depression, but there is a standard below which men cannot maintain themselves and their families, and below this point the wages of organized workmen cannot be permitted to fall.

"A reference to the financial report of your secretary-treasurer will impress you more forcibly than any words of mine could do, with the necessity of providing funds for the maintenance of strikes. In the words of Washington, 'To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.' And you should

bear in mind that those organizations which are best prepared for strikes are called upon least frequently to engage in them. Whatever the causes, the strikes that have taken place during the past few years have established a precedent which cannot well be departed from, and when men strike now we are compelled, within certain limitations, to provide them with the necessities of life. The funds for this purpose can come only from one source—unless our membership provide us with the money, we cannot supply it to those who are on strike. And if we are to make adequate preparation for our next interstate convention we must have a large fund at our disposal, so that we may in the interim, resist any attempts to reduce wages in the outlying districts or any efforts to weaken the strength and influence of our union."

Mr. Mitchell declared that the acceptance of the compromise bituminous agreement last year, involving a reduction in wages of 5.55 per cent., was "a monument to the sagacity of the members of our organization and proves that government, whether of unions or of nations, is safe in the hands of the people." He believed that the union is "in a far better condition now than it would be had a strike been inaugurated."

The average membership for 1904 was 251,096. This was an increase of less than 4,000 over 1903, while membership for December, 1904, showed a decrease of 24,900. This decrease is based upon the tax received for the month and is explained by the exemption from dues of about 25,000 miners then on strike.

Mr. Mitchell showed that the operation of the Anthracite Commission's sliding scale had caused an increase of 7 per cent. in the pay of mine workers during the last three months of 1904.

Of the federal injunction, Mr. Mitchell said: "Every year that passes emphasizes more strongly the iniquity of the federal injunction as applied in labor disputes. During the past year injunctions have been issued in every coal field in which a strike has been inaugurated, and members of our association have been confined in jail because of alleged disregard of these injunctions, notwithstanding the fact that after our people had remained in prison for considerable time, the very judge issuing the injunction has reversed his own action and declared that when the injunction was issued his court was without jurisdiction in the case.

"It is difficult to speak in measured tones or in moderate language upon this subject. It is apparent to every one who is acquainted with the facts that many of these injunction judges—and especially Judge Jackson—are totally unfit to perform the functions of their sacred office. In numerous instances members of our union, when brought before these judges, have been treated with indignity and have had such abuse heaped upon them as

unfense, but when judges issue orders restraining trade-unionists from doing that which they have a perfect moral and legal right to do, and which would be no offense if done by other citizens, and when these same judges incarcerate our people without trial, without hearing, because they refuse to surrender their constitutional liberties, then, I say, it is time to call a halt.

"For several years past a bill has been pending in the United States Congress defining the word 'conspiracy,' and limiting to its proper and constitutional function the authority of these federal judges. This bill will again be under consideration at the present session of Congress, and it seems to me that no effort should be left



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
President International Longshoremen's Association.

untried to secure its passage. To that end, I recommend that your president or your executive board be given authority to employ one or more representatives to go to Washington and lobby in the interest of this bill."

DANIEL J. KEEFE ON ORGANIZATION AND CONTRACTS.

The Leader of the Longshoremen Emphasizes to Employers' Associations the Beneficence of Trade Agreements.

Daniel J. Keefe, president of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, delivered an address to the recent convention of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association at Detroit, in which he dwelt upon the importance of developing organizations of both employers and employed. Mr. Keefe said in part:

"There is no war between capital and labor, no real hostility, simply the desire of each to get as good a bargain as possible for his side. When both recognize that each is essential to the other, with a mutual recognition of the rights of both, which must be decided upon a basis of equity, where justice will rule, then will begin the era of the Golden Rule, but the conditions we hope for will not come by our sitting down and idly dreaming. We all must, and are expected, to do our part. Every man has it in him to contribute his share and can aid in spreading the gospel of perfect organization.

"A few years ago, in speaking of the late Senator Hanna, I inadvertently referred to him as a 'professional man.' 'Dan,' said he, 'I am a worker, and a worker for wages and profits, the same as any other man in my employ; and let me tell you,' said he, 'when any man working for our company ceases to regard himself as a wage worker, and fails to realize that he is so regarded by me, his usefulness to this company is at an end.' (So much for professional labor.) I accepted his rebuke and now understand the one great element in his character that went to make Senator Hanna great among the modern captains of industry, and one of the great men of progress of our generation. Let us then strive to so shape the laws of this land, socially and politically, so that we may obtain a reward for our labor equal to its full value."

In an address to the Lake Carriers' Association, also in Detroit, Mr. Keefe congratulated that body upon having been the pioneers in leading the way in accepting the moral obligation of organized labor to carry out its contracts.



T. L. LEWIS,
Vice-President United Mine Workers of America.

should be countenanced by no man of impartial mind or of judicial temperament.

"I wish to emphasize the fact that we ask no special privileges over other citizens or other associations; we seek no immunity from the law, but we do demand and insist upon the exercise of all the rights and all the privileges that are guaranteed us by the constitution and enjoyed by other citizens of our common country. If any member of our union violates the law he deserves to be and should be arrested, tried, and convicted for his of-

THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

A BROTHERHOOD CHIEF AND TWO BROTHERHOOD EDITORS DISCUSS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EMPLOYEES AND OF DEFECTS IN ADMINISTRATION AND EQUIPMENT.

THE shocking totals of death and injury from railway accidents and their cause and remedy continue subjects of keen public concern. The following articles are from contributors familiar with the employes' views of their cause, and continue the discussion begun in the October issue of *THE REVIEW*. The editor has arranged for further articles, expressing the opinions of high executive officers of several large railway systems, one of them the president of a trunk line.

AN EXPERIENCED EMPLOYEE'S OPINION.

By E. E. CLARK, *Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors.*

Much is now being said in the public press relative to the frequency with which fatal accidents are occurring on the railroads of the United States. That such accidents have occurred with alarming frequency and



E. E. CLARK,
Grand Chief Order Railway Conductors.

appalling results none will doubt or deny. No one will question the importance of discovering the cause or causes which contribute to such disasters and of applying the necessary remedy, however drastic, it may be.

It seems to me unfortunate that those who publicly discuss those questions are so prone to lay all the responsibility at the door of some one condition which they hold an antipathy for, or a condition which they claim would be corrected by the adoption of some idea or device in which they are interested.

On one hand we see a disposition to attribute the whole trouble to penurious management, and strong appeals are made to the already existing prejudice against railway companies.

On another hand, we find an energetic effort to make the people believe that insubordination among the employes, encouraged and supported by the labor organizations to which they belong, is responsible for the accidents of which every person hears and reads with horror.

Again, we find the correspondent who attributes it all to the alleged fact that railway officials habitually require employes to remain on duty excessively long hours and after-exhaustion renders them unfit and unsafe. This is answered by some railway official who claims that if men are on duty long enough to be exhausted it is because of their own desire and demand to be allowed to earn more money.

As a matter of fact most of the casualties can be clearly and directly traced to carelessness, neglect, forgetfulness or exhaustion on part of some employe or employes. In a list of fourteen accidents cited by Mr. Slason Thompson no less than five were caused by improper or negligent flagging and three were the result of conductors and engineers forgetting opposing trains or of failure to properly comply with orders relative to meeting of trains.

The working agreements between the railway companies and their employes in the train and engine departments provide that after continuous service of a certain number of hours the employes may demand rest before again being required to go out. The burden of compliance with this proper provision rests

with the employe as he is permitted to be the judge of whether or not he needs rest. Everyone who is at all well informed on the subject knows that there are instances in which employes are required to work against their wishes and in which they are permitted to work in accordance with their wishes when, because of physical exhaustion, they are not in a safe condition.

It is idle to argue that the universal adoption of any particular device would avert the possibility of a recurrence of these sad accidents. Signaling devices depend largely upon human agencies to operate them and even if they did not so depend, the fact would still remain that perfect safety under them would depend upon observance of them by men who are made from the same material as are other men.

Some representatives of the railways assert that the unions have bred and encouraged a spirit of insubordination and that they have enforced a system of promotion by seniority under which ambition is smothered and the worthy and the unworthy, the competent and the incompetent, the bright and the dull, are all placed on a common level.

This, to my mind, is the most unfair and incorrect of all the statements so far made. It is not true that the organizations composed of train and engine employes encourage insubordination in the slightest degree. No instance can be cited in which they have taken the position of arbitrarily upholding their members in violation of the rules of the company by which employed. They teach loyalty, not disloyalty, to their members.

It is true that the practice prevails of generally promoting the older man in the service who is in line of promotion. This is commonly called "seniority," and many would have it appear that the unions are wholly responsible for the practice and that its provisions are inflexible. A reference to a file of working agreements between railway companies and their train or engine men will disclose the fact that the rule for promoting men in accordance with seniority in service is always qualified with the specific provision "all things being equal," or "merit, ability and competency being equal." All men promoted are obliged to pass examination prescribed by the company and at the hands of officials of the company.

The practice of promoting men by seniority is as strongly favored by railway officials as it is by employes, and the managements have contributed as much to its establishment as have the employes.

I offer no excuse for neglect or carelessness or indifference on part of railway employes. They occupy positions of great responsibility and in no other employment can the disastrous results of error or omission be so far-reaching. They have much to account for and, considering the immensity of the industry and the imperative demands of their employ-



D. L. CEASE,
Editor Railroad Trainmen's Journal.

ment, as well as the feverish impatience of our people as a whole and the insistence upon faster and still faster movements, they render a remarkably good account.

The railway employes will be glad to be judged at the bar of public opinion when the public properly understand the true facts.

SOME EXACTIONS OF TRAIN SERVICE.

By D. L. CEASE, *Editor of The Railroad Trainmen's Journal, Official Organ of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.*

That employes are responsible for many railway wrecks is true; that much of the system of train operation is also responsible is equally true.

There are any number of matters co-incident with the operation of trains that do not appear on the surface, but which are largely responsible for many collisions.

Regardless of the manner of train that is being run, there is the mandate following it from the time it leaves until it reaches its terminus, "make time." To make time and escape the ever pending inquiry and reprimand, or something more severe, the train employes are encouraged to take chances.

This leaves room for very many lapses in perfect train



JOHN F. M'NAMEE,
Editor Railway Firemen's Journal.

management, and it is not surprising that serious results follow. The majority of these wrecks are charged to the men, but really should be charged properly to the lack of intelligent official operation.

I believe that back of this can be found too much technical method, and too little of practical knowledge of the needs of the service. Trains cannot be run, switched and safely controlled by the lead pencil only.

The demands made upon the men are conducive to forgetfulness, for there is a limit to human endurance. The hours are very often too long; the work at best is nerve exhausting, tiring out the employe mentally and physically. Every railroad has its "drags,"—long freights, that are started out with the certainty that they are going to work overtime,—how long will depend upon circumstances. Men can only remain alert for a given time, after that they are worn out. Men will drop asleep on the field of battle. Is it strange, then, that men with the wearying stretch of hour after hour on a locomotive or a train will grow dull or sleepy?

The "drags" are generally so long, and the men employed are so few, that intelligent communication between the members of the crew is out of the question. The engineer is almost a mile away from the hind end of the train. It takes the fireman and the head brakeman to do the firing; the engineer because of the build of the engine is by himself on many of the heavy engines, and is not seen by the other men on the engine unless they climb up where he is; the conductor, looking after his many clerical duties, is on the hind end, or he ought to be, and the flagman is generally back somewhere riding on the following train. Rear end wrecks are not so frequent, by any means, as head end ones. The man behind has all of his attention on his work.

Railways lay particular stress upon their safety equipment and bring it to their defense in freight train wrecks. There are any number of railways that still depend upon the hand brake in handling their trains

(Concluded on page 8.)

EMPLOYERS' POLICIES TOWARD LABOR.**A Declaration in Favor of Encouraging Employees to Join Unions.**

By EDWARD A. FILENE, Merchant, Boston.
(Extract from an Address before the Economic Club.)

American employers have won their success largely by their open-mindedness, by their willingness to change the good for the better. It has been well said that a good measure of the superiority of American manufactures is the greater size of their scrap heaps of displaced machinery as compared with the scrap heaps of manufacturers of other countries.



EDWARD A. FILENE.

But ideas of policies grow out of date as well as machinery, and the successful employer must have an intangible scrap heap of ideas and policies larger than the visible one of machinery. The time has now come to add to that heap some of our policies toward our employees, toward trades-unions.

When the unions were young and weak, and their management and policies so uncertain that that stability which is necessary to the maintenance and growth of business enterprises could not be guaranteed by them, then we fought them in defence of our property and rights; but now the evidence that the union has come to stay is so indisputable that all clear-sighted men admit it and employers must recognize that the question is not, "How can the union be annihilated?" but "What shall our policy be so that the unions can be made to help us in helping themselves? What kind of bargain can we make with our employees, with the union?" remembering that every bargain to be a good one must be mutually advantageous.

The chief difficulty of the past no longer confronts us. That difficulty was that we did not admit at first that the union had come to stay. If I criticize that position, I do it most sympathetically, for I believe, as human nature runs, and recognizing how industrial principles and rights are evolved through contest, that no other position toward the organized form of the new demands of our employees than that of opposition was possible at the beginning.

Be that as it may, the time has now come when clear-sighted men admit that the unions have come to stay, and that only by organization of employers and of employees can best conditions be brought about.

Employers must be better and more strongly organized and unions must be better and more strongly organized in order that the needless part of industrial strife be averted.

If, then, the unions are to stay, how are they to be made more serviceable?

For it is undoubtedly true, and admitted by wise union leaders, that their policies must also be changed, at least in part.

How are these policies to be changed?

The answer is forced upon us that the first and most necessary thing to do is to change our own policies—our employers' policies. In the past, harassed by the unions, we have believed that this harassing would be weaker, would be less, if we kept the unions weak. This is the great, the fundamental mistake we have made. To-day we know from bitter experience that it is the weak union that does the most damage to us—the union controlled by radical, short-sighted men, because larger numbers of our more conservative employees are not active members.

This is a truth we have learned very slowly, and at great cost, and as far as our policies bear witness we have not yet wholly learned it. Otherwise it would be our policy distinctly and definitely to encourage our best employees to go into the unions.

At present our policy towards the existence of trades unions is at best not more than neutral. I urge with all my power that the time has come to change this policy to one of definite purpose to make the unions better by encouraging our best and most valuable employees to join them, and to become active workers in them.

What will happen if we do this?

The first and most important result will be that much of the struggle that has hitherto been fought out to our great loss in our plants will be fought out in the union meetings.

For our best and most valuable men are not only good workers, but they are broader minded than the average: see conditions more clearly than the average employee; and therefore know our difficulties better than the weaker employees. And so when the employees' policies are decided in their unions, these broader-minded, clearer-seeing employees, adding their numbers to those that are already in the unions, will have the greatest weight in determining the union policies toward employers and will help to determine them with more consideration for us and our difficulties.

If we adopt this policy, it will eventually follow that many of the questions that are now "debated" (God save the mark), with strikes, boycotts and lockouts in our shops, will be really debated and fought out in the union meetings.

This policy must and will bring about better things for us. It is an open secret that the wisest and most far-seeing union leaders have often failed to carry out their more liberal policies for lack of the support which this new employers' policy would give them.

More than this. Our new policy would send many of the harmful union policies to the scrap heap, in company with some of our own.

What are these?

To be concrete, let us take a pair of the competing forces: The closed shop and the open shop. As long as employers believe their interests are best served or least harmed by a weak union, so long will the union fight as for its very life for the closed shop.

For as long as we hold that belief, so long will the unions believe—and in many cases believe rightly—that we will use the open shop to weaken the union by dropping the union men in preference to non-union men, as the need of men grows less with slackening work.

Personally I believe that if we adopt this new policy, the unions will soon cease to fight for the closed shop, for it will no longer be necessary.

If employers adopt this new policy of favoring strong labor unions, then the unions will change their policy in regard to apprenticeship. For the further reason that there will then be no longer any attempt to weaken unions by substituting an undue number of apprentices in place of skilled union workers as is done by some at present.

In a word, many of the union policies are war measures adopted to meet our war policies. If from our experience we now see our way clearer, and send these war policies to the scrap heap, the unions will do the same with many of theirs, out of self-interest, if from no higher motive.

For this new policy of ours will help to bring about that which is the most valuable to us for business success—the stability of labor conditions.

Is it not true that we can afford to pay any reasonable wages, or cut the hours of work down any reasonable amount, providing these wages and hours are the same for all our competitors; and are so stable that we can count on them with certainty in making our selling prices? Such stable conditions can only be brought about by strong labor unions.

Is it not true that our interests as producers or distributors are best served by having as consumers employees so highly paid as to be able to make a profitable demand for our wares? Is it not true that one man earning \$20 a week is more valuable as a profitable consumer than twenty men earning \$6 a week?

I am not unmindful that the general public has also its interest and rights in this question of wages and hours, as they affect the cost of production.

But the public can be amply protected, if necessary, through the tariff and other means.

On these final grounds our interests as employers are in accord with the interests of our employees, and the time has come to adjust our policies to these mutual interests.

The virtues of war are the vices of peace. We can change our policies without being ashamed. These policies were called for in the era of individualism that was the chief mark of the century just gone. But the larger men this era has bred have in turn bred larger, better policies, and noblesse oblige American employers will adopt them.

But I hear some one say, "If we strengthen the unions, they will run away with us, ruin us!" Of course I do not urge the policy of making stronger, better unions without taking for granted at the same time the necessity of stronger employers' associations. This need is too self-evident to require urging.

I have already pointed out that as a matter of fact, many of the excesses of the unions are due to their weakness, and by putting in our better men, and in other ways helping to strengthen them, we will stop these excesses. But, more than this, the surest way to make a conservative of a radical is to give him power—to make him assume responsibility. The unions are no exception to this truth, which I know to be a truth from many years of practical experience.

A NEW DEBS SCHEME.

Socialists to Organize to Fight the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods.

Chicago News, Jan. 10.

Plans were secretly laid in Chicago last Saturday at a conference of labor leaders from various parts of the country to organize a new great labor body in the United States and overthrow the American Federation of Labor. News of this became public to-day when the promoters of the new organization issued a "manifesto" outlining its purposes and calling for a convention to be held in Chicago June 27. Back of the movement is Eugene V. Debs. Among the labor organizations which are said to support the plan to overthrow the American Federation of Labor and supersede the American Labor Union are international unions affiliated with both of these.

The scheme contemplates the uniting of all wage-earners in the land under one general organization, whose trend shall follow the teachings of Socialism.

After attacking the present system of labor organization and prohibitive initiation fees the declaration is made that "class divisions foster political ignorance

among workers, thus dividing them at the ballot box as well as in the shop, mine and factory." Continuing, the manifesto says:

"Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the conditions of life of another body of laborers. Craft divisions hinder growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

"Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have failed because limited in scope and disconnected in action. Universal economic evils can only be eradicated by a universal working-class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles, which serve only the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

"A movement to meet these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally and working-class unity generally. It should be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration should be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

"It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

"All power should rest in the collective membership.

"Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards, initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

"Workingmen bringing union cards from foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

"All members should hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

"The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire organization and its principles, which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

"A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained."

The document is signed by the following:

Thomas J. De Young, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Houston, Texas.

Thomas J. Hagerty, of the American Labor Union, Chicago.

Charles O. Sherman, of the United Metal Workers, Chicago.

Fred D. Henion, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, Minneapolis.

M. E. White, of the American Labor Union, Denver.

Ernest Untermyer, Chicago.

W. J. Bradley, Minneapolis.

W. J. Pinkerton, of the Switchmen's Union of North America, Argentine, Kan.

Frank Krafft, International Union of United Brewery Workers, Chicago.

A. G. Swing, of the American Federation of Musicians, Cincinnati.

A. M. Simons, editor, *International Socialist Review*, Chicago.

J. E. Fitzgerald, Fort Worth, Texas.

Wade Shurtleff, of the International Musical Union, Cleveland.

William D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

"Mother" Jones, Chicago.

Frank M. McCabe, Chicago.

John M. O'Neill, editor, *Miners' Magazine*, Denver.

Charles H. Moyer, of the Western Federation of Miners, Denver.

William E. Trautmann, of the International Union of Brewery Workers, Cincinnati.

W. L. Hall, Chicago.

Joseph Schmitt, of the International Union Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Chicago.

Clarence Smith, Chicago.

John Guild, Chicago.

Daniel McDonald, Chicago.

Frank Bohn, New York City.

George Estes, Chicago.

A permanent executive committee was appointed, with William D. Haywood as president, W. E. Trautmann, secretary, and Clarence Smith, W. L. Hall and A. M. Simons as members. An office will be established in Chicago about February 1.

The Labor World of Pittsburg thus interprets the purpose of this movement:

Of course the chief aim, in fact, the only aim, of this proposed movement is to destroy or injure the American Federation of Labor and all other movements designed to perpetuate industrial peace. To accomplish this Debs wants the wild theories of a many-sided socialism put before the wage workers in hopes that they may be led from the oaths along which they have so safely and materially progressed. In this he will be aided by "Comrades" Parry & Co. The latter will be more than delighted at the move of Debs, in fact likely enough Parry & Co. are aiding Debs in his project, for they are working for the same air, viz., the destruction of trade unionism.

A unique union has been formed by Louisville carpenters. It will be known as Independent Carpenters' Union No. 1. Its objects are the open shop, no walking delegates, and no members except first class mechanics, and to prevent strikes and lockouts. It will be independent of all central organizations, and will not affiliate with the international body, but will accept all recommendations made by the Employers' Association, and work in harmony with that body—*American Industries*.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF BOSTON AND VICINITY.

THE NEW ENGLAND CENTER ESTABLISHED WITH GENERAL OFFICERS AND AN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPRESENTING EMPLOYERS, WAGE-EARNERS AND THE PUBLIC.

THE New England Civic Federation was organized at a meeting in Boston on Monday, Jan. 23, attended by representatives of employers, wage earners and the general public. Major Henry L. Higginson, of Lee, Higginson & Co., bankers, presided and E. H. Walcott, Secretary of the Boston Merchants' Association acted as secretary. This organization is to be the center of the work of the National Civic Federation throughout New England. Its formation is in accordance with the plan by which the entire country is to be divided into seven sections for that work, each having a center.

The New England organization was effected by the election of officers and an executive committee. The officers are: President, Lucius Tuttle, President Boston and Maine Railroad; First Vice-President, Frank H. McCarthy, President Boston Central Labor Union; Second Vice-President, Louis D. Brandeis, attorney-at-law; Treasurer, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Boston *Globe*; Secretary, E. H. Walcott, Secretary Boston Merchants' Association; Recording Secretary, Henry Abrahams, President Cigarmakers' Union.

The following constitute the Executive Committee:

On the part of the Employers: Amory A. Lawrence, President Merchants' Association, 89 Franklin Street; Lucius Tuttle, President Boston and Maine Railroad, North Station; Frederick P. Fish, President American Bell Telephone Company, 125 Milk Street; W. C. Winslow, 30 Congress Street; Arthur T. Lyman, Treasurer Boston Manufacturing Company, 50 State Street; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Boston *Globe*.

On the part of the Public: Charles Francis Adams, publicist, 23 Court Street; Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, 1 Joy Street; Major Henry L. Higginson, of Lee, Higginson & Co., 44 State Street; Hon. Charles S. Hamlin, 14 Beacon Street; John Mason Little, 74 Boylston Street; Louis D. Brandeis, attorney-at-law, 161 Devonshire Street.

On the part of Wage Earners: Dennis D. Driscoll, Central Labor Union, 93 E. Newton Street; Henry Abrahams, Cigarmakers' Union, 11 Appleton Street; Frank K. Foster, Typographical Union, 116 Eliot Street; Frank H. McCarthy, President Central Labor Union, 95 Regent Street; James R. Crozier, 25 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury; John F. Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, 434 Albany Building.

Several of those present addressed the meeting. Lucius Tuttle said that he could name no one who knew just how to settle the labor question. But he was sure that nothing had done so much good as a free exchange of views between the employer and employees. Wrong ideas and misunderstandings were not provocative of disputes. It conduced to calmness to turn the hot tea of controversy into the cool-saucer of confidence. Mr. Tuttle said that, as a railway president, he gave the committees of employees, with whom he conferred, type-written figures of the business of the road in the same confidence as he gave them to the directors. The employees had never violated this confidence.

Henry Abrahams, as a representative of labor, greeted President Tuttle as made of the proper metal,

for he was an employer willing to meet his employees. Most strikes resulted from the acts of superintendents and foremen, when the employees could not reach the head executive. If the Civic Federation did nothing more than to extend the practice of conference, it would have done a great work.

Charles H. Taylor, Jr., said that the Civic Federation was not intended to settle the whole labor problem, nor did any of its members believe that it could. The idea of the New England organization was to encourage conciliation and conference, and to lessen through fair discussion, the probability of conflict.

BROTHERHOOD HAS IMPROVED SERVICE.

By JOHN F. McNAMEE, Editor *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, Official Organ of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.

Twenty years ago the majority of railroad men had no incentive to superior effort, and their principal object was to make a stake. They changed employers almost continually and were hired without any preliminary examinations whatever nor much if any regard to their past record. Their employment was insecure and uncertain, promotions were the result of personal favoritism. They had no

source of appeal or hope of redress when unjustly treated as the result of personal dislike on the part of petty officials or from other causes. Almost every payday there were discharges at every yard office and roundhouse for drunkenness (something rarely, if ever, heard of nowadays). Men were no better off as far as prospects for promotion were concerned after years of service than they were when newly hired. and the term "railroader" was synonymous with that of "floater."

While it is a fact that many thousands of dollars are annually expended in equipping railway rolling stock with safety devices and improvements, these advantages to the men are more than counterbalanced by the greater exactions on the part of railroad companies as to the amount of work to be performed per man in the train service departments; many roads having single track twenty years ago have four tracks now; locomotives now are three times as large as they were then, and have three times the hauling capacity; where twenty cars was an average train then, a drag of seventy-five cars in one train is no unusual thing at the present day; where a freight car of twenty tons capacity was considered large twenty years ago, it pales into insignificance beside the fifty-ton cars that are in use to-day; where a hundred miles or less constituted a division and a day's work back in those good old days, the men are now often required to haul these greatly increased trains over divisions of from 150 to 200 miles in practically the same number of hours; there are certain modern conditions which greatly jeopardize public safety.

Men are not admitted to the Brotherhoods haphazard. A probationary period in railway employment of from nine months to a year is an essential requirement for the determination of their eligibility to the organization representing their occupation.

If at the end of this period they are still in the service and the investigating committee finds them morally eligible, they are accepted as members. Under the vigilant eyes of their superiors and their associate employees their possession of any physical or moral defects liable to incapacitate them from the proper performance of their duties will be quickly detected and the delinquents weeded out before becoming eligible for membership in the Brotherhoods. The Brotherhoods have come to stay. They are a fixture and must be reckoned with. They are universally respected, and railway managements, appreciating their usefulness and conservatism, recognize and encourage them. As business institutions they are conducted on a basis that defies adverse criticism.



LUCIUS TUTTLE,
President New England Civic Federation.



CHARLES H. TAYLOR, JR.,
Treasurer New England Civic Federation.



FRANK H. MCCARTHY,
First Vice-President New England Civic Federation.



HENRY ABRAHAM,
Corresponding Secretary New England Civic Federation.

CAUSES OF RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.

(Continued from page 6.)

down heavy grades; other roads are asking to be relieved from using safety appliances, and to be permitted to use an appliance that is neither fit for service nor emergency use. Train wrecks do occur because of insufficient or defective appliances.

To sum up the situation, I believe that wrecks are the result of carelessness, forgetfulness, long hours, heavy trains, the hurry-up system with discipline when time is not made, too many duties exacted from one employe, lack of a safe system in train running, and the failure to use safety appliances.

'SOCIALISM VERSUS UNIONISM.**A Disclosure of the Ulterior Purpose of Industrial Revolutionists in Entering Trades-Unions.**

The following correspondence concerning the hostility of Socialism to unionism has been exchanged between the editor of *The Worker*, a Socialist weekly, and the editor of THE MONTHLY REVIEW of the National Civic Federation:

THE WORKER, NEW YORK, November 23, 1904.
To the Secretary of the Civic Federation, New York City.

SIR: From the call for the fourth annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the Civic Federation I quote the following:

Another foe simultaneously assails organized labor. That foe is Socialism. Although Socialism is the avowed foe also of capital, it regards as an aid to its cause the radical type of employers' organizations, because of their common hatred of unionism. Socialism sees in unionism a means of bettering the condition of the masses that must postpone indefinitely the confiscation of all the machinery of production and distribution. Before Socialism can deliver its assault upon all capital it must remove from its way the self-improving organization of the wage-earners.

Your organization, Sir, professes to seek a basis for social and industrial peace. Do you think that this purpose is to be served by the publication of such unqualified falsehoods as that contained in the paragraph I have quoted? Or is it possible that, with the means at your disposal, you have made so superficial a study of the question that you can believe what you say in that paragraph? In either case, you deserve a rebuke proportionate in severity to the eminence of the men composing your Executive Committee and to the professions of devotion to the public welfare which they have made.

I speak, Sir, as an authorized spokesman of the Socialist party that has just cast half a million votes in this country, doubling its record of two years ago. I speak whereof I know when I tell you that the Socialists of this and other lands regard the trade-unions as their allies in the attack on capitalism, the movement for industrial democracy; that we rejoice in the victories of the trade-unions and do all in our power to render those victories more frequent and more complete; that our party, by formal resolutions in its national and international congresses, has repeatedly expressed its sympathy with the unions and advised its adherents to join the unions of their respective crafts; that the majority of our organized party members and the great majority of our candidates and party officers are trade-unionists; and that our party organization and its press has again and again raised funds to assist the trade-unions in their days of need. For proof I refer you to the proceedings of the International Socialist Congresses held at London in 1896, at Paris in 1900, and at Amsterdam in 1904; to the proceedings of the national conventions of the Socialist party held at Rochester in 1900, at Indianapolis in 1900 and 1901, and at Chicago in 1904; to the files of the numerous Socialist papers; and finally to the records of such Socialists and trade-unionists as Eugene V. Debs, Benjamin Hanford, James F. Corey, Frank A. Sieverman, Morris Brown, J. Mahlon Barnes, Max S. Hayes, Robert Bandlow and C. A. Hoehn.

I invite you, Sir, and through you the Civic Federation, to retract the false statement quoted, or to stand convicted of wilful mendacity.

Sincerely yours,

ALGERNON LEE,
Editor of *The Worker*.

OFFICE OF THE MONTHLY REVIEW,
NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION,
NEW YORK, December 1, 1904.

Mr. Algernon Lee, Editor *The Worker*, New York City.

SIR: I have before me your letter of recent date, in which you assert that a statement, given out by me as part of a call for the fourth annual meeting of the National Civic Federation, is an "unqualified falsehood," in so far as it describes as hostile the attitude of Socialism toward unionism; and you express your opinion that I merit a severe rebuke for either mendacity or ignorance.

In thus addressing me you claim to "speak as an authorized spokesman of the Socialist party that has just cast half a million votes in this country." You surely must advance that claim in a Pickwickian sense, since you must know that the Socialist party cannot truly claim as belonging to its ranks the 500,000 votes that were recently cast for Mr. Debs. You are well aware that many Single-Taxers and other radical groups, who have no more liking for Socialism than for smallpox, voted for Mr. Debs as a protest against the platform or candidates of the two great parties, or as a tribute to his personality. You have recognized in your own paper that the vote for Debs was enormously greater than the membership of the Socialist party. You have lamented that the number of your party members is less than 5 per cent. of the number of your voters (or less than 25,000), because your vote has increased in a larger ratio than your party membership. You have exhorted Socialist leaders to devote particular attention to the States where there was the greatest increase of the Debs vote and to do their utmost to get those who had cast their first "Socialist" vote this year really into the party organization.

You cannot, therefore, "speak as an authorized spokesman" for half a million voters. But you can and do speak as the editor of *The Worker*, a leading organ of what may be termed, for popular understanding, the Debsite Socialists.

In my statement I used the words "Socialism" and "unionism" in their broad, general sense. I freely confess, as you intimate, that I am not thoroughly familiar with the refined shades of distinction between the "fifty-seven varieties," or more of Socialism. Perhaps I would have been more technically correct had I stated that all of the DeLeon Socialist party and a large section of the Debs Socialist party are opposed to the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods. Those two varieties of Socialists are not opposed to all unions because, in fact, they have organized unions of their own to fight the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhoods. Their names are, respectively, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance (the DeLeonites in the East), the American Labor Union (the Debsites in the West), and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which is affiliated with the American Labor Union, and therefore a Debsite organization. The current Socialist literature furnishes incontestable evidence in support of these statements.

In denying my proposition that "Socialism" is inimical to "unionism," you adduce in your support statements that the Socialists regard the trade-unions as their allies in the attack on capitalism; that Socialists rejoice in the victories of the trade-unions, and do all they can to make them more frequent and complete; that your party, "by formal resolutions in its national and international congresses, has repeatedly expressed its sympathy with the unions, and advised its adherents to join the unions of their respective crafts"; that most of your party members, officers and candidates are trade-unionists, and that your "party organization and press have raised funds to assist unionists."

All these professions of friendship and support have an alluring sound, but their charm is somewhat shattered by the delightfully frank disclosure of the sinister object of the Socialists in going into the trade-unions. Mr. Jack London, a Socialist writer, in an article published in the *New York Independent*, in October, 1903, declared:

This revolt in the form of demands for an increased share of the joint product is being carefully and shrewdly shaped for a political assault upon society. . . . The leaders intend to direct the labor revolt to the capture of the political machinery of society. . . . With the control of the police, the army, the navy, and the courts, they will confiscate, with or without remuneration, all the possessions of the capitalist class which are used in the production and distribution of the luxuries and necessities of life. They mean to apply the law of eminent domain to the land and to extend the law of eminent domain until it embraces the mines, the factories, the railroads and the ocean carriers.

The Socialists turned their energies upon the trade-union movement. To win the trade-unions was well nigh to win the victory.

Instead of antagonizing the unions, the Socialists proceeded to conciliate the unions. "Let every good Socialist join the union of his trade! Bore from within and capture the trade-union movement."

To-day the great labor unions are honey-combed with Socialists. At work and at play, at business meeting and council, their insidious propaganda goes on. Night and day, tireless and unrelenting as a mortgage, they labor at their self-imposed task of undermining society.

The battle plan of the Socialists is to organize the working class and those in sympathy with it into a political party, with the object of conquering the powers of government and using them for the purpose of transferring the present system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution into collective ownership by the entire people.

This revelation by Mr. London is supplemented with brutal candor by Mr. Debs, who must be accepted as a really "authorized spokesman" of his party, since he was its nominee for President. In his speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston, just before the November election, Mr. Debs said:

Parry is doing a better work for us than we could do for ourselves. As Mr. Pure-and-Simple Union Man is crushed his eyes are opened to the fact that he must transfer his efforts to the political field.

Why does Mr. Debs welcome Parryism? He tells his audience the reason. It is because the success of Parryism would mean the crushing of Mr. Pure-and-Simple Union Man. If that is not an expression of hostility to unionism, what is it?

The *Indianapolis News*, published in the home town of Mr. D. M. Parry, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, and of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, calls attention to a remarkable tribute to Mr. Parry by the *Social Democratic Herald*. That official journal of the Socialists of Wisconsin published on its front page an interview with Mr. Parry, accompanied with the words, in display type, "COMRADE PARRY!" and "WAS FIGHTING FOR US!" The *United Mine Workers' Journal*, the official organ of a labor organization containing twenty times the membership of the Socialist party, made the following comment on this economic mesalliance:

The *Social Democratic Herald* is edited by Victor L. Berger who made a scandalous attack upon Messrs. Mitchell and Gompers. What tie binds Berger, Parry, Hayes, et al., in their warfare upon trades-unions? They eulogize Parry, call him "Comrade," and he in turn eulogizes them and calls them true men. It is a strange spectacle to see Parry and Berger link arms and denounce trades-unions, and is a cause for some deep thinking upon the part of trades-unionists. Here Parry denounces trades-unionists as murderers, incendiaries, thugs, grafters and other scandalous epithets, and then Berger, Debs, Hayes, et al., call him "Comrade." Reflect upon this, Mr. Trades-Unionist, and see if there are not

ample grounds for a complete divorce. If "Comrade" Parry, why not "Comrade" Peabody, as the latter only puts into practice what Parry preaches. "Comrade," forsooth!

To return to the attitude of the Socialists toward the American Federation of Labor, there can be no more competent witness than Mr. Samuel Gompers, who has just been re-elected president of that organization. You may read Mr. Gompers' speech in opposition to a Socialist resolution, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, in November, 1903, upon pages 196-197 of the Official Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Upon that occasion Mr. Gompers said:

I shall not refer at this time to their very many detailed acts of treachery to the trade-union movement but I shall show you that though they may believe themselves to be trades-unionists they are at heart, and logically, the antagonists of our movement.

When the Socialists formed the American Labor Union in rivalry to the American Federation of Labor, I took occasion to continually say in *The American Federationist* that it was but another attempt to form another Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, without its practical courage to openly declare its enmity to the American trade-union movement.

The secretary of the Socialist party has severed his connection with the reformed (?) Socialist party, because of his being opposed to the hostile tactics of that party to the trade-unions; and, being at heart a trade-unionist, he was forced out of his position. Since that time he has given to the world the real reasons why he was forced out,—because he dared to stand up in defense of trades-unions and against the policy of antagonizing the trades-unions and hoisting up the American Labor Union.

I want to tell you, Socialists, that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you and know how you think and what you propose. I know too what you have up your sleeve and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.

I trust, Brother Editor, that I have adduced sufficient evidence to establish the truth of the statement that you have, I fear, too sweepingly denied. If the testimony I offer does not seem to you sufficient, I refer you to an article in the November issue of THE MONTHLY REVIEW of the National Civic Federation, which I herewith take pleasure in sending you, and which sets forth in more detail the hostile purposes of the twin foes which unionism faces—Parryism and Socialism.

Sincerely yours,

R. M. EASLEY,
Editor MONTHLY REVIEW.

LABOR PRAISES OSCAR S. STRAUS.***The Motorman and Conductor.***

(Official Journal of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America.)

We doubt if there is a man among the many friends of the Amalgamated Association that is entitled to more appreciation at the hands of the Amalgamated railway men of America than Oscar S. Straus. Not only has he assisted from time to time the international officers to secure conferences with the various companies and bring about peaceful settlements of disputes that were threatening to lead to serious contentions and strife, but it was he as arbitrator in the San Francisco dispute of 1903 that gave to the street railway men of America the highest general rate of wages ever established for surface railway men.

The situation in San Francisco had become critical. Mr. Calhoun, representing the company, and Mr. Mahon, representing the organization, failed to agree upon the wage question. It was finally agreed that the matter should be submitted to arbitration, and the Hon. Oscar S. Straus was selected as arbitrator. The company spent many thousands of dollars employing the best of lawyers that the country afforded, and in preparing their evidence to, if possible, establish a lower wage rate than the one which at the time prevailed. On the other side, the Association, through the direction of that tireless and fearless advocate and friend of trades-unionism, Hon. Edward J. Livernash, of San Francisco, prepared their evidence at heavy expense and with much labor, and after many weeks of preparation the entire matter was submitted to Mr. Straus, who, after a careful consideration of the facts, established the wage at 26¼ cents per hour for the first two years, and after that time 27½ cents per hour; thus establishing the highest general rate of wage that had ever been established by the street railway workers throughout the country.

We doubt if the importance of this decision has been considered or truly appreciated by the great mass of our people, but here is the position that it places us in: Here is a wage rate established not by strike, or lock-out, or by force of any kind, but by a careful consideration of the entire conditions surrounding the occupation, and then by a man unbiassed and in no way in touch with either side; again, by a man who has a world-wide reputation for his fairness as an arbitrator. The result of this decision is bound, in the future, to be referred to, and to have the effect of assisting the men in other cities, where the wages are much lower, in establishing a reasonable and living rate. So, a moment's consideration of the work done by Mr. Straus cannot help but be appreciated by the great army of Amalgamated Railway Workers throughout the entire continent.

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RALPH M. EASLEY, Editor

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THE BODY KNOWN AS "THE PUBLIC"

"The Public" is a term with which some of those who discuss economic subjects would conjure a vision of some supreme and distinct body, separate and apart from the industrial struggle. That struggle is incessant, but varies in intensity. When it assumes an acute phase, because of precipitated conflict over wages or hours or conditions of work, it is a common experience to hear of the interest, the inconvenience, or the suffering of "The Public."

What is this "Public"? Is it possible to differentiate it sharply from the actual participants in any industrial war? Are the non-combatants separate and distinct from those who fight? Is their interest paramount?

It is evident that there does prevail a conception of such a body. It is often stated, for example, that the success or failure of a strike depends largely, if not mainly, upon public opinion. To that opinion employers and employed continually appeal, whenever they are at strife. Its moral force is tacitly recognized in every utterance, in every strategic move of the combatants. But how shall the body, whose verdict is thus regarded as vital to any cause, be defined?

The collection of opinions published in this issue of THE CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW is interesting, in that it reflects divers methods of using the term, coupled with ingenious efforts at its definition; and it is of value, in that it goes far to confirm the conclusion reached by one writer, that in the industrial struggle "there is no such thing as an outside public." Practically everybody in the community is interested in the profits of capital and the earnings of labor, for these are factors in all production as they are factors in all consumption. The influences and the effects of any industrial struggle are so far-reaching and so interwoven with the structure of all society that they cannot be dissected out of the body politic. A coal strike concerns every fireside; a cotton strike touches every wearer of fabrics; a railway strike affects everything that is carried, and transportation enters into almost every article that human beings use.

But thus "vague" as the general public may be, it undeniably exists. Because it is inseparable, it is none the less real. The important question is whether its interest is paramount. Is not its interest in any industrial strike purely selfish? "The Public" is usually apathetic to the conditions of workers in mines, in factories, upon railways. But when revolt comes, "the Public" is first awakened, through the inconvenience it suffers, to what may be cruel wrongs. The mass of people, preoccupied with a myriad pursuits, practically all workers, whether with hands or with millions, has little time or inclination to disturb itself about the profits of any single business, however great, or about the hardships or income of any class of toilers, however numerous. But let a clash come, let the smooth, everyday relations of supply and demand be interrupted, and the general community is rudely jarred out of indifference into interest whose intensity is likely to be proportionate to the degree of inconvenience caused or the increase in the cost of a product. Then ensues the process of forming public opinion upon a subject probably novel to most of those whose thought is thus aroused. In this way a strike, or a crisis in some industry, may be widely educational. "The Public" learned more in 1902 about the business of mining coal, about hours and wages and transportation and risks and profits, than it ever knew before. In contrast, "the Public" took but a languid, though wide and sympathetic, interest in the strike in the Fall River cotton mills, because the prices of manufactured cotton were not affected. The rise and fall of speculative fortunes in the market of raw cotton was more dramatic; and the recent spectacle of burning cotton in bales in the South has served to make many consider the relations between crops and demand, and to realize the economic crime of attempting to enhance prices by destroying natural wealth.

Thus "the Public" is painfully and expensively instructed. In time the larger lesson may be learned that it is the duty of "the Public," that is, of every one, to take active interest every day in the questions involved in the relations between capital and labor, instead of permitting attention to wait upon disturbance.

THE RIGHTING OF INDUSTRIAL WRONGS.

Recent events in Russia and the strike in the coal mines of Germany illustrate to labor in the United

States the vast difference between Socialism abroad and Socialism in this country. They make it manifest that the reason why Socialism makes so little headway here and is a negligible force in both politics and economics is that under republican institutions all of the people already have the civil and political rights which are denied to the mass of the people in many foreign countries. Socialism thrives upon the denial of rights. Socialism is puny in a land of equal justice to all and of mutual regard for the business success of employers and the welfare and fair reward of wage-earners.

In Russia the demands of the strikers, as formulated in the petition which they sought to present to the Czar, were so elementary, so absolutely essential to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," as to seem shocking to the American mind. To the free citizen of this Republic it seems incredible that tens of thousands of workmen should ask for a wage sufficient to sustain life; should beg for relief from a compulsory day of eleven hours; should humbly ask for laws applying alike to all classes; should seek representative government; should ask for the right to organize and that it be not a crime to choose delegates to present their grievances to employers. When labor has been so oppressed that death is preferable to life, the only alternatives are revolution or extermination. Even in Germany, a land of constitutional government, 270,000 men are described as working naked in water for 96 cents a day, fatally affected by worm disease because their lives are daily in darkness, cursed by the overseers as lazy, required by an antiquated custom of militarism to stand at attention and click their heels together the moment a foreman approaches a subterranean gang, and forced to the gloomy query: "What difference, whether we starve or perish fighting?" To this outcry the only answer of the employers is: "Return to work, or under the law we will mulct you six days' wages."

It is conditions such as these that make Socialism abroad a political and social force of moment. It is able there to appropriate to itself the advocacy of social and industrial reforms that appeal to the fundamental instincts of self-preservation and self-respect.

But the weakness of Socialism in America is the absence of such monstrous wrongs as still prevail in the lands of class separation. This is not to say that we have attained or even approached social and industrial perfection in the United States. Many wrongs are yet to be righted, many crooked things are still to be made straight. In all movements for industrial betterment, organized labor is performing its share with increasing intelligence and efficiency. Particularly of late is it addressing its efforts toward educational advancement.

It is only in abuses that the root of Socialism can flourish. Frequently it seeks to mingle and confuse its propaganda with the advocacy of reforms noble in themselves. In such efforts, wage-earners and well-meaning reformers should be alert to discriminate between their own cause and Socialism, which often assumes the mask of rectitude to disguise its presence in the midst of the righteous.

SOME SELF-ANSWERED CRITICS.

The Editor has received a letter from an employer who is a member of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America, and several clippings from papers owned by branches of that organization, finding fault with an article in the November number of THE REVIEW under the caption of "Three Conspicuous Foes of Organized Labor." The burden of the complaint is that this article was "extremely partisan," "unfair," "unjust," etc. We have gone over the article line by line in search for justification for this criticism and confess that our search has been in vain. On the other hand, we cannot believe from the nature of their comments, that our critics have read the article in its entirety.

The purpose of that article, as its heading indicates, was to show just who the foes of organized labor are; the contention being that, while beset with "Parryism" on one side and Socialism ("Debsism") on the other, the most dangerous foe of Unionism ("Gompersism," as it is termed by Citizens' Alliance folk) is its own inherent weaknesses. No offense was intended in using the word "Parryism" as embracing that class of employers' organizations whose real animus against organized labor is openly avowed. We are informed by friends of Mr.

Parry that he is proud of the title, and therefore there can be no personal offense to him in the term. The criticism of the official journals of these employers' associations is expected, as it was from these same journals that the evidence of the real purpose of the Industrial Alliance movement was cited. Nor are we surprised that the Socialists attacked the article as "unjust" and "unfair." In another column will be found the correspondence between the Editor of the official organ of the "Debsite" Socialists and the Editor of the CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW, which speaks for itself. The response of the Socialists is much franker, however, than is that of the "Parryites." The Socialists make denials in detail, but our other critics bide behind glittering generalities and ignore entirely the specific allegation that their movement is a foe to organized labor.

Here is the point, and the whole point: Did or did not the President of the National Association of Manufacturers and of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America, as alleged, formally declare?—

This is not the proper time to talk conciliation. . . . Since the principles and demands of organized labor are absolutely untenable to those believing in the individualistic social order, an attitude of conciliation would mean an attitude of compromise with regard to fundamental convictions. . . . Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or joint agreement. To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods of determining what they shall be and an equitable arrangement as to either cannot be effected artificially. . . . Arbitration is only putting off the day of reckoning.

Did or did not the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance make, as alleged, the following declarations?—

No organization of men, not excepting the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia, or the Black Hand Society, has ever produced such a record of barbarism as has this so-called organized labor society which, through misdirected sympathy, apathy and indifference, has been permitted to grow up to cripple our industries, and to trample in the dust the natural and constitutional rights of our citizens.

Did or did not the same officer announce this dictum?—

The only way to settle a controversy with organized labor is to have absolutely no dealings with it.

Did or did not a preacher, described as a "personal representative of D. M. Parry" and as the editor of a publication of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, state to a secret meeting of manufacturers, merchants, contractors and professional men, at Evansville, Indiana?—

The Citizens' Alliance consists of both employers and employees. It is secret because in secrecy is its greatest strength. It has signs of recognition, pass words, and signs of distress. . . . In nine days I saw in one city 1,200 union men reduced to 62 and join the Citizens' Alliance.

If these representatives of the "Citizens' Alliance" movement did not make these statements, or if they have changed their minds since they did make them, or if the English language has to them a meaning different to its comprehension and use by all others, the columns of THE REVIEW are open to their denial, recantation or explanation.

But, after all, is it worth while to try to discuss seriously industrial questions with the members or the official organs of a body of men who, in spite of the widely published fact that the American Federation of Labor had rejected Socialistic resolutions at its Boston convention by a majority of 13,000 to 1,000, and again at San Francisco, so overwhelmingly as to make a roll call superfluous, deliberately declared in their call for their recent annual convention?—

Insidious and socialistic doctrines as preached, published and practiced by so-called labor leaders have of late so dominated labor unions as to preclude the exercise of free and independent thought on the part of intelligent members of labor unions, and have become a hindrance to business and a menace to society.

Or with men who, in the face of the widely published fact that the San Francisco convention, representing 2,000,000 wage-earners, had rejected, by an overwhelming majority, a resolution opposing service in the militia, its President, Samuel Gompers, emphatically declaring it the positive duty of every able-bodied wage-earner to encourage the citizen militia in convention assembled, deliberately adopted and published this declaration?—

Whereas, Organized labor throughout the country seeks to discourage and practically prohibits membership in the militia.

We hardly think it is.

THE "AGE LIMIT."

Official Testimony Contradicting the Current Assertion That Two Great Corporations Discharge Employees When Thirty-five Years Old.

The *Labor Compendium*, of St. Louis, official organ of the International Building Trades Council, on January 1 contained the following:

"Will the Carnegie Steel Company now rescind the rule which, according to reports, it had adopted against the hiring of men over thirty-five years of age in some departments and over forty years in another? Surely, the address of Andrew Carnegie to the National Civic Federation would indicate a new and more humane policy to be inaugurated in 1905 than has been promulgated in 1904."

It can be stated authoritatively that Mr. Carnegie does not own a single share of stock in the Carnegie Steel Company and that he has no more to do with its management or with its policy as to labor than has the editor of the *Compendium*.

The main point, however, is as to the "age limit." The statement has been going the rounds not only of the labor press, but of the daily press for months, that the Carnegie Steel Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company had made it their rule to discharge all employees as soon as they reach the age of thirty-five. These two corporations have been linked in many a paragraph of bitter denunciation.

Last year's files of the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION contain correspondence, which THE REVIEW has permission to publish, that discloses fully and exactly the facts as to the policy of both these companies. They show that the "age limit" relates only to the employment of new men. In response to letters of inquiry from the Secretary of the Welfare Department and from the chairman of the Executive Council, letters were written by W. H. Corbett, Paymaster of the Carnegie Steel Company, and by Max Riebenack, Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The relation between the age limit and the pension fund is more fully discussed in Mr. Riebenack's article upon "Railway Provident Institutions," which appears elsewhere in this issue.

Mr. Corbett's letter states:

"It is not true that our men are discharged when they reach the age of thirty-five years, or any other age for that matter, so long as they can give satisfactory service. To my personal knowledge there are several hundred men over fifty years old, some few over sixty, and about two years ago one of our stationary engineers died in active service who was eighty. Of course the latter is an exceptional case. He had been in continuous service for about twenty-five years, and when the Carnegie Relief Fund was started, arrangements were being made to place him on the pension list.

"From their rules I quote: 'Any employee of a constituent company of the Carnegie Company which has been ten years with the Carnegie interests who shall have reached the age of sixty years, shall have been at least fifteen years continuously in the service of the company and who claims that he is, or should his employing officer consider him, incapacitated for further service, may make application to be retired and the Advisory Board shall decide whether or not he shall be placed upon the pension list.'

"From this you will note that even after they get to be sixty years of age they are cared for if they have seen fifteen years of active service.

"In taking on new men, preference is always given to younger and more able-bodied men for the reason that if we were to take on men well up in years the relief fund would soon be overtaxed on the age limit, and it is of course good policy to arrange for care of those now in the service who, when they arrive at pensionable age, are entitled to the benefits.

"Regarding the savings fund, its principal object is to allow employees to save enough for a foundation to obtain their own homes, which many have done, by using this fund to save until they had enough to buy a lot and then the company would, through trustees of a fund for that purpose, lend enough money to build a comfortable house, which could be repaid in monthly instalments, which would amount to perhaps a trifle more than rent.

"In this way many of our best employees gained homes and became permanent residents of the vicinity, and thus established themselves as permanent employees.

"Regarding men who leave service of this company to go to work elsewhere, and for any reason return later and apply for work again, it could not be expected they would get back their former position, as promotions had been made when they left, and upon their return would certainly not be entitled to consideration other than as new men. Such leaving and reinstatement, however, would not debar them from pension allowance provided not more than two years have elapsed, but would be deducted in computing length of service. Leave of absence, suspension, temporary lay-off on account of reduction of force or disability, are not deducted in computing length of service.

"Our older employees, if not eligible to pension fund, are usually given light work, such as cleaning up the yards, drying sand, carrying oil for lubricating machinery, oiling cars, etc.

"Many of our stationary engineers are men of much

experience and some of them are over fifty years. In that position much valuable machinery is under their care and requires men of judgment and experience that are not always obtainable in the younger men, and as the position is not hard manual labor, they can perform their duties satisfactorily."

Mr. Riebenack wrote:—"I would advise that copies of the original circular issued by the president of this company in regard to the age limit for employment in the service on and after January 1, 1900, is not available. I give you below, however, a transcript of what was embodied in the circular, and amended as of February 27, 1901, bearing upon this feature. The amendment covers the addition of the fourth clause, in regard to the interchange of service between the lines east and west of Pittsburgh, or from one company to another, associated in the administration of the Pension Department.

"As amended and approved by the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company at their meeting held February 27, 1901, and concurred in by the Boards of Directors of the other companies associated in the administration of the Pension Department.

"No person shall be taken into the service of the company who is over thirty-five years of age, except that, with the approval of the Board of Directors—

"First—(a)—Former employees may be re-employed within a period of three years from the time of their leaving the service, or former employees of any other company associated in the administration of the Pennsylvania Railroad Pension Department, may be employed within a period of three years from the time of their leaving the service of such company;

"Second—(b)—Persons may, irrespective of age limit, be employed where the service for which they are needed requires professional or other special qualifications:

"But:—

"Third—Persons may be temporarily taken into the service, irrespective of age limit, for a period not exceeding six months, subject to extension, when necessary to complete the work for which engaged, and

"Fourth—Persons in the active service of any company associated in the administration of either the Pennsylvania Railroad Pension Department or the Pension Department of the Pennsylvania Lines west of Pittsburgh, may, irrespective of age limit, be transferred to and employed in the service of any such company."

"This age limit has been in force for nearly five years, and we have not experienced any difficulty in carrying out its provisions. The conclusion which led to its adoption was that by restricting the age limit for entrance into service to thirty-five years, all employees upon reaching the pensionable age (sixty-five years) would have been thirty years in the service, which latter is a requirement in order to be pensioned at that age."

A SOCIALIST CRITIC PILLORIED.

The Civic Federation, the organization whose object is to make the slaves satisfied with their lot, has just elected August Belmont, the Rothschild agent, its President! How the Rothschilds do love the working mules! And the mules listen to such men!—*Appeal to Reason*.

Since Mr. Belmont was elected President of the Civic Federation the editor of the *United Mine Workers' Journal* has made diligent inquiry about him among his employees and finds that Mr. Belmont is a fair-minded, liberal employer, who meets committees from labor unions, holds conferences with them, pays union wages and insists upon union conditions. He employs nearly 15,000 men in various occupations and has wage agreements with nearly all of them. He was at the head of the movement which built the great New York Subway, costing \$35,000,000, most of which is a tunnel nearly ten miles long. With the single exception of the few blows of a pick struck by ex-Mayor Van Wyck not a stroke of work was done upon that gigantic enterprise by non-union labor, and it is a monument to the skill of union labor. Mr. Belmont insisted upon that point. W. D. Mahon, President of the street car workers' organization, testified that Mr. Belmont is a fair, liberal man to deal with, and has, upon several occasions, settled strikes or prevented them when the matter was brought to his attention, and keeps the agreements both in spirit and letter and pays the highest wages in the country. Others state that if every member of a labor union would patronize the union label as strictly as Mr. Belmont does, sweat shops and unfair manufacturers would soon vanish.

That is one picture. Here is another: The editor of the *Appeal to Reason* is A. J. Wayland. He is the man who calls the men who made the United States great "working mules." Elegant classification. Well, in 1902, Mr. Wayland's employees asked for an advance in wages. Did he grant it? No; he would not receive a committee of its employees, and locked them out and filled their places with scabs. The *Appeal to Reason's* wage scale showed that the girls got \$3 per week. Mr. Wayland nearly ruined himself by his lavish generosity. Now which, August Belmont, receiving his employees, listening to their grievances, adjusting them fairly and honorably, paying the highest wages, or A. J., locking out his \$3-a-week girls? Which more truly represents the spirit of American manhood? Which could a bona fide trades unionist respect the most? No wonder, with his aggregation of scabs, that he terms working people "mules." Perhaps his are.—*United Mine Workers' Journal*.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT

OF

The National Civic Federation

OFFICERS

H. H. VREELAND, Chairman.
 CYRUS H. McCORMICK, First Vice-Chairman.
 JOHN H. PATTERSON, Second Vice-Chairman.
 EDWARD A. FILENE, Third Vice-Chairman.
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THE NEW PROFESSION.

Five Welfare Managers Describe Their Duties and the Growth of Their Departments.

Five directors of welfare work in different industrial establishments contribute to this issue of THE CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW articles descriptive of their duties, and of the progress they have made in organizing and making effective their departments. In each case the writer is at the head of a distinct Welfare Department. The articles illustrate, therefore, first of all, the prime importance of devoting to the supervision of welfare work in large establishments the entire time and attention of one person. It has been shown by actual experience that even when an employer is willing and anxious to put welfare work into operation, if its direction is entrusted to any official already charged with special duties the pressure of his daily business routine relegates the welfare work to the last consideration. These articles prove that welfare work has been successfully prosecuted when responsibility is concentrated, and all of its branches are placed under the direction of one person. Otherwise, efforts by various heads of departments to be found in any organized business may conflict, or special and, perhaps, pressing needs may escape attention.

The general rule for all welfare work in large concerns, that its successful conduct requires the employment of a welfare manager, has created a distinct profession. Moreover, the profession of welfare manager is new. For example, the writers of these articles are among the first to be placed in charge of Welfare Departments, and yet the oldest of them has been performing his duties less than five years.

It has been shown that the qualifications of a welfare manager, welfare director or welfare superintendent—whichever term may be preferred—while exacting, can be met successfully. This welfare worker should not only possess tact, executive ability, common sense, acquaintance with local jealousies and sometimes with racial prejudices, but a knowledge of industrial subjects involved in the relations between employer and employed. The manager must acquire a comprehensive and definite understanding of the field that welfare work covers.

How can this preliminary but essential knowledge be acquired? After reading all the available literature upon the subject, it will be necessary for the beginner to learn from conferences with welfare workers of experience of their actual successes and failures and their causes. It is highly desirable that one entering this work should have comparatively expert mastery of some one specialty, such as medicine, mill engineering, architecture, domestic science or trained nursing. Equipped with such a specialty the welfare worker will know how to make a definite beginning with confidence. From the point of vantage thus gained, the new manager may take up one by one the most pressing needs and respond to the most obvious opportunities for extending the work. The practical experience gained in meeting these will prove an educational process that will develop the manager's ability to meet the various and larger demands upon these qualities of character that alone can make one adapted to the profession.

It is necessary that the welfare manager, at the outset, should become familiar with the business conditions that confront the establishment in which the work is being applied. The welfare worker must be patient to endure the slow realization of plans. Keen competition or the rapid growth of a business may either retard or temporarily prevent the execution of plans whose desirability is recognized.

One of the difficulties that this new profession encounters is the adjustment of its delicate relations to the superintendents. There must be a gradual process of convincing them that the presence in an establishment of a welfare manager will not interfere with their discipline or lessen their responsibility, but will bring about in time a gain in results of intelligent and harmonious co-operation.

GERTRUDE BECKS.

A VAST FIELD OF ENDEAVOR.

By R. W. CORWIN, M. D.,

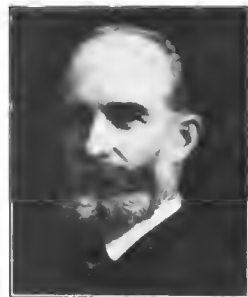
Superintendent Welfare Department, The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., Pueblo, Col.

The welfare work of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company is organized under the title of Sociological

Department. Its field covers forty properties consisting of coal, manganese, and iron mines, coking and steel plants, rolling mills and two railroads. These properties are scattered through portions of four States and give employment, when in full operation, to nearly 17,000 men, who, together with their families, make a total of well nigh 80,000 persons. This population is settled in many small communities and comprises thirty-two nationalities speaking twenty-seven different tongues, not to mention a variety of dialects.

In a field of such magnitude and highly different topographical conditions, concentration of effort is impossible. What might be done with comparatively little effort and expense were these families all concentrated in one city, becomes at once a much more difficult and expensive task with conditions as they actually exist. For the successful prosecution of the work the Welfare Department enlists the services of a superintendent and assistant superintendent, a superintendent of kindergartens and domestic science, thirteen kindergartners, the superintendent and matron of our Normal and Industrial School, managers and presidents of clubs, directors of reading rooms, teachers of night schools, a director of an orchestra and two directors of bands.

The educational work of the department begins with the kindergartens, of which there are thirteen. The work is peculiar in that many of the children enter with no knowledge of English; nevertheless, the little ones learn to speak and sing in our language with astonishing quickness. At Christmas time there are joyous entertainments in each kindergarten when gifts and candy are provided for all the children. In spite of the strike disturbances of last winter, surprisingly little difference was seen in the attendance at the kindergartens. Even when the strikers were compelled



R. W. CORWIN, M. D.

to keep off the company grounds, the mothers would bring their children to the picket lines and pass them through to school, thus showing their confidence in the teachers. Now that the strike is over the attendance is larger than at any previous time in the history of the schools. The same is true to a much larger extent of the social and industrial clubs and mothers' meetings.

Wherever there is a kindergarten teacher, groups of the older boys and girls are organized for social and recreative purposes, and other groups for industrial education. The smaller children find interest in games and stories that inculcate patriotism, courage, kindness, and gentleness; the older girls and boys in club swinging, dancing, basket-ball and target shooting. Light refreshments add attraction to the club meetings. One of the clubs edits and publishes a little bi-monthly newspaper, the children having their own printing press.

Instruction in simple cooking is given the children at a number of camps, including the use of ordinary utensils; the proper preparation of vegetables, meats, eggs and fruits; the care of cupboards and house-keeping. Similar classes are also conducted for the women of the camps in which cooking, sewing, basketry, child study and literature are the topics discussed.

Separate houses are provided for the use of the kindergarten teachers. These are simply and inexpensively furnished and serve as standards of taste and economy of expenditure for the housekeepers in each community. At the same time they become centers for social work.

Once a month the kindergarten teachers meet in Trinidad, Colorado, under the direction of their superintendent for conference, instruction, and suggestions. Some special phase of the work is taken up at each conference. Thus, the teachers are helped individually and a healthful *esprit de corps* is established.

The department works in very close co-operation with the public schools in the camps. The local school boards have been assisted in securing good teachers, and architects' plans for proper buildings have been furnished. Where the public school funds have been exhausted teachers are being carried on our pay-roll. The yards of three of the public schools have been equipped with play apparatus for children and two more yards are to be so furnished at once. The play is made free and unrestrained and is encouraged, not checked, by the teachers.

Night schools are conducted at several of the camps and also at our Normal School building in Pueblo. In fact, such schools are organized wherever there is a demand. The school at Rouse was composed almost entirely of Japanese.

The commodious lounging, reading, and lecture rooms in our Normal School building at Pueblo are occupied by a polytechnic association, composed of civil, mechanical, and electrical engineers, superintendents of departments and managers of metal producing plants. Smokers, lectures, and social events diversify the winter.

In Pueblo, where our steel plant is located, giving

employment to six or seven thousand men when at full capacity, a company hospital is also located, which Dr. Lorenz, of Vienna, has pronounced to be the finest hospital in America. Here is established likewise, our normal and industrial school, in which an evening course in the elementary branches is conducted during the winter months, and a six weeks' normal course in the summer to instruct and train teachers and workers of the department in their peculiar duties. At the first term of the normal school sixty-seven teachers were in attendance from four States. Besides the regular normal course there were classes in sociology, domestic science and physical culture. This school greatly increased the efficiency of the camp teachers. The building is also used as a dormitory and social center for steel workers and others.

The instruction given the kindergarten teachers in cooking, sewing, and basketry has by them been imparted to the classes in the camps. Especially popular are the classes in sewing. The girls have learned to do fine stitching, hemming and embroidery, and this winter they are being taught to make skirts, shirt waists, and dresses.

The work of the Normal School was supplemented last summer by sending a party of our teachers to the St. Louis Exposition. The expenses of the teachers to St. Louis were paid by the company on condition that the teachers remained there at least two weeks; that they visit the educational exhibit at least three mornings each week, and that they submit to the Sociological Department before September 1st, a thesis upon some phase of the exhibit. Every morning throughout June some twenty teachers were busy in the Educational Building with note books and pencil. Their studies resulted in the production of about twenty essays, each upon a specific subject studied at the Exposition, which have been roughly bound and are now being circulated from camp to camp so that each teacher may have the benefit of the work of all the others.

The local surgeons stationed in each camp give semi-monthly lectures in the school houses for the benefit of pupils, teachers, and parents, and these lectures are often supplemented by the use of the stereopticon. These lectures are followed up by a series of monthly bulletins in the form of a leaflet of four pages devoted to such subjects as "Milk and Its Care," "Consumption," "Foods," "Liquor Problem," etc. Each bulletin contains practical information and useful suggestions upon vital life and health problems. Scientific names and unfamiliar terms are eliminated or avoided as far as expedient. These bulletins are free to all employees and the teachers explain their contents to their pupils and the local physicians do the same for the adults.

Dances and dramatic entertainments by home talent, under the direction of company officers, are popular forms of entertainment in several camps.

A circulating library is kept traveling between stations throughout the territory. This library is increasingly popular. In one camp a long line of children is always waiting when the time for exchanging books arrives. This library is contained in forty-five boxes, of which twenty-nine are devoted to English books for adults, twelve to juvenile works and four to works in Italian. There is also a circulating collection of art. This comprises thirty sets of twelve pictures each. The pictures are accompanied by a typewritten description or interpretation of their meaning, together with a brief survey of the artists, school or type. Several hundred dollars contributed by interested individuals have been expended for casts and framed pictures to adorn the interiors of school buildings.

At several of the larger mining communities we have erected recreation halls and club houses for the men containing card and game rooms, bar and hall for entertainments.

A new club house for men at Segundo contains reading, card and billiard rooms, a barber shop and bath room. No liquors are served. Another men's club contains a lounging room and well stocked bar in addition to the attractions mentioned above. The reading rooms are supplied with popular weekly and monthly magazines and daily papers, the latter in English, Italian and Slavonic. These rooms are easily accessible from the card rooms and furnish an attractive place of rest after enjoying the shower and tub baths in the basement. Once a month this club house is thrown open to the wives and daughters and visiting friends of members.

A "no treating" rule encourages temperance in the use of liquor, and all soft drinks are served at a nominal cost.

The plans for our Industrial Home are yet in their incipency and the experiments thus far made have not been successful. Mattress making has proven too heavy work and just the right occupations have not been hit upon.

Special attention is paid to the sanitary laying out of new camps; the construction of model dwellings; the renovation and improvement of old houses and general sanitary improvement, such as cleaning wells and cisterns and providing for the systematic disposal of refuse.

The new dwellings, usually from three to six room cottages, are comfortable and convenient. Many of

them are furnished with water and electric lights. The variety of architecture and color transforms an unattractive coal camp into a most picturesque and attractive village.

A fine new church has been erected at Primero at a cost of \$7,000. Its seating capacity is about three hundred, and under its bell tower, a gallery affords ample room for choir and pipe organ. A large chancel contains a robing room and vestry. In the basement is a hall designed for a club room, reading room and lodge room. In its free use the people can enjoy every privilege not inconsistent with the church work and the welfare of the community.

In the other camps the Sociological Halls and school houses are used for Sunday School, Christian Endeavor and church services.

At the Recreation Hall of our hospital at Pueblo, chapel services are held every Sunday morning for convalescents, nurses, doctors and visiting friends. Brief addresses by prominent speakers from various parts of the country and varied walks in life frequently add to the helpfulness of these services. It is planned shortly to add to the attractiveness of the service by the addition of a vested choir.

This winter it is planned to extend the bathing facilities afforded our men by erecting a series of showers, wash basins, and clothes lockers for the miners at Primero similar to the equipment for the coke pullers at Redstone, but on a much larger scale. As rapidly as possible this equipment will be extended to all the camps.

No account of the work of the Sociological Department would be complete without reference to the Company Hospital at Pueblo, but an entire article would be necessary to do it justice, for no complete hospital is to be found in this country. The Medical Department treated last year 63,141 cases at the hospital and camps.

The work of the Sociological Department has received pleasing recognition at the St. Louis Exposition, inasmuch as our Kindergarten work and Industrial class work were each awarded a gold medal and our system of workmen's dwellings received a silver medal.

WISE EMPLOYMENT OF LEISURE

By MARY E. HAMSON,

Welfare Superintendent in a Large Manufacturing Community.

A French writer has said: "Oh, if I could discover how best to employ the leisure of men! Labor in plenty there is sure to be, but where look for recreation? The daily work provides the daily bread, but laughter gives it savor."



MISS MARY E. HAMSON.

Only men are employed in our works. The company, after having provided for their welfare and comfort during working hours, decided to extend the welfare work into their leisure time and to include their wives and children, believing that what is done for a man's family is a help to the man.

Much of this outside welfare work centers in a commodious Guild House, to which is attached a Guild Hall, containing modern improvements, including electric lighting, a stage, equipped with all the accessories for amateur theatricals, dressing rooms, a coat room for men and a cloak room for women. The main floor of the assembly room in Guild Hall will seat six hundred, and a gallery at one end will accommodate an additional number of people. This auditorium is available to the employees, for social entertainments, concerts and so forth, at a nominal price.

On the first floor of the Guild House are parlors and sitting rooms used as class rooms; reading rooms; a circulating library; and a thoroughly equipped kitchen.

For the purpose of encouraging out-door sports among its employees and their children, the company enclosed a five-acre plot situated between the office building and the Guild House. This athletic field has tennis courts and a running track. A portion of the space is used for baseball or football, according to the season of the year.

This year, to meet the growth of the work, a thoroughly modern gymnasium has been constructed, a system of baths being included. Besides the salary of the Librarian, the company contributes \$25 a month toward the purchase of books. There are contributors from other sources. A separate building is being erected for library purposes, so great has been the appreciation of this side of the work.

The class work begins in October, and extends through May, making a working year of eight months.

On Monday afternoons there is an embroidery class for girls between eight and fourteen years of age. They may either buy their own material or be furnished with work, in which case the worker may buy the finished article at cost. Some one reads aloud while the girls work.

On Tuesday evening there is a class for the mothers

and older sisters. The instruction is free, and there is an annual December sale of embroidered articles.

An art class meets on Monday afternoons. This year they are doing water color sketching under a competent instructor. Each member of the class furnishes her own materials, and pays ten cents a lesson for the instruction.

A class in piano instruction has been started. The charge is twenty-five cents for a half hour lesson.

The senior cooking classes are attended by those whose age enables them to make a definite and immediate use of the learning acquired. Each class partakes of the results of its own modest labors, sitting down to a meal attractively served upon a carefully laid table, thus giving an opportunity for table setting and serving. The junior cooks take home part of their results for parental approval. A trained instructor is hired to teach these classes. The cost to each girl is twenty-five cents a month, payable in advance, for one lesson each week.

A class in bead work meets on Saturday afternoons. Each member pays the cost of the beads used.

The basket making clubs on Tuesday afternoons are for girls; Thursday afternoons for boys; and Saturday mornings for advanced workers, both boys and girls. The cost to each is the price of the material used. For home work, two or three cents' worth of material is sold to a child. In June comes a basket exhibit, at which the fathers and mothers are invited guests.

The sewing school, which meets on Friday afternoons, includes fifteen classes of twelve pupils each. These classes are taught by volunteers from among the wives of the officers and head men of the company. A carefully graded course is followed. The stitches learned are applied by each girl in the making of aprons and undergarments for herself. The work for the graduating year is the cutting, fitting and making of dresses. In the dressmaking department each girl furnishes the dress material used. An experienced teacher has charge of this work.

To relieve the tension for the younger girls part of the sewing time is devoted to instruction in housekeeping. The object of this is to teach the girls to work neatly and intelligently at home with the utensils and materials there provided.

On Friday nights there is a class for advanced pupils in dressmaking. Here a charge of twenty-five cents a month is made, payable in advance, one lesson each week.

One of the most popular events of the week is the Wednesday evening dancing class for younger children. Two instructors and a pianist are furnished. The charge is five cents a week, except for hops, when it is ten cents.

On Thursday nights, the older people have a weekly dance. The music is the piano and violin. The admission is ten cents for ladies and fifteen cents for men.

The social clubs on Monday nights and Tuesday afternoons are for girls; on Thursday and Friday nights for boys. Prompt and full attendance attests their enjoyment and appreciation. The members of each club confer weekly with a director who receives suggestions, makes suggestions, and helps them to carry out ideas for mutual enjoyment. At the close of the club year the girls entertain their brothers and cousins. The boys also have a special party once a year.

Each gymnastic class meets once a week. The cost of these classes includes the use of soap and towel for the bath. The yearly charge is \$3 for seniors; \$2.50 for intermediates, and \$2 for juniors. The instructor is on duty each night from five until nine. The girls and women are as enthusiastic and faithful in attendance as the boys and men.

The company is constantly extending its outside welfare work because its beneficial results are increasingly obvious.

GRATIFYING RESULTS ACCOMPLISHED.

By W. E. C. NAZRO, B. A. S., S. B.

Welfare Manager in a Large Manufacturing Community.

Sympathy between the employer and the employee is the keynote to industrial peace. In the early days it was very easy for the employer to keep in touch with his men and to prevent neglect of things necessary to their welfare. But to-day the larger area that our plants cover, together with the vast amount of work, makes it impossible for the heads of the business to keep close inspection over the property, the factory and the people. Such problems have brought about the position of Welfare Manager, a position, however, which can never be made a success unless the heads of the business are in thorough accord with the work, and unless, upon large fete days or other social entertainments, they attend and lend their personal interest to the occasion. It was through this perfect sympathy of the treasurer of a large manufacturing plant that I was engaged to fill the position of Welfare Manager.

My first tour of inspection brought to light many little things that required immediate attention, such as cleaning up rubbish about the mill and houses. The grounds about the houses especially required the use of the hoe and shovel.

Systems of collecting ashes and carrying away

garbage were inaugurated, also a system of visiting the houses every few months was carried on until all the little repairs and leaks had been attended to. A remark was made by one of the men a little while after I had taken up the work, "that it was really the first time that the people thought that the company cared how they lived, and that they appreciated the step that the company had taken in providing some one to listen to their wants."

Not only did we try to improve their home life but endeavored to make their daily life about the factory more wholesome, procuring for them the best sanitary appliances, ventilation, drinking water, and many minor betterments.

We then started upon a plan to improve the exterior of our plant. New roads were built, good drainage systems constructed, grass plots laid out and vines planted.

The development of this side of the problem was very interesting to watch, because we had expended this amount of money in the hope of showing our people how grounds should be kept up, or at least to give them an interest to try some of the methods upon their own places. I may say that we felt great gratification to learn that on the first Saturday afternoon after these improvements the employees took home the lesson that we had taught them, and began edging their walks, cutting their grass, etc. Thus it was that our first efforts to show the people how to better their surroundings had been eagerly accepted. It is with this proof in view that I am led to believe that the employees' environment has much to do with developing their character and increasing the happiness of their lives.

So this principle of showing by example has been carried through our different branches of welfare work in our library, dining hall, kindergarten, and other institutions, with the hope of encouraging our employees to strive toward higher ideals.

I was once asked, "Are you not getting your buildings a little too good for your men?" As they were not at all lavish, I did not think so then, and time has proven that I was right. If the buildings are better than they had been accustomed to, the men proved their capacity of self-development by their appreciation.

There are always a few men whose clear perception and other superior qualities have placed them in positions of power and responsibility. These captains of industry should now lend a helping hand to develop the power of perception and appreciation in those who are less fortunate and who are working with them to increase the output and to make the product of each the best of its kind in the market.

How are you to arouse this ambition in the workman to better his condition? The condition of the laborer at the end of his daily toil, which has taxed both body and brain, often is likely to be that of discontent with himself and his surroundings.

To stimulate the ambition of the laborer, there should be put in his way opportunity for physical recreation and mental rest through social enjoyment. It is for the employer to offer these opportunities, because the average wage earner can not make them unaided. Such opportunities will keep awake the universal instinctive desire to rise above discontent. There is special recreative pleasure for employees in sports that bring them in competition with their fellow men. There is also a stimulus to ambition in the pride of their home life. This pride in making their little homes attractive is most real and is not dissimilar to that of the employer in his own estate.

It has been said to me, "What is the use of providing them with better homes? Workingmen do not appreciate them." My experience disproves this assertion. I have seen many tenants move from old homes to new and better ones built by the company. The test of the reality of their pride came in whether or not they used the opportunity thus offered for improvement. In every case these tenants took better care of their lawns and flowers, and in a dozen details increased the cheerfulness and beauty of their homes. For instance, muslin curtains displaced shawls and ragged hangings in the windows. Why did not this neat and attractive condition exist before? Because the houses were of the old, old type with no lawns or gardens; their environment was not of the character to awaken pride. But with their new environment, where the houses were surrounded by grass plots, with a little garden attached and well made walks, their ambition was immediately aroused.

It has been said to me, "This voluntary improvement might appear in your community, but it would not occur with us." This inborn desire for better conditions is not confined to our community, but its awakening needs the encouragement of example. No employee who has worked all day in or about a factory surrounded with rubbish and tin cans can be expected



W. E. C. NAZRO.

to decorate his home or keep clean its surroundings. Then again, the employes may have neither the knowledge nor the time to seek out ways and means of improvement. This lack may be supplied by the employer through literature or talks on the subject, and through extending to the employes opportunities for better homes.

My contention is that employes will grasp the opportunity for physical and mental recreation and generally to improve the conditions of their family life, if only the chance is given. They will read, not always the best books, but better ones, because of guidance in their selection. Their children will be better clothed and the workmen will be more orderly and of a higher degree of intelligence than those without such opportunities.

One caution is necessary. These opportunities for the workingmen should be kept free from patronage. The self respect of the workmen must not be offended by causing them to feel under obligation. Employes feel more manly if they can pay a certain share of the cost of welfare work. For some things the employer must pay entirely, such as better ventilation, better sanitary conditions and a plentiful supply of wholesome drinking water. But such forms of welfare work as schools, baths, lunch rooms, reading rooms, gymnasiums, and clubs should be managed on business principles.

The activities under my direction include the construction of mills and houses; landscape gardening, employing draughtsmen; a library, with a librarian and assistant; a dining hall, with a manager and necessary help; a kindergarten, with two teachers; a store, with a manager, four men and three teams; a band; a baseball team; a drawing school, with two teachers; a sloyd school and a school of basketry, each with one teacher; a department of baths with two employes; an athletic club; a hospital, with two trained nurses, and the supervision of an annual fair and celebration on Labor Day.

The results of these efforts have clearly shown that the wage-earner aspires to become something more than a mere machine, that there is readiness to improve when the opportunities are offered. Therefore, it is not the duty of every captain of industry, who controls the lives of men, women and children, to find some method of work and education that can be applied to his community to educate his employes, to make better citizens of them and to inspire them toward higher standards?

The large industrial plants and enterprises throughout the United States, controlling as they do somewhat the lives of the people, contain, if properly fostered, the seed for one of the greatest educational processes the country has ever known. They reach a vast class of people that the public school and college systems never can. They can be made to implant in the younger generations a pure and high perception of American citizenship, American life and American ideals.

GREAT PROGRESS IN ONE YEAR.

By ANNA B. DOUGHTEN,

Welfare Manager, the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia.

The welfare work of the Curtis Publishing Company has been in charge of a Welfare Manager for little more than a year. Before its supervision was entrusted to me there was a place where women employes could eat the cold lunches that they had brought from home and obtain, without charge, coffee, tea or milk. There were also a room for rest and reading for women, and a Saving Fund Society for both men and women, which now offers its members insurance in the form of an endowment policy at a low rate.

At the outset of my work a new and attractive lunch room for the women employes was opened, where hot lunches are sold at the lowest possible prices. It is expected to be self-supporting in time. I was engaged to manage this lunch room and to extend the welfare work as I should learn the needs of the employes.

As a starting point, the lunch room gave an opportunity of enlisting the interest of the employes without arousing their antagonism. Several months were required to gain the sympathy of the employes and the co-operation of the heads of departments. Until that is gained there can be little tangible work. An advisory committee on the lunch room has been of considerable help.

A Voluntary Mutual Benefit Society has just been formed. Other new efforts are a circulating library and a hospital room in connection with the girls' rest room. A men's lunch room is under consideration and a smoking room is being fitted up. The first steps in the formation of a woman's club have been taken, and we have started a system of suggestion boxes. We are also preparing to make our wash rooms and dressing rooms adequate.

There is ceaseless opportunity for work in gaining the confidence of employes, in helping them in illness and in need, in being ever ready to talk over their affairs and in sustaining constant interest in their welfare, thus making them realize that the firm takes a real interest in them as human beings. So many and varied

are these opportunities for usefulness that I feel that the days are not half long enough for what I wish to accomplish. My occupation has been one of continuous and progressive education in the work itself.

EXTENSIVE AND THOROUGH APPLICATION.

By C. T. FUGITT,

Welfare Director, National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.

The National Cash Register Company made its first move toward betterment of the working conditions of its employes in 1894. Prior to that year the employes of the company were subjected to the usual unpleasant surroundings found at most factories. It was believed, and correctly so, as developments proved, that in the betterment of the conditions surrounding the workers, mutual benefits would result both to the employer and to the employee. As our President, Mr. John H. Patterson, aptly expresses it: "We do welfare work because it is right, and because it pays."



C. T. FUGITT.

From a very modest beginning in 1894, when small gas stoves were provided in the women's departments for heating coffee, welfare work has become an important factor in the company's organization.

A Welfare Department has been created and maintained in the belief that those conditions which affect the working man and working woman in their daily routine should be given first consideration. In carrying out this idea we have devoted considerable time and money to the problems of light, heat and ventilation. We feel that we have solved them in a satisfactory manner. The buildings are well lighted, 140,000 panes of glass having been used in their construction. They are connected by bridges and tunnels. This facilitates trucking and avoids the necessity of employes undergoing a change in temperature in passing from one building to another. Much unpleasantness and some sickness is prevented in this manner. By means of an efficient ventilating system the air in the buildings is changed every fifteen minutes.

The small particles of brass found in most brass polishing rooms form a disagreeable feature which we have practically eliminated. The dust from each buffing wheel is carried away by a pipe to a building on the outside. This is effected by the use of a suction fan arrangement.

The molders have also received attention. Considering the character of their work they should be given much more consideration than is usually accorded them in some factories. The acid fumes, a very unhygienic feature of their work, are carried out by suction fans. The gas room has been provided with all possible safe-guards. The ventilation and light are all that could be expected.

Well equipped bathrooms have been installed in different parts of the factory. The company gives all employes twenty minutes a week in winter and forty minutes in summer for baths; and in addition furnishes soap and towels. This privilege is much appreciated. Many take advantage of it.

Rest rooms in charge of a trained nurse have been provided for the women. These rooms are furnished with easy chairs and couches and with the accessories necessary for giving simple treatments. Girls are permitted to retire to these rooms if indisposed or in case of fatigue. It is gratifying to be able to say that the privilege is rarely, if ever, abused.

Emergency rooms have been arranged for the different men's departments.

In all women's departments high back chairs and foot rests are in use. We find that by the use of these simple comforts the women are capable of much better work.

At 10 A. M., and at 3 P. M., they are given a ten minute recess. Part of this time usually is devoted to physical development exercises. A competent teacher has given them instructions in this work and in the correct manner of standing, sitting and walking. They arrive at the factory one hour earlier than the men and are permitted to leave ten minutes earlier at night. This was done not only to give them shorter hours but to facilitate their transportation to and from the plant.

Aprons and sleeves are furnished to the girls, and white suits to the janitors. The company launders these articles free of charge.

Another important branch of welfare work is our Domestic Economy Department which serves over a thousand warm meals each day. Separate dining rooms have been provided for the women and the office force, while the heads of departments with their assistants and the foremen meet for luncheon at the Officers' Club. These dining rooms afford an opportunity to discuss matters pertaining to the factory and of general interest. They also enable employes to hear addresses made by many of the prominent visitors to the factory. Meals are furnished at cost. When employes are requested to work overtime,

lunches are furnished at the expense of the company.

The N. C. R. Library contains volumes on fiction, history, science, mechanics, and many other books of an educational character. These are supplemented by the leading newspapers of the country and most of the magazines. Portable libraries are being used for the conveyance of books to the respective buildings. We found that the men in the making departments would not take the time to go to the library, so books are taken to them. One cent a week is charged for books taken home.

Great interest is centered in our factory classes for employes. This year instruction is being given in English, cooking, dancing, physical development, sewing, first aid, health and Bible study.

Many of our employes go to and from work on bicycles. Sheds have been provided in which their wheels may be kept during the day. Provision is also made for inflating the bicycle tires.

At the N. C. R. factory Saturday is a half holiday the year around. This affords an opportunity for any shopping the employes may wish to do.

Welfare work has had a beneficial effect on those living in the vicinity. This has been evinced by the formation of clubs for betterment work. The results accompanying their efforts toward neighborhood betterment have been most encouraging.

A plot of land is set aside for boys' gardens. All the neighborhood boys are given an opportunity of caring for a small garden. Prizes are given each year for the best garden and for the best products raised. The boys show their appreciation of this opportunity by their faithful work.

Two independent clubs have been formed by the employes—The Men's Welfare Work League and the Women's Century Club. The women's club was organized in 1896 with 205 members. To-day it has an enrollment of 625. This club has been an important factor in promoting the principle of co-operation here. Its object is to aid in the betterment of those conditions which surround most working women.

The men's league is composed exclusively of the men employes of the N. C. R. Company. Although scarcely a year old the results already accomplished would do credit to much older organizations. It has fostered the spirit of welfare and good-fellowship among its members. It is active in the support of all matters educational. By the successful management of picnics and athletic sports and by monthly dues funds are procured for carrying on its work.

SECRETARY OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, has had long preparation for welfare work and wide experience in the new profession. Her previous activity in business,



MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS.

in organizing business luncheon clubs and in the earliest sociological work of the Civic Federation, involving much personal investigation, prepared her for the formation of the Welfare Department of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company in Chicago, employing 500 women and 6,000 men. She was in charge of this Department during several years. Later, after studying the plant and the needs of its employes, also numbering about seven thousand, she outlined a plan for the welfare work of another division of the International Harvester Company, to cover matters requiring the greatest attention, and which would need time to develop completely. Some of these recommendations have already been put into effect. She has traveled extensively in this country, visiting plants and studying the causes of the notable failures and successes of welfare work. In her capacity as Secretary of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, Miss Beeks is frequently called into consultation by employers as to the application of welfare work, both in large industrial establishments and communities, and in more limited concerns.

RAILWAY PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS.

Their Development and Application Upon the Pennsylvania Railroad System.

By MAX RIEBENACK, *Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.*

[The following is the closing instalment of Mr. Riebenack's paper upon "Railway Provident Institutions," read at a conference of the Welfare Department in New York City in November. The first instalment was published in the November number of THE CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW. The author of this paper, the Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, is qualified to write as an expert upon this subject. In his official capacities he has been largely instrumental in maturing and promoting the provident undertakings of that railway system. Mr. Riebenack was selected to

report upon "Railway Provident Institutions" to the seventh session of the International Railway Congress, composed of the highest officials of the leading railways of the world, to be held in Washington, D. C., next May. —EDITOR'S NOTE.]

I may be pardoned for speaking directly on the efforts made and the plans adopted by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in its endeavor to further the welfare of its employees, for the reason that I am more familiar with its plans and operations and practical workings, also on the ground that the policy pursued in the conduct of its provident undertakings has been largely followed by other American roads. Its status in this relation may therefore be taken as a fair indication of the drift of sentiment on the part of the railroads of the country toward providing institutions and measures for the benefit of their employees.

For operative and administrative purposes the System is divided into two distinctive organizations, one styled the "Pennsylvania System East of Pittsburgh and Erie," including the lines east of those points, and representing 5,852.44 miles of roadway with 117,928 employees, of which the roads associated in the administration of the Relief and Pension Departments represent an aggregate mileage of 5,209.87 miles of roadway and 110,502 employees, respectively; and the other the "Pennsylvania System West of Pittsburgh and Erie," embracing the lines west of those points, and representing 5,061.45 miles of roadway with 49,202 employees.

The provident institutions and undertakings now conducted comprise well-defined plans, and their relative importance warrants the following grouping:

Relief Fund and Superannuation Feature;
Pension Fund;
Saving Fund;
Hospital Service;
Libraries and Reading Rooms;
Young Men's Christian Association Branches.

Both parts of the System employ very similar methods for the benefit of their employees, but as those operated on the lines east come more directly under my observation, detailed remarks will be confined to that territory.

RELIEF DEPARTMENT.

The subject of providing some manner of aid for employees in case of disablement or death was first brought to the attention of the management of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1874. An exhaustive canvass of the field culminated in the establishment of the present "Pennsylvania Railroad Voluntary Relief Department," in February, 1886. While many of the features of the original Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Relief Association, in operation at that time, were given full consideration and served as guides in preliminary work, the Pennsylvania Railroad Relief Department represents a purely distinctive organization, built up on the basis of the ascertained requirements of the employees.

The affairs of the Department are under the control of an Advisory Committee, consisting of the General Manager of the Railroad Company, as member *ex-officio* and chairman, and fourteen members, seven of whom are elected by the contributing members, the other seven being appointed by the several interested Boards of Directors. Each member serves for a period of three years, the elections and appointments being made triennially, in different years, and in such manner as to provide for there always being on the committee a majority of members who have served thereon for a period of time sufficient to afford them practical familiarity with the workings of the Fund.

Employees not over forty-five years of age may be enrolled upon making proper application and passing a satisfactory physical examination. Membership contributions, payable monthly in advance and collected by deduction from wages on payrolls, are made in accordance with a graduated scale, based on wages earned, and are, respectively, beginning with the first class, 75 cents, \$1.50, \$2.25, \$3.00 and \$3.75 per month for the five classes.

The benefits of the first class are: For sickness, after the first three days of disablement, 40 cents per day for a period of 52 weeks, and 20 cents per day thereafter; during continuance of sickness; for accident, 50 cents per day for 52 weeks, and 25 cents per day thereafter while disabled. Other class benefits are proportionately higher. The death benefits are, respectively, beginning with the first class, \$250, \$500, \$750, \$1,000 and \$1,250. Additional death benefits may be secured by payment of fixed monthly rates over and above regular contributions, the limit of such benefits being governed by class membership; the highest amount being for the fifth class, members of which may take five additional death benefits, with \$250 as the benefit unit, or a total of death benefits, including that of their class, amounting to \$2,500. The monthly rates of contribution are, for each additional death benefit of the first class (\$250), when taken at age not over forty-five years, 30 cents, when over age forty-five and not over sixty years, 45 cents, and over sixty years, 60 cents.

The Company gives the Department free use of its offices and other facilities; defrays all expenses of operation and administration, including the salaries of the two officers in charge, the eighty-nine medical examiners, and ninety-six other employees directly identified with the conduct of the Department; agreed at the outset to

make good any deficiency that should arise in any period of three years, which assumption of responsibility was subsequently made a part of the Fund regulations; and also arranged that any surplus arising during any triennial period should be set aside as the foundation for a Superannuation and Pension Fund.

A summarization of eighteen years' operation of the Fund, for the period ending December 31, 1903, presents the following results:

RECEIPTS.

Contributed by members.....	\$11,672,717.39
From company.....	2,544,348.11
From other sources.....	422,027.04
Total	\$14,639,092.54

DISBURSEMENTS.

Superannuation allowances.....	\$148,662.15
Operating expenses.....	1,815,641.54
For sickness.....	4,455,618.80
For accident.....	2,246,454.10
Death from natural causes.....	3,527,818.27
Death from accident.....	1,323,616.61
Total.....	\$13,517,811.47

During these eighteen years benefits were paid for 469,000 cases of disablement, for periods ranging from one day to seventeen years, while 8,531 families of deceased members received death benefits varying in amount, from \$250 to \$2,500, according to class membership. The membership as of December 31, 1886, was 19,952, while at the close of 1903 it numbered 76,507, or about sixty-nine per centum of the total number of employees, and included nearly all those who, by reason of age and physical condition, were eligible to membership.

The value of the protection provided by the Fund may be better understood when it is stated, that members may draw for disablement in 52 weeks as much as their contributions would aggregate in about sixteen years, and that the death benefit, which may become payable at any moment, is equal to the contributions of twenty-eight years.

SUPERANNUATION FUND.

The formation of the Superannuation Fund (which became operative January 1, 1900, simultaneously with the inauguration of the Pension Fund) was brought about by the establishment of the pension feature, when it was decided that members of the Relief Fund, upon retirement from active service, should receive monthly a proportion of the surplus on the basis of their relative contributions. This basis is one cent per month per class for each month of membership.

The Company's liberal policy in meeting all expenses growing out of the operations of the Relief Fund, as well as making up deficiencies at the close of any three-year period, made possible the accumulation of a Surplus Fund of \$751,256.25.

The original plan of payment of superannuation allowances involved that the interest accrued upon investments should be used for the purpose. After four years' operation under this plan, it was found that the interest returns were inadequate to meet the demand, whereupon the Company, preferably to making a reduction in the basis of payment, caused the Relief Department regulations to be amended, as of January 1, 1904, to provide that, in addition to the interest derived from the investment of the Surplus Fund, at the end of each three-year period the money not required to discharge the liabilities of former periods shall be applied directly to the payment of superannuation allowances instead of being transferred to and becoming a part of the Surplus Fund; if, however, at the end of the next ensuing three-year period there shall be a balance in the Superannuation Fund, it is to be transferred to and become a part of the Surplus Fund. On the other hand, the Company holds itself responsible to pay any deficiencies in superannuation allowances up to January 1, 1907.

Retired employees receiving superannuation are permitted, upon paying the proper rates of contribution, to retain title to death benefits in the Relief Fund.

PENSION FUND.

The pension plan was started January 1, 1900, and, as finally approved by the Company's stockholders, provides that the Company shall contribute all money necessary for the payment of pension allowances, and for the operation of the Department; also that the maximum amount disbursed for pension allowances under existing regulations shall not exceed in any one year the sum of \$390,000. Department operations are controlled by a Board of Officers, consisting of the following officers of the Railroad Company—namely, the Vice-Presidents, the General Manager and the Comptroller, vested with full power to make and enforce Department rules and regulations.

All officers and employees upon attaining the age of 70 years are retired and placed upon the pension payroll, while those of ages between 65 and 70 years, after 30 years' service, are retired and pensioned, either at their own request or upon the recommendation of the proper employing officer, if found to be permanently incapacitated by a Board of Company Physicians. Retirement is based on age, and pension allowance on service

and pay; that is, for each year of service one per centum of the average monthly pay for the ten years immediately preceding retirement.

During four years' operations, ending December 31, 1903, there was paid in pension allowances the sum of \$1,224,087.59, the expense of operation for the same period having been \$20,134.78.

Up to the end of 1903 there had been retired and granted pension allowances to 2,126 employees, while 527 pensioners had died. Of the total number retired, 456 were between ages 65 and 70, and 348 of these were relieved at their own request with the approval of the proper employing officer, which indicates that the number of requests to be relieved originating with the employees themselves was in the proportion of three to every one emanating from the employing officers.

RELATION OF AGE LIMIT TO PENSION FUND.

Provision is made that persons beyond the age of 35 years will not be admitted into the Company's service (the exceptions being in cases of former employees, whom the Company may desire to re-engage within a period of three years from the time they were last in the service, or of professional men or specialists). Employment in the service is generally understood to be permanent, and the Company, so viewing the matter, made provision accordingly in the organization of the Pension Department, by limiting the age to 35 years.

The motive for establishing this age restriction was to provide a basis of Department operation under which employees in the future, after the starting period, would be retired from the service and carried on the pension roll at age 65, with thirty years' service. In other words, under the present workings of the Fund it will be merely a matter of a few years when the application of this age limitation feature will bring about a condition under which all pension beneficiaries will have been in the Company's service for not less than thirty years previous to their retirement on pension allowances; and will, in consequence, receive not less than thirty per centum of their average wages for the ten years next preceding such retirement.

SAVING FUND.

Mature deliberation, growing out of appeals made by employees identified with the service of the various divisions and branches of the Company for saving fund advantages, resulted in the creation of the "Pennsylvania Railroad Employees' Saving Fund," as of January 2, 1888. The Fund is conducted as a separate department, in charge of a Superintendent, under the supervision of a Board of Trustees, three in number, the members of which are directors or officers of the Railroad Company. Custodianship of all moneys and securities of the Fund is vested in the Company, which assumes responsibility for the proper return of all securities in which the Fund surplus may be invested, also the return of membership deposits, together with a fixed rate of interest thereon, which at the present time is three and one-half per centum per annum. Fund regulations provide that no change shall be made in the rate of interest allowance on deposits without six months' previous notice to depositors, thus insuring against sudden fluctuations in the earning power of savings.

Employees whose regular monthly wage compensation does not exceed \$300 may become depositors, upon making due application at any of the depositories. No employee is, however, permitted to carry a balance in excess of \$5,000, nor deposit more than \$100 in any one month. Report of Fund operations for the year ending December 31, 1903, shows 9,494 depositors; deposits, \$1,260,229.50; withdrawals, \$796,204.22; interest allowed depositors at three and one-half per centum, \$127,587.09, and balance of \$4,010,116.88, equivalent to an average per capita credit balance of \$420. On the date named there were 1,102 depositories, located at station agencies most accessible to the employees, and of which the general clearing house is the Company's Treasury Department.

Statistics for the period since establishment of the Fund to the end of 1903 furnish the following results:

Deposits	\$9,334,945.08
Withdrawals	6,400,892.71
Interest allowed depositors	1,058,676.97
Number of applications for deposit books.....	20,133

Fully ninety-five per centum of the total amount on deposit is invested in first-class securities averaging an annual return of three and one-half per centum.

HOSPITAL SERVICE.

The Railroad Company does not conduct a Hospital Department, there being no absolute necessity therefor, owing to the fact that it is conveniently and reasonably enabled to avail itself of the numerous public and private institutions of this character located in the different cities and towns along its lines. There is, however, a well established corps of surgeons, the members of which are assigned to points on the road where they can be reached by quick summons, also the corps of medical examiners allied to the Relief Department, the members of which are assigned to special territorial districts, with offices at vantage points where they are ever ready to give in emergencies needed medical advice or attendance to employees, regardless of Relief Fund membership.

To render prompt assistance to those who may meet with accident or are seized with sudden illness on its lines, the Company has numerous devices, the foremost being the "Hospital Car," which is especially constructed to meet all requirements, and thoroughly equipped with necessary paraphernalia for emergency use.

FIRST AID TO INJURED.

For some years the Company had under consideration the establishment of a system of "First Aid to the Injured," but the actual inauguration of the plan was deferred pending the development of Relief Fund operations to a stage at which adequate equipment and working machinery could be commanded. The plan was launched on October 1, of this year, since which date the medical examiners have been giving lectures to employees selected to perform this work. The arrangement comprises the following features: The "First Aid Packet," containing small packets in a tin box, hermetically sealed, which, in turn, is enclosed in a sealed wooden box, these boxes being placed in every engine and caboose, and at principal stations, and the "First Aid Emergency Box," which is placed at large stations and agencies, with full instructions as to the use of contents, which, in a general way, include medicines, bandages and plasters, and surgical instruments. The Company also has in operation a systematic arrangement for supplying stretchers to all baggage, wrecking and maintenance-of-way cars. General orders have been issued requiring the giving of instructions to all trainmen and others concerned, on extending first aid to the injured.

LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS.

Germane to the work of the Young Men's Christian Association Railroad Departments, and in many instances going hand in hand with it, is the plan of providing libraries and reading rooms at various points on the lines of road at which trainmen and others are required to collect in the discharge of their duties.

Numerous reading rooms are located on the lines of the Pennsylvania System East of Pittsburgh and Erie, at various division terminals; also at other points, where trainmen begin and end runs. These rooms are currently furnished with daily papers, magazines, periodicals and miscellaneous reading matter, the literature supplied being of such character as to be entertaining and instructive, thus enabling advantageous employment of enforced time off duty. Permanent libraries are scattered throughout the System, with a large clientele of employees. The growth of the library system has been steady, and at the end of 1903 it comprised 62,973 volumes.

Y. M. C. A. RAILROAD BRANCHES.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company was among the first of the large trunk lines to realize the practicability of embracing a plan which would place before its employees of all classes broader and higher educational opportunities and advantages, and at different times during the preliminary consideration of the question endeavored to pave the way for the introduction of a permanent branch of the Association. Efforts in this direction did not meet with what might be termed signal success until the completion of the railroad branch located at West Philadelphia, Pa. This branch was finally organized November 18, 1886, although originally undertaken May 1, 1876; it was fully housed in 1893, when approximately \$140,000 had been raised and disbursed through the combined efforts of nearly 6,000 railroad men and their friends, together with the substantial co-operation of the Railroad Company.

The Pennsylvania Railroad Department Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia is the largest on the Pennsylvania System of Lines, and also holds the enviable distinction of being the largest railroad branch in the world in point of membership (which on December 31, 1903, numbered about 2,500), equipment, and variety and extent of work.

The demonstrated benefits accruing to employees enjoying membership in these branches have enlisted the enthusiastic and continuous support of the Company and its principal officers.

President A. J. Cassatt made the statement:

"I am in full sympathy and accord with the work which is being so successfully carried on by the Railroad Department of the Young Men's Christian Association. From observation I am satisfied that excellent results, from the standpoint of the employees as well as of the Company, are being accomplished through this agency."

At the close of 1903 there were thirty-one Association branches, with a total membership of 12,732 on the lines of the Pennsylvania System East and West of Pittsburgh, to which the Railroad Company extended financial support. Some of these branches own the buildings they occupy, but the larger number are located in buildings belonging to the Company.

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURE DURING YEAR 1903.

The details of the annual expenditure for the various provident features of the two parts of the System, during the year ending December 31, 1903, show a total of \$943,618.23, as follows:

	Lines East.	Lines West.
Relief	\$262,777.37	\$91,614.09
Pension	363,629.29	130,381.81
Hospital	18,370.00	2,197.50
Saving Fund....	8,417.93	4,537.76
Y. M. C. A. and Libraries and Reading Rooms	53,351.36	8,341.12
Total	\$706,545.95	\$237,072.28

REMARKS ON PROVIDENT FUNDS.

A few remarks may be appropriately made on certain prominent characteristics of railway relief and pension funds as conducted in the United States.

The real consummation that has grown out of efforts made by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in the provident fields of sickness, accident and pension, may be summed up in the statement, that all employees of the Company are, at the present time, given ample opportunity to provide for themselves in case of sickness or accident, and for designated or proper beneficiaries in the event of death, through the instrumentality of the funds—a co-partnership maintained jointly by the members and the Company, and later, when the prescribed time for retirement from active service is attained, either on the ground of old age or permanent incapacitation, the Company, absolutely from its own revenues and without any contributions or other form of support from the employees, grants to all employees entitled thereto, liberal pension allowances, while these monetary provisions are still further increased by a supplemental payment from the Relief Fund, in the form of superannuation allowances, on a fixed basis in proportion to the amount of contributions during Fund membership.

COMPULSORY MEMBERSHIP ILLEGAL.

Relief Funds may be properly styled "mutual benefit associations," as under their operations each member practically contributes for the joint welfare of himself and fellow members, and with company co-operation the duration of mutual assistance is unlimited. Membership is purely voluntary. As a matter of fact "compulsory" membership is prohibited by the United States Arbitration Act of June 1, 1898. It is sometimes held that membership is nominally voluntary but practically compulsory. This view undoubtedly arises from the circumstance that the companies, in accordance with the principle observed by all large business undertakings requiring the constant employment of large numbers of men, exercise the generally conceded right to decide upon the physical fitness and general qualifications of applicants for positions in their service. In carrying out this principle the discriminations made between applicants may appear to the uninformed to indicate a disposition to enforce "compulsory" membership, but this is an entirely erroneous conclusion, as such a course is of paramount importance with railroads for safeguarding the interests of the public as well as their own.

The question of joining the Fund is laid before new employees without the slightest pressure one way or another, and there are no cases on record to my knowledge where an employee has been dismissed from service simply because he refused to become a member of the relief fund, or rejected for employment on account of his declining, if employed, to become a member of the organization. It is entirely optional with the employee after he has become a member of the Relief Fund to resign from it at any time he may see fit, and his status with the company as an employee is not affected by such action on his part.

The stability of relief departments is based altogether on the extent to which the railroad companies assume responsibility for their operations and are willing to guarantee their financial obligations. The members are thus doubly protected, first by their own contributions and next by the promise and ability of the companies to make up any deficiency which may occur. There is, therefore, a direct mutual interest between the members and the companies. There is no encroachment on other plans of relief or insurance which may have enlisted the support of employees.

Contributions are intended primarily for the purpose of assuring sick or disabled members of a designated monthly income at a time when most needed, and in providing this income promptly.

The payment of death benefits is an incidental feature of the plan, whose presence stands for a logical constituent of the chief factors—sickness and accident, from the fact that it insures deceased members respectable burial, and intervenes to prevent the possible immediate impoverishment of their families.

No provision is made for the return to members of the Relief Fund, leaving either the service or the Fund, of any proportion of their contributions, for the reason that during their connection with the Fund they have been protected against sickness and accident at a minimum cost, and to make repayments would necessitate an increase in rates, which would mean an added expense to all the members. It is also a fact that the laws of some States prohibit the continuance of fund death benefits after employees leave the service of the corporation, as being an infringement upon State Insurance statutory enactments.

ADVANTAGES OF RELIEF FUND MEMBERSHIP.

The advantages of membership in the Relief Funds may be thus recited:

(a) Indemnity in case of disablement from accident or sickness, and death from accidental or natural causes, at a minimum cost; the protection extended for death being particularly advantageous to employees occupying hazardous positions, as many of the regular-line insurance companies will not insure them, and those that do demand largely increased premiums over the ordinary risk.

(b) Free surgical attendance in case of disablement from accident while in the performance of duty; also the furnishing of artificial limbs and other appliances.

(c) No payment for membership or medical examiners' fees.

(d) No special dues or taxes, and no extra assessments.

(e) Exemption from contribution during disablement, after that made for the month in which the disablement originates.

(f) Protection against possibility of forfeiting title to benefits for non-payment of dues; the practice of collecting contributions on the pay-rolls obviating this so long as members are on duty.

(g) No assessments for administration, all expenses being defrayed by the associated companies.

(h) Benefits are not susceptible to hypothecation, and death benefits cannot be diverted for any purpose, being confined exclusively to payment to designated beneficiaries, who must be members of the family.

(i) Relief from making contributions to their fellow-employees or their families in destitute circumstances; solicitations in this direction were of common occurrence before the funds were established.

LEGAL RIGHTS OF MEMBERS.

An important point in connection with the operation of relief funds is the question of a member's right to have recourse to action at law against the interested railroad companies in lieu of accepting accident benefits extended by the funds. To understand this point it must be borne in mind, primarily, that the applicant for fund membership enters into an agreement with the fund to accept, in the event of sustaining disablement injury while in the service and in the performance of service duties, the accident benefits specifically prescribed in fund regulations. This is a distinct agreement, with a good and valid consideration, made between proper contracting parties, and, therefore, invested with due legal status. By becoming voluntarily a party to the agreement the applicant should live up to its terms, any overt or serious violation of which should, and does, result in relinquishment by the violating party of the benefits that would otherwise have accrued to him thereunder. The companies by reason of guaranteeing that all obligations of the funds will be met, also paying their deficiencies, and contributing the entire amount necessary in the conduct of their operations, clearly assume responsibilities which warrant them in asking employee applicants to enter into the agreement referred to. By entering into such contract the member is invested with a fixed and certain rate of compensation, while the companies are always in position to determine the extent of their financial obligation, and accord each case prompt and systematic treatment. The object contemplated by the agreement is the safeguarding of both the funds and the associated or interested railroad companies, by the introduction of provisions that are plainly set forth and as well serve equally the best interests of both parties to the contract. This manner of fund agreement does not deprive the member from instituting legal proceedings instead of taking the rate of compensation offered by the fund. It does provide, however, that where the member disregards his plain obligations under its terms, he thereupon forfeits his rights to fund benefits, and the question of company compensation will then depend wholly upon the merits of the case from a purely legal standpoint.

REASONS FOR AGE LIMIT.

The establishment by the railroad companies of an age limit for admission into the service was for the purpose of making it possible, when the retirement age is reached, for employees to receive a return for services rendered an allowance equivalent to a fair proportion of their average pay.

The adoption of this provision does not, however, preclude the re-employment of former employees, who are over the age of 35 years, for the reason that this privilege is accorded to them, provided they have not been out of the service for more than three years and that the companies have positions in which they could be employed. This period is deemed sufficient for employees to decide whether or not they desire re-employment, and at the same time such absence from the service does not destroy the feature of the employees at the retiring age, having been in the service such a number of years as to give them the benefit of a fair pension allowance.

MOTIVES AND RESULTS.

Too much praise cannot be accorded the railway officials of the United States for their broad-minded and liberal treatment of the subject of conferring pension allowances upon employees. In providing for extension

(Concluded on page 20.)

THE VOICE OF THE PRESS DECLARES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

THE AIMS AND METHODS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION WARMLY APPROVED BY EDITORS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

THE following four pages are filled with extracts, some of them reproduced photographically, from the publications, daily and periodical, lay, professional, technical, economic and religious, that have been stirred to comment upon the proceedings at the fourth annual meeting and dinner of the National Civic Federation. Comparatively few of these comments are reprinted here, but their publication will be continued. They have been selected at random, and without regard to their favorable or questioning tone. They serve to show that the progress of the Federation is critically scrutinized by millions of observers, and thus will impress those in sympathy with the promotion of right relations between employers and employed with the vast public responsibility that is involved in their joint and individual efforts for industrial peace. They afford convincing evidence that this movement has won that general support throughout the country which warrants its vigorous prosecution and wider expansion:

GOOD ACCOMPLISHED BEYOND EXPECTATION.

Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

The National Civic Federation has expanded equal to the fondest hopes of its principal promoter, the late Senator M. A. Hanna, and the scope of good it has accomplished has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of all interested in it; and now is reaching out by adding a new department of Industrial Economics, composed of prominent educators, heads of departments of political economy in universities, representatives of the pulpit, editors of the daily press, politico-social magazines, trade and technical papers, whose readers include all the great employing interests, among whom are those most antagonistic to organized labor, and more than twenty editors of papers and magazines which are read by millions of wage-earners.

We believe the organization of the new department will be specially beneficial to the latter class, for it gives opportunity to present the attitude of labor organizations, causes that make them necessary and the good they are doing, not only for those who are members, but that the bettered conditions they bring are not only not injurious to the public, as Parry and many others say, but are decidedly beneficial.

About one hundred editors were invited to join, and nearly all accepted and attended a meeting of the National Civic Federation on December 15, and we believe every one felt that in bringing together every class of interest, so they could get better acquainted, enter into the discussions of the various phases of this greatest subject now before the American public, it would be of great benefit to all concerned, correcting many erroneous opinions and modifying extreme views, and we believe these associations, with their attending education influences, will eventually leave very small space in public opinion for such men as Parry and his association, organized for the purpose of destroying organized labor.

The permanent organization of this department will be effected at the next meeting, when the *Journal* will give space to the subjects which come before this body, and a synopsis of the discussion, and point out with such ability as we possess the direction of the influence exercised by it.

HARMONY PREDICTED IN THE PIANO TRADE.

Music Trades.

It will be well if employers of labor, and particularly those who have large manufacturing plants, will take the trouble to read carefully the account in this issue of the *Music Trades* of the convention of the National Civic Federation, which was held in this city on Thursday of last week.

The eminence of those engaged in this work, and the absorbing interest of the speeches made by the heads of great corporations, as well as by the great labor leaders, should be sufficient to warrant a careful perusal of the proceedings; but there is a further and greater reason why the men engaged in these industries should take a deep interest in the work of the Civic Federation. In the event of there being labor troubles in this trade, and especially in the piano industry, the Civic Federation stands prepared to use its best efforts to bring the contending parties together, and as these efforts are put forth by conciliation committees, composed of men of the highest standing in the world of labor, as well as in the world of capital, it can be readily seen that a force will be brought to bear to bring about an adjustment of differences on a reasonable and fair basis that cannot well be resisted.

With the Civic Federation in the field, represented by men to whom industrial peace is a labor of love, who leave their vast interests to serve the public without hope of even that reward which comes from publicity, it is not likely that this trade will ever again be disturbed by labor troubles as it has been in the past.

GREAT STRIDES TOWARD CONCILIATION.

Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.

At the banquet, which was held after the adjournment of the meeting, Mr. Samuel Gompers acted as toastmaster. In his opening remarks he referred to the growth of the Civic Federation and said that as new problems are continually arising, and as the Federation solved them one by one, it puts itself in a position for the more ready and able solution of the next to come. He said that labor had discovered, through the instrumentality of the Federation, that employers are not the "modern monsters" which they were regarded as being in the past, and that he welcomed, advisedly, for labor which he represented, the organizations of employers.

The name of the late Senator Hanna was greeted with cheers when mentioned by the speaker, as was also the name of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, when Mr. Gompers, stating that in disposition kept him from attending, wished for his speedy recovery. Mr. Gompers then introduced Mr. Ralph Easley, Secretary of the Federation, who read Mr. Carnegie's address. Mr. Carnegie, as is well known, is an extensive employer of labor, and speaking as the result of a life's experience in that capacity, he sets forth in his address very clearly the great disadvantages resulting to corporations engaging in disputes with their men which culminate in strikes, and the advisability of their seeking, by every fair and honorable means, to avoid all such contention. Mr. Carnegie's address clearly set forth the provocations and trials experienced by workmen who, in a just cause, are

compelled to stand by and witness low, degraded, unprincipled and incompetent loafers usurp their places—fellows who, under normal conditions, are idle the better part of their time through lack of merit on their own part, and who seek work only when specially lucrative opportunities are offered through open warfare between capital and labor. He showed what a hardship it was for honest, competent wage-earners to see the work in which they had always taken such a pride being botched by such incompetents, and they themselves, deprived of the revenues resulting from its performance, whereby they had been enabled to support those dearer to them than life itself. An acknowledgment of this kind from such a source is a striking indication of the efficacy of the great work of the Civic Federation. The vivid portrayal by Mr. Carnegie of the feelings of the striking wage-earner, and the public expression of his opinion that employers, partly out of consideration for the men who create their wealth, and partly with a view to the protection of their own best interests, ought "never to employ new men in case of any strike, but to wait patiently for the old men," is, in itself, evidence of the great strides that have been made in recent years in the work of conciliating labor and capital through the influence of that vigorous, sane and healthy sentiment being developed through the instrumentality of such agencies as that powerful organization.

BROAD AND ENLIGHTENED VIEWS.

American Machinist, New York.

It has been Mr. Belmont's habit to recognize the rights of the men who work under his administration and the completion of the new subways in New York within the time in which it was accomplished is credited largely to what is described as his broad-minded and fair methods of dealing with labor questions. At any rate, few could ask for a more liberal or more enlightened expression of views than he gave in his address, and it is altogether probable that his promise to give the affairs of the Federation his best efforts means very much. And certainly the fact that a man of such large wealth, one who is so busy and possesses such a large measure of administrative ability is willing to devote his time and talents to such work is of itself significant. Another significant point in connection with it is that the many prominent labor leaders who are members of the Federation and who were present at the meeting and banquet very heartily endorsed Mr. Belmont's nomination and election.

Besides the letter from President Roosevelt, expressing the most hearty sympathy with the objects of the Federation, there was an address by Andrew Carnegie, the most notable feature of which was a declaration of his belief that where differences arise between an employer and his employees it ought to be announced by the employer that no effort would be made to get a new body of employees, but that operations would simply await the reasonable settlement of the difficulties.

John Mitchell made a manly and clean-cut address, in which he said:

"I hope the time will never come when men will surrender their right to strike or employers give up their right to close their mines or their mills, and I hope to live long enough to see the day when lock-outs, strikes and boycotts will be unnecessary, and when the American Civic Federation will be the recognized tribunal of peace in the industrial affairs of America."

Mr. Belmont's declaration to the effect that he had found face-to-face conferences the best, and, in fact, a practical and satisfactory means of avoiding or settling labor difficulties was heartily endorsed by others, notably by Mr. James Kilbourne, of Columbus, Ohio, a manufacturer who seems to have been able to remain upon entirely friendly terms with his employees throughout the troublous recent period and who, in his address, gave the most emphatic testimony as to their faithfulness and fairness when approached in the right spirit, and treated with the consideration to which he claimed American citizens are entitled.

A GATHERING OF "FELLOW-AMERICANS."

The Christian at Work, New York.

That was a notable gathering last week when the Civic Federation met for the first time since the death of its former head, Senator Hanna, and elected Mr. August Belmont president. The Federation, representing men equally prominent in the world of Finance and the world of Labor, is a movement prompted in the interest of both the great parties, to secure, if possible, a common working basis with a view of preventing strikes, and, when they do occur, of reaching a common agreement. So far no iron-clad rules of procedure have been adopted, if indeed, such rules are possible. The effect of the meetings of the Federation so far has been to bring the parties together for conference, with the result that by this means some strikes have been averted and others adjusted. Not only capital and labor, in the generally accepted meaning of the term, were represented among the 300 diners, but art and education, all had standard bearers there. So vast and diverse were the interests which mingled at the tables that Samuel Gompers, the first vice-president of the Federation, who acted as chairman, could think of no more specific term in which to address his audience than "fellow-Americans."

FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The Dry Goods Economist, New York.

The National Civic Federation, which held its fourth annual meeting Thursday in this city, is probably the most important organization in the world that has for its object the lessening, and ultimately perhaps the extinction, of industrial strife through education and conciliation. The importance of the organization is attested by its steady growth, by the character and caliber of the men who stand foremost in its councils, and by the work already accomplished along the line of its avowed aims.

It is a hardship upon the Federation that the details, and even the outlines, of its most successful achievements cannot be made public for the reason that the parties to impending contests usually stipulate, before meeting under the conciliatory auspices of the Federation, that the facts of such meeting shall remain a secret. Of what the institution has done, however, enough is already known to increase the general respect and confidence it has inspired, and to make it apparent that the National Civic Federation is to be a permanent, or semi-permanent, factor in the great work of bringing peace into the American industrial field.

A novel and significant spectacle was the array of capitalists, employers, labor leaders and representatives of the professions and the great institutions of learning, who sat promiscuously about the tables at the banquet.

When such men as Andrew Carnegie, John Mitchell, Henry Phipps, August Belmont, President Charles W. Eliot, of Har-

vard University; Oscar S. Straus, Samuel Gompers, Archbishop Ireland, James O'Connell, of the machinists; P. H. Morrissey, of the trainmen; Franklin MacVeagh, St. Clair McKelway, of the Brooklyn *Eagle*; Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; H. H. Vreeland, president of the Metropolitan Traction Company; Professors Taussig of Harvard, and Seligman, of Columbia, and literally hundreds of others of similar prominence in the mental and physical activities of the country—when such men, we say, come together, not perfunctorily, but with a serious and sympathetic purpose, good results to labor, capital and to the public will surely follow.

In handling the complicated problems, social, financial and industrial, involved in what is called the "labor question," at least two important factors must always co-operate; first, the personal equation—the skill, tact and persuasiveness of the men who draw together and finally conciliate opposing forces—and second, the knowledge of actual facts and principles relative to the subject, which furnishes a basis for conciliation and agreement.

The Federation has already shown in a satisfactory measure its possession of the first of these requisites. It now proposes to provide the second by the formation of a Department of Industrial Economics, the organization of which was completed on Thursday, with President Eliot, of Harvard, at its head. As now equipped, and with August Belmont as successor to the late Senator Hanna in the president's chair, the National Civic Federation enters upon its new year with bright prospects of rendering illustrious service not only to labor and capital, but to the entire community.

A TRIBUTE TO PERSONAL WORTH.

Harper's Weekly, New York.

During the recent political campaign the person most frequently referred to as "a Wall Street man" was August Belmont. The term is usually meant by those who use it to be opprobrious, but we question whether Mr. Belmont himself would so regard it. He really is a Wall Street man in the sense that his office is in that vicinity, as was that of his distinguished father before him. In those days an honorable banker was considered to be as reputable as any other citizen. Times have changed somewhat in this respect, but a pleasing indication that they have not gone wholly awry was afforded last week by the unanimous election of Mr. Belmont to succeed the late Senator Hanna as president of the National Civic Federation. He not only did not seek the position, but was naturally very reluctant to accept it, and would not have done so but for one fact, in which lies the significance of his selection, viz., that the suggestion came from the representatives of labor in the Federation. That it was a meritorious choice is well known to everybody familiar with the admirable manner in which Mr. Belmont has sustained the reputation of an honored name, but that it should have been made by the courageous spokesmen of an element supposed to regard the Wall Street man with horror is clearly indicative of growing breadth and tolerance on the part of both labor and capital. The personal tribute to Mr. Belmont is surpassed only by the credit won for themselves by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Gompers and their associates.

APPRECIATED BY ORGANIZED LABOR.

The Independent, New York.

Last week Mr. August Belmont was elected to the presidency of the National Civic Federation, to succeed the late Senator Hanna. Mr. Belmont has yet to prove his ability in this position, but his modest speech in accepting the office would seem to show that he realizes the responsibility conferred upon him and the high order of work required. It is no small honor for a great Wall Street financier to have the confidence of the leaders of organized labor, as was evidenced by the unanimous vote cast for Mr. Belmont. Even Mr. Carnegie, who declined the presidency before it was offered to Mr. Belmont, admitted that it was the greatest honor that had ever come to him, especially in view of his supposed connection with the Homestead affair. The National Civic Federation in its four years of existence has amply justified itself. Leaving radical and Utopian solutions of the capital and labor problem to others, it confines itself to the immediate difficulties between employers and employed, and uses its good offices to settle these difficulties in the most practical manner possible. As such it has done more than any other agency to bring about peace in the industrial world. No wonder it is bitterly hated by the uncompromising Socialists on the one hand and by the so-called "Parryites" on the other. At the annual dinner last year one of the representatives of the employees brought down the house by asking what the people whom he represented could expect from an organization harboring two such eminent politicians in its membership as Senator Hanna and Grover Cleveland. The labor element, however, has found that it pays to work and confer with the representatives of the other classes, and we believe that there is not a labor leader of any importance in the country who does not now acknowledge the value to organized labor of the work of the Federation.

A PECULIARLY FIT CHOICE.

Pueblo (Col.) Chieftain.

Universal satisfaction is expressed over the election of Mr. August Belmont to the presidency of the National Civic Federation. Mr. Belmont is peculiarly fitted in many respects for the position, and there is little doubt that there could have been no wiser selection for Mr. Hanna's successor. Mr. Belmont is an authority in the financial and political world and in the management of his vast interests he has had ample opportunity to acquire the knowledge that will prove useful to him in directing the affairs of the Federation. In his relations with his army of employees he has shown himself ready at all times to hear the other side, and by his sense of justice complications have been avoided that might have been most disastrous in their results. He has earned the confidence and respect of the men under him, and in his election the representation of all the elements was united and enthusiastically harmonious.

PRESIDENT BELMONT AND TRADE AGREEMENTS.

Ironton (O.) Register.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Belmont will not only be able to prove himself a good president but that he will be able in some real measure to carry out the large purposes of good and industrial peace which the former president thought so much of.

In his speech of acceptance he spoke of the work of the Federation as being for the good of all society, and that it must accomplish its end by teaching "good faith and honest dealings as the basic principles upon which trade agreements may rest." If agreements once entered into are faithfully carried out there will not be the trouble of making agreements what they should be for each side concerned.





PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S LETTER TIMELY.

Review of Reviews, New York.

In certain trades there has been a marked disposition on the part of the labor unions to carry their methods to the extreme of tyranny and dictation, while, on the other hand, there has been a disposition on the part of certain capitalists, working through employers' associations, to do everything in their power to crush out labor organizations altogether. As between these opposing tendencies, the wiser and more experienced labor leaders on the one hand and the more thoughtful and public-spirited employers on the other have found themselves during the past year subjected to a sharp cross-fire. It was therefore a particularly timely supplemental utterance of President Roosevelt that appeared in the form of a letter to be read at the annual meeting of the Civic Federation in New York, on the 15th of December. The National Civic Federation is an important body in which labor, capital, and the general public are equally represented. Its great practical mission is to bring men together in close relations and to promote industrial peace by conference, with conciliation and arbitration in the background. There are extreme labor leaders who oppose the Civic Federation in all its views and methods. There are organizations of employers which are even more bitterly opposed to the good work of the Civic Federation, for the Federation gives the fullest credit to the value of labor organization, and believes in a general way, that not only the best interests of the workers themselves, but also those of American citizenship at large, are advanced by a union of men in various callings for the improvement of their conditions.

The form in which the Civic Federation has found that industrial peace can best be conserved in this country is the form known as the "trade agreement," under which employers and employed meet directly through their accredited representatives and make their relative proposals, try to understand one another's point of view, learn to recognize one another's fundamental rights, and then settle by "give and take" those practical questions which are matters of bargaining rather than of conscience or conviction. As Mr. John Mitchell says, it is better for employer and employed to get together and talk a week than for them to fight by means of strike or lockout for a year. This is what the Civic Federation stands for, and it is most cheering to see how heartily the leaders of labor and the representatives of capital, meeting in this public-spirited organization, have come to esteem and respect one another. At the annual dinner of the Federation in New York, where President Roosevelt's wise and sympathetic letter was read, Mr. Samuel Gompers ably presided as the head of the American Federation of Labor, while among the speakers whom Mr. Gompers presented to a great company of representative men were capitalists and employers like Mr. Henry Phipps, Mr. August Belmont, Colonel Kilbourne, of Ohio, and Mr. Robbins, of Pittsburgh. Among the scores of talented leaders belonging to the ranks of labor besides Mr. Gompers himself, were such speakers as Mr. John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers, and Mr. Morrissey, of the Railway Trainmen, and as representing the general public were President Eliot, of Harvard, Archbishop Ireland, and Mr. Oscar S. Straus. Mr. Andrew Carnegie had been with the Federation through the day, and was represented at the banquet by a paper read for him by Mr. Ralph Easley, the organizer and executive officer of the body. The vacancy in the office of the president caused by the death of the late Senator Hanna was filled by the election of Mr. August Belmont, the New York banker and capitalist, who is also at the head of the New York Underground Railway, and in that and other capacities has come into relationship with organized labor. Last fall, questions and disputes of various importance relating to the hours, wages, and other conditions of men employed in the Subway were finally settled by direct conference, in which Mr. Belmont himself took a leading part. His remarks at the Federation dinner were mainly ~~and to the point~~, and he promised in brief language, but with evident sincerity, to use his best efforts for the success of the work of the Civic Federation and for the promotion of these principles for which it stands.

The great doctrine for which Mr. Roosevelt in many an utterance has made a strong plea, and which he set forth again in an address to the members of his own church, Grace Dutch Reformed, of Washington, on December 15, is the doctrine of brotherhood. While it is perfectly true that lofty generalizations alone will not settle the hard workaday problems that men meet in the carrying on of their business affairs—and while it is doubtless true, as John Mitchell holds, that for the present, in matters industrial, the best safeguard for peace may lie in the ability to fight—the man who does not see how valuable it is to establish kindly personal relations, and to cultivate a love for justice and a sense of mutual regard, is a man not only of low conscience, hut of narrow and meager mental development. There remain some heads of great corporations and some large employers of labor in this country who regard with distrust, and even with abhorrence, the leaders of organized labor; yet no impartial judge at the Civic Federation dinner would have assigned to the labor leaders any lower rank either in character or capacity than the capitalists and financiers who sat at the same table with them, or the numerous representatives of the press, the church, and the university. Undoubtedly, in directness and in force, the labor leaders were better public speakers than any of the other elements that made up the body.

AN AID TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

United Mine Workers' Journal.

Every man possessed of a lucid mind and whose thoughts are not gangrened with saturnine political bias hails the work of the Civic Federation with emotions of delight, and knows that the cause of organized labor is stronger, far better equipped to present its case favorably to a hostile or indifferent public when backed by such force as met that night. The Civic Federation will not hesitate in its glorious career simply because Messrs. Hayes, Parry, Berger and Kirby do not approve. The Civic Federation stands for industrial peace. It would disarm hostile forces, it would bring distrustful employer and employer together, and have them get acquainted, free their minds from mutual aversion and upon the grounds of justice arrive at an amicable solution of their contentions. It would substitute arbitration for the strike, conciliation for the lock-out, the hand-clasp for blacklist, friendship for the boycott. In a word, it would remove the causes for the present industrial strife and bitterness and use common sense and equity in their settlement. That would bring industrial peace. But "Comrades" Hayes and Parry do not want peace. "Comrade" Hayes wants strikes, riots, bloodshed; he wants to embitter the hearts and minds of working men against their employers. He preaches Christ and practices Satan. "Comrade" Hayes' great desire for industrial turmoil arises from the fact that through some devious mode of reasoning he comes to the conclusion that the bitterness necessarily arising will swell the ranks of his political cult. "Comrade" Parry desires the same thing, but for a different purpose. He would have these belligerent exhibitions so that the armed forces of the State could be summoned to strangle organized labor, and thus crush out the last hope save revolution. It is quite evident that "Comrade" Hayes never was personally concerned in a strike. He evidently knows nothing of its appalling results upon the women and children. It was a noticeable fact that those labor leaders of whom "Comrade" Hayes speaks so slightly—Mitchell, Mahon, Keefe, Moffitt, Tobin, O'Keefe et al.—have led the greatest and fiercest industrial wars of a generation. When these warriors who know what such things mean, have seen them, been in them, led them, gladly welcome a course which will prevent their recurrence, it is not of the slightest import what figurative warriors such as Hayes and Parry think or say about

them. Was "Comrade" Hayes ever in a strike? Was he ever blacklisted? Were his thoughts ever haunted by day and his dreams at night of a wife and little brood desolate, perhaps dead? Did he suffer an eviction, face the winter's storms, hungry, ill-clad, a stranger in a strange town? Did he ever face a Pinkerton, a servile sheriff or an angry militiaman? It is prima facie evidence that he never did any or all of those things, else he would not so glibly advocate their continuance.

The Civic Federation, despite the sneers of the Hayes-Parry cults, have prevented more strikes, which would have involved more men than the aggregate of membership in both cults. And it is going to go on in its grand mission, will be successful, will give peace and dignity to employee and employer. The twin-cults will doubtless assail Mr. Belmont, the new President, just as they caricatured, lampooned and vilified the first President with equally fruitless results.

A PLATFORM FOR EXCHANGING VIEWS.

The Outlook, New York.

The National Civic Federation held its annual meeting in this city last week. The large and representative attendance of members and guests, the interest displayed in its department conferences and committee meetings, and the significant quality of the speeches at the successful social dinner which closed the three days' gathering, seem to indicate that the Federation is a sound organization and is likely to have a permanent usefulness. It was established about four years ago, for the purpose of dealing in a large and fundamental way with the labor question. Its aim is to bring together in counsel the three parties of every labor conflict—the employer, the employee, and the public. In accomplishing this aim the officers of the Federation have been surprisingly successful, for the list of those actively interested in its conferences and work includes the names of some of the most distinguished capitalists, labor leaders, and public men in the country. The late Senator Hanna was its president from 1902 until his death, and it has seemed to *The Outlook* that perhaps he performed the very best work of his public career in its organization and direction. The Federation has done something more than to collect and publish facts regarding the labor question, or to hold conferences, or to furnish a platform for the expression of opinion; it maintains a Department of Welfare, which concerns itself with the physical and social conditions of working men and women; and through its Department of Conciliation it has been able to settle some labor disputes which have never come to the knowledge of the public, and which, without such a settlement, might have developed into disastrous labor wars. Admirable as this practical work is, *The Outlook* is inclined to think that not the least important function of the Federation is, after all, to provide a platform upon which men with vital interest in the labor problem, hut with varying and often radically antagonistic opinions about it, may meet one another and exchange views. The annual dinner was a picturesque illustration of what may be done in this direction. August Belmont a great railroad capitalist and operator, and P. H. Morrissey, a railroad brakeman, now Grand Master of his union; Henry Phipps, a great steel master and employer of an army of steel workers and coal miners, and John Mitchell, a coal miner himself and a master-mind of trades-unionism; President Eliot, of Harvard University, and Samuel Gompers, originally a cigar maker and now a national leader of organized labor—all these sat at the same table, ate together and talked together, without in the slightest degree sacrificing their own independent views, but entirely respecting one another's personality and opinions. As Mr. Mitchell said in his after-dinner speech, "It is better to talk a week than to strike a year." A very large proportion of labor conflicts spring in the first instance from personal misunderstandings and their consequent irritation and friction. When men are willing to try to understand one another, such controversies can very often be adjusted by a little patient discussion.

IN A PEACEFUL WAY.

Staats Zeitung, New York.

An undertaking as represented by the National Civic Federation is, of course, utterly impossible in Germany, where only a few years ago an official representative of a manufacturers' association in the course of a discussion of reform propositions, said that the "captains of industry" would never consent to meet the workmen on an equal basis. It must be acknowledged that the association rests upon the fundamental principle of social equality of employees and employers, and thereby has already removed from its sphere of activity contrasts existing in other places and has made to a great extent compromises superfluous.

The solution in a peaceful way of the existing questions in dispute between the two economic parties is thereby really being put into practice. What has been stated at the banquet, which followed the annual meeting, shows how the association—by means of the aid of that fundamental principle of equality—has been productive of much good in many directions. Having contemplated at the beginning only the paving of the way for a mutual understanding and appreciation, as the principal aim of its activity, the object of the association has been, meanwhile, enlarged. Credit is due for this, partly to the committees, who have made efforts to solve practical questions in practical ways, and to remove dissensions wherever they appear. This activity of mediation is supplemented by an educational one carried on by speeches and writings, and the agitative activity resting on the establishment of sound conditions of agreements between employers' associations and trades-unions, as well as on suitable changes of existing laws, seeks to prevent the breaking out of differences, and especially the disadvantages of economic struggles.

ONLY POSSIBLE IN A DEMOCRACY.

The Western Laborer, Omaha.

We have received the National Civic Federation MONTHLY REVIEW, containing a full report of the meeting, banquet, business transacted and addresses delivered after the dinner in New York. In this age of sharp practices, commercialism and fierce struggles between the contending forces of capital and labor, it is a pleasure and hegeta hopefulness for industrial peace in the minds of those interested enough to note the progress being made by the National Civic Federation.

The meeting was such an assembly (as was tersely remarked by Samuel Gompers, August Belmont, Archbishop Ireland and others) as could not be gathered together in any other nation or under any other flag in the world. Such a meeting is only possible in a democracy and under such institutions as ours. The members of that gathering were all "men of affairs," embracing in their representative character capital, labor, letters, science, bar, press, platform and church, and through the whole deliberation of the meetings there was an atmosphere of earnestness, honesty of purpose and a sincere desire to arrive at a basis whereby the disturbances which affect our industrial life so disastrously from time to time could be lessened and our social life amended for the benefit of all our people.

President's Roosevelt's duties prevented his being present, but he sent a letter of regret in which he voiced his hearty accord, sympathy and hopes for the practical success and full recognition of the principles for which the federation is earnestly working.

A letter from Andrew Carnegie on the objects, aims and plans of the organization was also read, in which that hard-headed Scotchman gave utterance to more honest truths than have ever been credited to him before: the letter being replete with sound advice acquired by stern and costly experience.

Take the meeting for all in all it was a parliament of the

world, as its work will affect the world beyond the seas and become an agent for international peace abroad as well as industrial peace at home.

When this organization was proposed it was pooh-poohed by the great dailies, the subsidized organs of corporate monopolies, but the time is not far distant when it will crystallize more public sentiment in a given direction than all the big newspapers in the United States, hearing full tribute to the genius of the late M. A. Hanna, who conceived and founded it. This is one of the instances where the genius of the dead lives on to work for the living and his country. These meetings were addressed by men of all classes, making no special pleas for their class; they met on a plane of perfect equality, a perfect democracy, where the capitalist, Belmont, listened to the coal miner, Mitchell; where the archbishop, Ireland, and the Protestant bishop, Potter, paid respectful and earnest attention to the arguments of the longshoremen, the street-car men, the printer, bricklayer, etc., and where all these many classes of our industrial life in perfect good faith listened to the views of the builder, the banker, the college professor, the editor, the churchman, and all the other classes in our social life represented there; where no "class consciousness" was to be seen or felt anywhere, and where a common mutual confidence and honesty of purpose pervaded the entire atmosphere.

MR. AUGUST BELMONT IN A NEW ROLE.

New York Times.

The unanimous and even enthusiastic election of Mr. August Belmont to the presidency of the National Civic Federation, an office made vacant by the death of Senator Marcus A. Hanna, is a gratifying indication that the work of that body commends itself to the approval of men of affairs who are much too busy to have leisure for dilettante trifling with economic and social problems. That his nomination was so obviously acceptable to the labor men who took part in the election shows that they are outliving class prejudice, and that the possession and management of great wealth does not disqualify a man for their respect and confidence.

In this instance there is no reason why it should. Mr. Belmont is a workman of great industry. The wage-earner who had to carry a tithe of the cares and responsibilities of this organizer and manager of great enterprises would feel himself burdened beyond his strength. Mr. Belmont's sympathy with honest toil may be assumed from the fact that he earns his rest, when he has it, by the most systematic devotion to business. As one of the largest employers of labor in New York he has had intimate contact with the problems it constantly offers for wise and intelligent solution. His success in averting troubles threatened from time to time in the operation of the railways for which he is responsible shows that he does not lack patience or discretion. Finally, his willingness to undertake the duties of the presidency of the Civic Federation and to promise their faithful performance shows an unselfish and broadly humanitarian purpose to make his activities and his experience of benefit to others.

We wish him satisfactory success in every effort to promote industrial peace. That he will not be a figurehead, leaving to others the work for which he assumes responsibility, those who know him are assured.

APPROVED BY LABOR AND EMPLOYERS.

Indianapolis Sentinel.

Among the labor organizations of the East, as well as in the councils of the most level-headed and conservative employers of the industrial centers, great satisfaction is expressed over the elevation of August Belmont to the head of the National Civic Federation, the great organization in which employer and employee are so well represented.

The action of the national organization at its annual meeting and banquet at the Park Avenue Hotel, on Thursday evening, is looked upon as the forerunner of a better order of things and a step toward the great work of bringing about more amicable relations between capital and labor. In the presidency of the organization, which was so well filled by the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna, August Belmont, it is believed, will do all in his power to bring both great factions in the industrial life of the nation toward that goal when each will give due recognition to the rights of the other, while carefully safeguarding its own. In no uncertain manner Mr. Belmont has announced his views on the labor problem. He declared plainly in his address to the body that elected him its president, that he is "a believer in organization," and that he sees hope for the settlement of all American labor troubles through the medium of conference between representatives of organized employees and organized employers.

This conviction on the part of a man who is head of one of the greatest financial firms in the world, and who is himself a director in no less than thirty-five great corporations employing thousands of men, is regarded as a rebuke to those extremists among the employers of the country, who believe that "organized labor ought to be given no quarter."

MR. CARNEGIE'S TRUTHFUL ANALYSIS.

Boston Herald.

It is an interesting point that Mr. Carnegie makes in his communication to the Civic Federation, calling attention to the fact that while labor disturbances break out at frequent intervals in the manufacturing and mechanical occupations, nothing of the kind ever occurs in agriculture, which employs more than ten millions of workers. Mr. Carnegie accounts for this by saying that the relations of the farmers and the farm hands are always personally pleasant. They become interested in each other, and mutual esteem, often ripening to affection, insures not only peace, but good will. There's a lot of truth in this analysis.

RAILWAY PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS.

(Concluded from page 16.)

of the allowances absolutely without cost to the employee and wholly from the revenues of the roads concerned, no distinction has been drawn as to rank or condition of employment. All employees, from the chief executive down to the man holding the humblest position in the service, are, one and all, amenable to the governing provisions. Generally there has been no distinctive classification of employees into "salaried officers" and "wage-earners," as is the practice in other countries, but, instead, all share alike, in accordance with their service status, in the benefits growing out of Fund operation.

These provisions for sick, injured and aged employees, and designated beneficiaries in the event of their death, in conjunction with the various opportunities for mental, physical and spiritual betterment, are actuated by truly humane and benevolent purposes and in their continuous development are bringing about a reciprocal feeling of mutual regard and respect between capital and labor. Conditions are being improved and at the same time energy is being vitalized and ambition stimulated among the rank and file of railway employees.



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TEN CENTS

LABOR WRESTS VICTORY FROM DEFEAT.

NATIONAL LABOR CHIEFS CHAMPION THE SANCTITY OF CONTRACTS AND INSIST UPON THEIR PRESERVATION BY SUBORDINATE BODIES.

"THERE will be no strike," said Grand Chief Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, to August Belmont, President of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, two weeks before the strike. "You need not hesitate to go away on your vacation. If any disagreement arises between the management of the road and our local committee, it will be referred to you and me. If we cannot agree, we will refer the dispute to an arbitration committee of six, each selecting three." To this Mr. Belmont replied: "All right, Mr. Stone, and if we get to that point you can name all six of them."

This colloquy closed an interview between Mr. Belmont, Mr. Stone and a local member of his organization concerning the negotiations then pending between General Manager Hedley of the Interborough and representatives of its employees, over a new schedule and other questions. Mr. Belmont had said that he was anxious to make his annual trip South, which he had already delayed two weeks, but that he did not wish to go away if there was to be any trouble between the company and its employees.

That Mr. Belmont had ample cause for asking whether he could go away on his vacation without feeling that there was danger of interruption to the public service of the corporation of which he was the responsible head must have been clear to any observer of incidents prior to that interview. As long ago as January 24 there had been loud talk of a strike, unless certain concessions were made. A conference was brought about between Vice-President Bryan, General Manager Hedley and the employees' grievance committee. This committee included Messrs. Jencks, Pinney and Pepper, the heads, respectively, of the local branches of the Engineers' and Firemen's Brotherhoods and of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America. The demands presented were for the re-employment of a subway motorman, who had been dismissed after his train had crashed into another at the Worth Street Station; for the re-employment of three other discharged motormen; for automatic signals on local tracks; for a new schedule, and for various changes

in the methods of employing men. This conference adjourned for two days, Mr. Hedley announcing that everything had been discussed amicably, although nothing had yet been settled. When told of this

and he will find it out at the conference next Thursday. Our grievances will have to be settled. The unions will stand by several motormen who have been discharged." The conference was resumed on January 26. At its conclusion,

it was announced that the cases of the discharged motormen had been adjusted satisfactorily, and that a new train schedule was to be made. Messrs. Pepper, Pinney and Jencks all said that they were "satisfied," and naturally were in high glee at what they considered a victory over the management of the road. "All our demands were granted, down to the right of seniority in appointments and the fifteen minutes' rest after every trip," proclaimed Jencks.

Several days of quiet ensued. But suddenly more trouble arose. The new schedule was put into effect, but it did not please the men. Under its contract with the city, the Interborough Company was required to run trains at a speed of thirty miles an hour. This speed could not be attained until its men had learned thoroughly the handling of the trains. It was intended to increase the speed gradually until it should reach the required maximum. As the three years' contract with the motormen named no number of miles to be run within the specified ten-hours' work-day, General Manager Hedley in his new schedule added one run a day for each train, by increasing the speed. This schedule had been in effect only a few hours, when Mr. Pepper called up Superintendent Merritt on the telephone and in a peremptory manner demanded: "What does this extra trip mean? This is inhuman. It increases our runs to 160 miles a day. Unless that schedule is taken down there will be something doing. The men won't stand for it." Mr. Pepper was told that he would have to see General Manager Hedley, as the Superintendent had no authority to change schedules.

Accordingly, the next day a committee representing the Interborough employees demanded of General Manager Hedley that the new schedule be taken down. Mr. Jencks declaring publicly, before the conference: "Unless the officials change their schedule to-day, there will be a

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WARREN S. STONE,
Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.



WILLIAM D. MAHON,
President, Amalgamated Association Street and Electric
Railway Employees of America.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.



JOHN MITCHELL,
President, United Mine Workers of America.

statement, Mr. Jencks said testily to the reporters: "Mr. Hedley gave you a sweet talk, and he may think that everything is all right. But I tell you that things are much more serious than he would have you think,

Jencks declaring publicly, before the conference: "Unless the officials change their schedule to-day, there will be a

AN ECONOMIC EXHORTATION TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

EMPLOYEES SHOULD INCREASE EARNINGS BY UNRESTRICTED INDIVIDUAL OUTPUT, SEEKING STEADY WORK AND STUDYING CONDITIONS OF THEIR PARTICULAR INDUSTRY.

An address by LOUIS D. BRANDEIS to the Boston Central Labor Union.

TRAD unionism has made great advances within the last three years. The growth in membership has been large, but the change in the attitude toward unions both on the part of the employer and of the community marks even greater progress. To this result the anthracite coal strike, so wisely led by John Mitchell, has largely contributed. That struggle compelled public attention to the trades-union problem in a degree unprecedented in this country.

The arbitrary attitude of the presidents of the coal and railroad companies was an object lesson which made clear to many employers the unreasonableness of the position that an employer "must be free to run his own business in his own way."

From this warning example many employers learned also that one may deal with employees otherwise than directly or individually, and that the representatives of unions may be recognized without impairment of usual business honor. Since then it has become far more common for enlightened employers, whether their shops be union or open, to discuss labor problems with the representatives of the unions as freely as they would discuss other problems with other business connections.

The people at large who had no special interest in contests between employers and employees learned also through the coal strike much about unions. Sympathy was generally with the men as against the coal trust. Even among employers there were many who realized that their interests lay with the workingmen as against the great aggregations of capital.

IN THE MAIN COMMENDABLE.

Sympathetic attention being drawn to the unions, many people realized that the aim of the unions was in the main commendable, even if particular measures of unions or acts of individual unionists deserved condemnation—for who could deny that the work of the unions in seeking to improve the conditions and to shorten the hours of labor, to raise wages—to protect children and women—made for good citizenship and the general welfare of the community? The attitude of the American Federation of Labor in opposing socialism is also gaining for the unions support from the most conservative classes.

A substantial advance has thus been made by the unions in the estimation of working men, of employers and of the public.

The achievements of the unions in improving the lot of the laborer are not to be measured solely by conditions in the union shop or even in the non-discriminating open shop.

Unions may well point, as their greatest triumphs to certain establishments where no unionist is to be found, but where the conditions of labor are far in advance of the standard ordinarily prevailing. Those are instances where wise, far-seeing employers have acted upon the spirit or hint of union demands.

These steps in advance have been taken often for the purpose of preventing trades unionism from finding a lodgement, often unconsciously as a result merely of the enlightenment that comes with the necessary thinking that trade-union agitation compels.

So the unions have already achieved much, both directly and indirectly, in shortening the hours and in improving the conditions under which labor is performed, and in raising wages.

How far can this increase in wages be carried, and how shall it be accomplished?

LABOR'S RIGHTFUL SHARE.

First—The unions should strive to secure for the workingmen all the earnings of a business except that part which is required to get for it the necessary capital and managing ability.

Into most businesses three elements enter:

- 1—The capital.
- 2—The ordinary labor.
- 3—The special labor, usually called the "management."

The owners of capital are comparatively few in number; the possessors of the special ability to manage business still less in number; men competent to perform the ordinary labor very numerous.

Obviously in our country we should strive to conduct our industries as we do our government; that is, to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. The employees being the greatest number, should get of the fruits of the business as much as possible. This is clear. The question is merely, What are the limits now possible, and how can those limits be extended?

It is absolutely essential upon any scheme of division of the fruits of industry among employer, capi-

talist and employee that the business should be profitable. By "profitable" I mean not merely that the business shall not be run at a loss, but that the business shall be run under such conditions that the owner of the capital on the one hand is willing to risk his capital in the business, and the possessor of that special ability which is required to organize and conduct a successful business will be led to use his greatest efforts in that direction.

Unless the profits of businesses are such as to tempt capitalists to risk their money, the money will seek, not participation in business, which necessarily involves great risks, but will be put into classes of investment where there is supposed to be no risk whatever.

Unless men of exceptional business ability have the promise or possibility of large rewards they will not be led to develop or use those special talents or capacities which we find in the leaders of great businesses—the men who have made or managed them.

What the exact amount of profit is which is necessary to make men risk their money in business, and how great the rewards must be in order to develop the leaders of industry are, of course, matters which cannot be decided by any general rule.

STRIVE TO INCREASE EARNINGS.

Second—The employees should strive to make the earnings of any business as large as possible.

There can be no greater mistake for the workingman than to restrict the output of the individual.



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS,
Lawyer and Publicist, Boston.

You must make the total earnings of the business in which you are engaged the largest possible. By earnings in this connection I mean the aggregate fund available for paying workingmen, capitalists and managers. Make that aggregate large and there will be plenty for all among whom it is to be divided.

The most potent factor in securing large profits is the avoidance of waste, and the greatest source of waste in the industrial world is unused, undeveloped or misdirected human effort. To the correction of that evil trade unions should direct their attention.

Let every one engaged in the business work with the greatest possible efficiency and diligence consistent with maintaining himself in good condition to work thereafter, and leaving himself the leisure necessary to the performance of his duties to his family, to his state and for his own development and pleasure.

The hours of labor should be reasonably short; but during working hours each individual should work hard and earnestly, and under conditions leading to the greatest possible efficiency.

Any restriction upon the output of the individual reduces the fund of profits available for distribution, besides demoralizing the man who is so restricted.

It follows also that differences in efficiency between different individuals must be recognized and rewarded; and that those who can work faster and better than others must not be retarded by the less efficient. The industrial superiority of America is largely due to the absence of restriction upon individual effort; to the encouragement of the individual by giving him the fruits of his efforts.

Your federation opposes socialism, but to ignore

the difference between individuals would lend strength to socialism and communism.

LIMITATION IS WASTE.

A limitation of the production of the individual is pure waste. The business is merely rendered less profitable, and the man whose production is restricted is injured also.

Nor does the restriction of the output of the individual make more work for others. The amount of work to be done is, in a country like ours, in no sense fixed; for the amount of goods or service men buy is not fixed. The amount bought is as a rule limited only by the ability to buy.

If you waste human effort you make the product cost more. If you raise prices without increasing incomes you have simply limited the amount that will be bought. You have not made work for more people. You have merely given people less for their money.

Another great factor of waste in most businesses is the cost of inspectors, foremen and assistant foremen—men whose services are in large part required only because so many employees work, not as hard or as well as is possible but only hard enough or well enough to pass the inspector or foreman.

Every man should look out for himself, should do the work without inspector or foreman watching him like a policeman. The dishonor and the expense of unnecessary inspectors and foremen should be avoided.

Trade unions have already done much for the manhood of the workingman. They should teach him that it is a disgrace to manhood to require watching.

WORK SHOULD BE STEADY.

Third—The unions should demand for the workingman steady work.

In order that the pay of the individual may be large it is necessary not merely that the business as a whole be profitable, but also that the individual be given full opportunity to work for his share of the profit.

Most controversies between employers and employees have arisen upon claims for what is called higher wages; that is, for a higher rate per day or per piece. But the rate per day or per piece is only one of the factors which go to make up wages.

The important question is not how much a man is paid per day nor how much per piece, but how much can he earn in a year. He may have high wages and an opportunity of working only half the year.

For instance, it appeared in the anthracite coal strike inquiry that the men worked only about 181 days in the year. Speaking roughly, men should work 300 days in the year.

Lack of earnings is only a small part of the evil which results from irregularity of employment. It is the uncertainty as to a job which produces a large part of the care of a workingman's life, and the days of enforced idleness which lead to most of the bad habits.

Every man should have the opportunity of working every day in the year excepting Sundays and holidays and such time as he properly wishes for a vacation. In some trades this is impossible, but in many trades where the irregularity of work is accepted as a necessity, it would be found that if the effort were duly made the amount of slack time could be greatly reduced.

Where men are engaged in trades which on account of the physical conditions can be followed only during a part of the year, there ought to be found for them work at some other trade for the remainder of the year.

PROVIDE AGAINST IRREGULARITY.

No industrial condition can be satisfactory which does not tend to remove the thing called "day labor," which does not seek to make the work of the workingman as steady as that of the clerk or salesman.

No adequate effort to provide against irregularity of work has been made. If the unions once formulate demands for steady work and co-operate with employers to secure it, an immense improvement on these lines will undoubtedly result.

Steadiness of work is nearly as important to the employer as to the employee. For instance, the great aim of the manufacturer must be to run his factory full all the time. Many factories can earn their profit only if they do. If the factory runs all of the time, and the employees work all of the time, it is obvious that the owner can be satisfied with a much smaller rate of profit and the men can be satisfied with a smaller rate per day or per piece than they would

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GREAT CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY AND OF LABOR IN JOINT CONFERENCE.

OFFICIALS OF A GREAT RAILWAY CORPORATION CO-OPERATE IN ADJUSTING JURISDICTIONAL CONFLICT BETWEEN TWO POWERFUL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

IT IS a pleasure to record another triumph for the method of direct conference between the representatives of a great employing corporation and of its organized employes, in preventing industrial strife and public inconvenience. The value of this method found signal illustration in the avoidance of the threatened strike on the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. The danger of this strike arose not from any dispute about hours, wages or conditions of work between the company and the employes. The question at issue was a dispute between two highly organized bodies of employes, each of them entirely friendly toward the company, but contending with each other over their representation before company officials in cases of discipline. The two organizations thus opposing each other were the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Locomotive Engineers, and the dispute between them threatened to extend from the New Haven to every other important railway in the country.

This absence of a direct issue between the company and the employes makes all the more striking the patience and care which the company exercised in treating with the firemen and the engineers. It makes peculiarly significant the fact that a man of such large affairs and intense daily occupation in business as J. Pierpont Morgan, together with the other members of a directors' committee, Charles F. Brooker of Ansonia, Professor George J. Brush of Yale, and William Skinner of Holyoke, should willingly upon two different occasions spend several hours in conference with representatives of the firemen. It makes more conspicuous, also, the long period during which the officials of the company exhausted every effort to bring about an adjustment of the dispute between two organizations which officially and theoretically were not recognized by the company.

The trouble arose out of the claim that members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen who had been promoted to be engineers, but who retained their membership in the firemen's brotherhood, were neglected in cases of appeal by the engineers' adjustment committee. In other words, the firemen claimed that the engineers' adjustment committee was not taking up with the management cases of engineers who desired to appeal unless those engineers were members of the engineers' brotherhood. Therefore, the firemen's committee claimed that it should be permitted to represent before the officers of the road the engineers who were members of the firemen's brotherhood. This complaint was made to the general manager of the company as long ago as June, 1904. The claim being denied by the general manager, the firemen's committee appealed successively to the first vice-president and to President Mellen. Mr. Mellen, after earnest consideration, confirmed the preceding decisions, and pointed out that should the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen at any time have in its organization a majority of the engineers employed by the company, the question would undoubtedly settle itself.

Mr. Mellen explained: "The company has no objection to labor organizations, and is absolutely indifferent as to whether an employe belongs to a labor organization or not. The employes of different classes meet the officers of the company for purposes of making agree-

ments, settling disputes, etc., through committees selected by them from among their own number. Thus there exists an engineers' adjustment committee. Naturally, if the members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are in the majority among the engineers, the adjustment committee is likely to be composed of brotherhood men. If the non-union engineers (of whom the road employs about 150) were in the majority, they would presumably control the committee, and if most of the engineers belonged to the firemen's brotherhood it would be probable that the committee would be composed of men of that brotherhood. This, however, is an internal matter, with which the company

men's brotherhood, stated: "The firemen are asking for nothing more than their rights. They have in their membership many engine drivers who have retained their allegiance to the firemen's organization after becoming drivers. These men believe they have some rights. We had an agreement with Mr. Hall, formerly president of the company, which lasted one year and three months. Recently the drivers have made an agreement with the company which gives them alone the right to negotiate for the drivers. This leaves those drivers in the Firemen's Brotherhood out in the cold."

In reply to this, President Mellen said: "The first vice-president, on investigation, was not only positively assured by the engineers' general committee of adjustment that it had and would in the future take up before the officers the cases of all engineers, irrespective of their union affiliations, if the cases were proper, but also produced evidence to show that all proper cases had so been taken up. The first vice-president furthermore communicated with former President Hall, who stated that in March, 1903, at the urgent request of the firemen, he had heard their committee in an individual case, that of Engineer Fox, but denied emphatically that he had made any such agreement for the future or in any other case."

Conference after conference followed, and time after time the same ground was patiently gone over without reaching an agreement. The question of a strike was submitted to a referendum vote of all the firemen, union and non-union, employed on the system, and the resulting vote was strongly in the affirmative. From First Vice-Grand Master Shea, of the firemen's brotherhood, came the suggestion of the appointment of a second adjustment committee of engineers, to be composed of members of the firemen's brotherhood. This plan was declined by the company as impracticable, because it would be in violation of its agreement with all its engineers, and because the plan would require the appointment of a third adjustment committee to represent the non-union engineers, and would compel the road to distinguish between its employes in the same class of work, but belonging to different organizations.

The subject was then brought by the firemen's general committee before a directors' committee of five, of which Mr. Morgan was chairman. This action, constituting an appeal from the chief executive of the corporation virtually to its directorate, was itself a most extraordinary proceeding.

The receiving of this appeal and its careful consideration illustrate the willingness of these representatives of large interests to exert every effort to treat labor conditions with the utmost desire to attain justice; and they are an example, also, of the diligence of directors who really direct.

The conferences of the directors' and firemen's committees resulted in sustaining the president's decision. After this decision, Grand Master Hannahan and Grand Chief Warren S. Stone, of the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers reached an agreement which is expected to heal a breach between these two organizations that was widening throughout the country.



J. PIERPONT MORGAN,
Financier.



CHARLES S. MELLEN,
President, N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.



WARREN S. STONE,
Grand Chief, Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers.



J. J. HANNAHAN,
Grand Master, Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen.

has nothing to do." After further conference with Grand Master J. J. Hannahan, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and A. P. Kelly, chairman of the firemen's general adjustment committee, President Mellen again reviewed the subject carefully with the general committee of adjustment of the engineers, asking that committee if it could not possibly assent to the demands of the firemen's committee, thus releasing the company from that particular phase of its agreement with the engineers. The engineers' committee could not see its way clear to assenting to this suggestion. The committee of engineers was agreeable to arbitration, but this was declined by the firemen's committee on January 13 and 16 last.

First Vice-Grand Master Timothy Shea, of the fire-

COMPREHENSIVE AIMS OF TRADE UNIONISM IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MARKED PROGRESS IN THE COLLECTIVE CONTRACT, CONFERENCE AND CONCILIATION, AND IN ORGANIZING, HOUSING AND EDUCATING UNSKILLED WAGE-EARNERS.

By JAMES WIGNALL, of Swansea, Wales, General Organizer of Dockers' Union; Fraternal Delegate to the American Federation of Labor.

THE main difference that I observe between the development of trade unions in our country and the United States is that the movement in England has for its broad aim the accomplishment of all things that are for the benefit of all the people. Thus, while higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of labor are primary objects, the English trade movement also concerns itself with the social life and with the education of the workers and with everything, in short, that its constituents believe will contribute to the prosperity of the country. The movement endeavors to cultivate among the masses self-respect, and to teach constantly the lesson that any individual good must come from self-exertion.

There has been among British employers much antagonism against trade unions. Some employers have looked upon the movement as an unmitigated evil; some other employers have become reconciled and have thought it something to be conciliated temporarily, that in time would pass away; other employers and, I am glad to say, a large majority of them, have now come to realize the right of labor to the collective bargain, the right of labor to sell its commodity, through combination, at the best price that can be obtained. This change has grown progressively, and chiefly during the last ten years. During that period both sides have learned much. There have in the past been too many strikes and too many lock-outs, because both parties have been anxious for industrial strife rather than industrial peace. But experience has gradually taught that it is far better to resort to conciliation than to the bitter arbitrament of strikes or lock-outs. Thus there has been evolved a large number of courts or boards of arbitration. The result is that now about 70 per cent. of all the disputes between employers and employed in England are thus adjusted without trouble. For example, in the mining industry, there is a Board of Conciliation, composed of an equal number of representatives of the mine workers and of the mine owners. If this Board fails to agree, there is an independent chairman, to whom the case is referred. He hears the arguments on both sides, and his decision is always accepted. This method has averted trouble in the mining industry for several years.

The tin plate industry—once nearly ruined by the American tariff, but now, through the recovery of markets in other parts of the world, in a better condition than ever before—was formerly notorious for its labor troubles. But five years ago a Board of Conciliation was created, composed of representatives of both sides. This Board has made yearly agreements. Its agreements are now in their sixth year and during that time the industry has had only one slight dispute, which was settled by arbitration.

Another example is the agreement in Bristol between the dock-workers and the merchants. Under this agreement, each side deposits £600 with two elected trustees. This deposit is a security that each party shall carry out the agreement. Upon only two occasions has there been any dispute, which, in each case, was decided by an umpire, the decision including the amount of the deposit to be paid as damages. In one of these cases the agreement was violated by the men, and in the other by the employers. There is every probability of an indefinite continuance of peace under this agreement.

The question that I have observed as uppermost here—that of the open shop—has also troubled us during the past ten years, although under a different name. With us the open shop means the "Free Labor Association." Out of the efforts of that organization have grown great suffering, dislocation of trade and loss of money. I have seen its efforts supported at the point of the bayonet, when soldiers and police were protecting non-union men at work. But in every case the struggle, after two or three months, has collapsed and amounted to nothing. The "Free Labor Association" has upon the whole not resulted in a gain for the employers, but rather in a loss. For every shilling in labor cost that they have saved, they have spent a pound in trying to carry out, and without avail, their program.

Our general attitude is this: We recognize that the employers have a right to employ the cheapest labor they can find in the market. We ask the same right, to get the best price that we can exact for our labor. We find it the best plan to bring these two rights into harmony by sitting around a table and winning the battle one way or the other by the force of argument and reason instead of resorting to physical strife.

Previous to the last fifteen years there was practically no organization in England among the unskilled workers, such, for example, as the dock-workers and the general laborers; but after the London

dock strike of 1889, a great wave of organization of unskilled labor swept all over England. The success of this movement has been wonderful. In my own town of Swansea, fifteen years ago, the dock laborers were hanging around all hours of the day and night waiting for work. Rarely did they see the merchant with whom this work originated. It was passed down from him through one middleman after another until it reached the dock foreman. This dock foreman invariably kept a saloon. Only the man who would drink at his saloon could get a job. The man who could hold the most, who had the longest string of check marks behind the door, could get the best job. When the man was paid at the end of the week he would be paid in a saloon. One pathetic result of this system was the spectacle on every Saturday night in the market street of Swansea. There you would see scores of women waiting about hour after hour with their baskets. A stranger would ask in wonder what were these shivering, half-clad creatures doing. The explanation was that their husbands were all in the public houses, waiting for their pay. The saloon keeper and foreman would be busy serving his customers and he would delay paying the men as late as possible. He would even keep them waiting until the legal hour of closing. Then many of them were often



JAMES WIGNALL,
General Organizer, British Dockers' Union.

turned out without a cent to give their wives for food, and in debt for the coming week.

When the dock-workers organized it was resolved to bring this system to an end. Before they asked for higher wages, or shorter hours, or better conditions, they first made one demand. This was that the workmen should be employed directly by the principal; that no saloon keeper should be an employer; that no workman should be paid from a saloon, and that no worker should be kept out of his money after Saturday midnight. The result of granting this demand has been that the wages of the dockworkers have increased, on the average, 100 per cent. over fifteen years ago, and at the same time the cost of labor to the merchant is not a cent more, because of the elimination of the middleman.

The next step of our union was to begin to teach the men, many of whom could not even read or write, in the evening classes. Gradually the workers began to understand that they were real human beings quite like others, and that their children were like the children of others. The result of this discovery was a change in their lives that seems incredible. They had emerged from degradation. In our town alone, the Dockworkers' Union has had one mayor, one alderman, seven members of the City Council, two members of the Harbor Board, fourteen members of Boards of Guardians, and one auditor. These changed conditions in Swansea only illustrate an equal change in many other towns and cities in England.

Meantime our trades unions undertook a war against slumdom in many cities. We argued that if you wish to have good people it is necessary to give them good surroundings. We discovered that the wretched quarters in slumdom were returning enormous profits to the owners. The conditions in the alleys and tenements were such that their inhabitants were practically living in the saloons, which were bright and warm. We held meetings, appointed investigating committees, and secured tabulated state-

ments. In this way we caused existing laws to be enforced. Then we secured the passage of a law authorizing city councils, in cases where the towns owned suburban land, to build houses in the country and to run cars for workmen for a through fare of one penny between the hours of 5 and 8 A. M. and 5 and 8 P. M. Many cities have done this, and now have in the beautiful country workmen's cottages containing six rooms and a bathroom. When it was first proposed to put bathrooms in the workmen's cottages there was a great outcry: "Bathrooms for dockers! How absurd! They won't use them." But we said, "Only try them and see." The result is that now hundreds of families, born and reared in slumdom, own beautiful, bright homes in the country. The infinite good that this has done and is doing to the rising generation is one of the boasts of our trades unions. It is producing a better type of manhood and womanhood, and has infused great communities with a better spirit. All this has been accomplished in the last fifteen years.

The English trades unions have fought everywhere for good schools, furnished with the best teachers and the most beautiful and complete equipment. It frequently happens that the most beautiful school is situated in the poorest district of the city. Our Trades Union Congress is fighting persistently to increase the school age. This we have raised to fourteen years, and hope to increase it in another year to fifteen. Our Trades Union Congress discusses all social economic questions, and promotes such legislation as it believes will be for the benefit of the entire community. Our labor representation committee is an offspring of our Trades Union Congress. It aims to secure labor representation in all municipal boards and in Parliament. Each member of the organizations represented in the Trades Union Congress contributes one shilling per annum toward the expenses of representation in the House of Commons. In that body we now have fourteen members, and we have forty candidates ready to go to the country whenever Parliament is dissolved. In this way we have created a labor party in Parliament distinct from either of the other parties, which is constantly working to secure legislation for the good of the whole country.

As a further step we have brought about the Workmen's Compensation Act. This legislation was necessary because of defects in the former Employers' Liability Act, which caused the non-suiting of ninety-nine out of every one hundred actions, on the ground of "common employment," or of contributory negligence. Under the new law any injured employee may receive during life not over £1 a week, or, in case of death, from £150 to £300 to go to his dependents. This money is welcome enough to those injured, or to the heirs of those killed. But of far more value than the money is the effect of the law in causing the employers to take every precaution against accidents. The act has proved efficient in preventing accidents, and has reduced immensely the number of working people killed or injured in the course of the year.

NEWSPAPERS POINT THE WAY TO PEACE.

(Concluded from page 5.)

then the president of the International Typographical Union guarantees the subscribing publisher against strikes, boycotts, and any concerted interference with the peaceful operation of his office.

"In very many cases this contract has operated to prevent serious labor disturbances, and, conversely, to prevent the granting of unreasonable demands for the increase of wages. Therefore, there is every desire to continue the contract in force at least until its expiration, May 1, 1907.

"A similar agreement with the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union dates from 1902. We have had no friction in carrying out this agreement. In nearly every case expiring individual contracts have been renewed by conciliation, while in only one case has it been found necessary to resort to arbitration.

"As the printing trades are more thoroughly organized than almost any other in the country, the skilled men in those trades, outside of the union, are to say the least not plentiful. Therefore, as to the question of the open shop, it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. The scarcity of non-union printers practically compels the publisher to deal with the unions. Before the existence of these contracts the question asked by the unions was 'How much wages can the employer be forced to pay?' The rule of arbitration now decides what it is reasonable to pay in each case under all the circumstances."

GREAT AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS POINT THE WAY TO INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

THE OPERATION OF THE LONG-TERM CONTRACTS BETWEEN THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE TYPOGRAPHICAL AND PRESSMEN'S UNIONS.

THE nineteenth annual convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, which closed its proceedings in New York City with a dinner on the evening of February 24, was notable for the harmonious celerity with which it dispatched a large volume of business. The following addresses were delivered: "The Newspaper Man," Postmaster William R. Willcox; "The Newspaper," Colonel George Harvey; "The Newspaper in Politics," D. Cady Herrick; "The Man Upstairs," William H. McElroy; "The New Member," Lafayette Young, and "Breaking Into the Business," William McM. Speer.

These officers were elected: President, S. S. Rogers, *Chicago Daily News*; vice-president, W. L. McLean, *Philadelphia Bulletin*; treasurer, E. P. Call, the *New York Commercial*; executive committee, W. P. Weston, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; C. H. Taylor, Jr., *Boston Globe*; Colonel Cabiness, *Augusta Chronicle*, and C. H. Herrick, *San Francisco*.

The harmonious nature of this convention of an employers' association was chiefly due to the existence of a trade agreement with two corresponding organizations of employees, the International Typographical Union and the International Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America. Before the existence of these contracts, a large proportion of the annual meetings of the publishers was devoted to the discussion of labor troubles. But with the smooth operation of the local and national machinery of conciliation, conference and arbitration which these trade agreements provide, the business of publishing the great dailies of the country progresses with regularity as assured as the almost human-like operation of type-setting machines and lightning presses. More than \$40,000,000 of capital is represented in this publishers' association, while the membership of the unions with which it deals numbers hundreds of thousands.

These contracts rank among the other most conspicuous and important trade agreements in the United States, such as those between the interstate organizations of bituminous operators and the United Mine Workers of America; between the anthracite operators and miners, under the award of the Anthracite Strike Commission; between the Lake Carriers' Association and the International Longshoremen. These are the agreements involving the greatest amount of capital, the largest number of wage earners and that have exhibited the highest degree of success in adjusting differences through conferences, with a resort to arbitration in the background. The agreements between the Newspaper Publishers' Association and the two unions of employees are most elaborate in their provisions for arbitration. The agreement with the International Typographical Union, as does that with the Pressmen's Union, combines three features designed to make secure the result of arbitration. These are a pledge by both parties to accept the decision as final and binding; a pledge that there shall be no strike or lockout pending the decision; and a penalty for refusal to abide by the decision.

These agreements provide for a graded system of appeals from local boards to a national board of arbitration. The typographical national board consists of the

President of the International Typographical Union and the Commissioner of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, or their proxies. In the event of failure to agree, these select a third member in each dispute, who acts as chairman of the board. The finding of the majority is final, and must be accepted as such by both parties to the dispute. When the two original members of the National Board differ as to the interpretation of the trade agreement, the difference is referred to a Joint Conference consisting of the three members of the executive council of the unions and the three members of the special standing committee of the publishers' association. If these disagree, to quote the code of procedure: "The

the daily press, exert a combined influence in the decision.

The argument most frequently advanced against the trade agreement as a method of industrial peace is that the trade union cannot be held legally responsible for the fulfillment of its part of a collective contract. But in addition to its pledges against strikes or lockouts, and to accept the result of arbitration as final, the typographical agreement provides that, "in the event of either party to the dispute refusing to accept or comply with the decision of the National Board of Arbitration, all aid and support to the firm or employer or local union refusing acceptance or compliance shall be withdrawn by both parties to this agreement. The acts of such recalcitrant employer or union shall be publicly disavowed, and the aggrieved party to this agreement shall be furnished with an official document to that end." Although the form for local contracts does not contain this provision, it does pledge the International Union to protect the employer in case of violation of the agreement of the local union. This is a strong re-enforcement of the other features to ensure acceptance of the result of arbitration namely, the mutual pledge in advance to abide by the decision, and the abstinence from rupture during the settlement of a controversy.

One outcome of the typographical contract is that a representative of the International Typographical Union usually attends, by invitation, the annual meeting of the publishers' association, and, conversely, a representative of the publishers is usually present at the annual convention of the union. This interchange of courtesies tends to promote mutual confidence between the two organizations in their respective good will and intention of fair dealing. The task of representing the publishers at the conventions of the union, and in all matters relating to questions of labor and the formation and interpretation of local contracts rests with Frederick Driscoll, who has been commissioner of the publishers' association since its formation of the standing committee on labor in 1900.

Commissioner Driscoll says of the history and operation of these contracts: "The association created at its annual meeting in 1900, after some severe experiences with strikes and labor troubles, a special standing committee to establish a bureau of labor. At that time about 80 per cent. of our publishers had trade relations with local unions. It became evident at once that it was necessary to make our arrangements with the International Union, which alone had power to regulate the locals and keep them in

check. Accordingly a plan of arbitration with the International Typographical Union, covering the composing room, stereotype, mailing, and photo-engraving departments, was ratified by the publishers' association and also by the International Typographical Union. After a year's satisfactory experience with this plan, it was mutually agreed that it should be extended for five years from May 1, 1902, and that its scope should be enlarged so as to cover arbitration of wages and hours.

"It is important to observe that the plan of arbitration provides that whenever any one of the publishers agrees by individual contract with the International Typographical Union, that he will arbitrate all labor differences,

(Concluded on page 4.)



S. S. ROGERS,
President, American Newspaper Publishers' Association.



CHARLES H. TAYLOR, JR.,
Ex-President, American Newspaper Publishers' Association.



JAMES M. LYNCH,
President, International Typographical Union.



MARTIN P. HIGGINS,
President, International Pressmen's Union.

selection of the seventh member shall be referred to the National Civic Federation. The decision of the arbitrator shall be final and binding upon the Joint Conference and upon the members of the National Board of Arbitration."

Thus there is established a system of appeals up to the highest body of national conference, with a further provision for the settlement of any dispute, akin in judicial procedure to a pure question of law to be determined only by the Supreme Court, to still another body, with provision for a final arbiter to be selected by an outside disinterested body, itself composed of representatives of employers, of wage earners, and of the general public. In the last resort all the elements of the community, which as a whole is interested in the uninterrupted output of

A NEW ENGLAND CONFERENCE OF EMPLOYERS UPON WELFARE WORK.

ITS VARIOUS PHASES DISCUSSED AND ITS APPLICATION ILLUSTRATED BY PRACTICAL EMPLOYERS AND WELFARE WORKERS.

Boston Herald, Feb. 28.

THE Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation held a notable local conference to discuss welfare work, at Young's Hotel last evening. H. H. Vreeland, President of the New York City Railway Company, and Chairman of the Department, who presided, although he arrived late on account of a railroad accident, spoke on "How to Make Good Foremen—The Labor Department." "Men's Clubs" was considered by Rev. James E. Freeman, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Hollywood Inn Club, Yonkers, N. Y.; "Welfare Work in a Mill Town," by W. E. C. Nazro, Welfare Manager, Plymouth Cordage Company, North Plymouth, Mass.; "Should Manufacturers Attempt Welfare Work for the Benefit of their Employees?" by C. W. Hubbard of

human beings organized under him as a mere machine out of which he is to express so much finished product for a given stint of wage. If ambition tempt him to ignore moral obligations, trouble is bound to ensue, because there is little toleration among workingmen of a system that tends to merge them into mass for treatment. This resentment to being individually obliterated, Mr. Vreeland said, he knew to be strong among workingmen, despite all the unionizing tendencies of labor.

He emphasized the importance of broadening the view of foremen as the means of communication between the great mass of laborers and executive heads, and he pleaded for greater intimacy and sympathy between foremen and laborers. In this, more than in any other way, could the frequent causes of misunder-

enterprise without the full consent of his board. In one year he had fully demonstrated the wisdom and commercial value of his proposition."

W. E. C. Nazro, of the Plymouth Cordage Company, said:

"Health and physical comfort are cardinal considerations for the welfare of the great number of employes in our large factories. Under the division of physical comfort, in our works, we have established modern systems of ventilation, light and heat, sanitary work rooms, wholesome drinking water, wash rooms, fire protection, seats for women, rest rooms, hospital and resident nurses, and lunch rooms. Under the division of recreation, we have established the social hall, athletics of different kinds, field day contests, lectures, private theatricals, and bath department. For



NEW ENGLAND WELFARE CONFERENCE DINNER, YOUNG'S HOTEL, BOSTON.

Boston; and "Loyalty and Fair Dealing," by Frederick P. Fish, of Boston, President of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company.

Miss Gertrude Beeks, the Secretary, gave an interesting talk on the work of the Welfare Department, illustrated by the stereopticon. This department embraces a large number of employers who are voluntarily giving especial consideration to the physical, mental and moral welfare of their employes.

In the course of his remarks Mr. Vreeland declared that one of the most regrettable results of great industrial combinations was the disappearance of sympathetic association between the operatives and administrators of these giant concerns. This altered relationship, considered historically, seemed to be a natural outcome of modern industrialism wherein, with its high organization and specializing tendency, an executive has little opportunity, however humane he may be, to consider his operatives except as a single unit. This necessity of dealing with labor as a unit has developed the importance of the foreman both economically and morally to a point where his task is greater even than that of the chief executive. In his keeping, to a very large degree, is the welfare of those whom he represents before the executive. If he is merely commercial he comes to regard the mass of

standing be diminished. The modern foreman's delicate duty is to truly present the point of view of the operative to the executive, and then, no simple task, he has to explain the point of view of the executive to his men. He stands in a sort of judicial and paternal relation between these two. Only moral inspiration will give him the courage and the ingenuity to correct a growing and deplorable tendency in the development of great industrial concerns.

Rev. James E. Freeman, of Yonkers, who had twelve years' experience with Cornelius Vanderbilt, which brought him into close contact with the men along the New York Central Railroad, said in part:

"We need something that at least hints at heaven here and now, and there is no place where this needs to be so largely emphasized as where for six days men and women are toiling for their bread. What is needed to render our operatives immune from that most corrupting curse, the saloon, is a kind of club environment that will give the men a place for necessary and legitimate recreation. The head of a large industry in a Southern State told me that the presentation of such a club scheme to his fellow directors was received by them at the outset as an indication of his own mental derangement. My friend was so determined to make the test that he undertook the

education, the first monument was that of the Loring reading room, while there followed classes in cooking, sloyd, basketry and cane-sewing, lectures, kindergarten, and a periodical issued by the company. Prizes are awarded for gardens, house surroundings, poultry, and other products, at our Labor Day exhibit. In the division of housing, modern houses have been built, with open and sanitary plumbing, with attractive grounds for the development of lawns, walks, etc. Under a miscellaneous head is improved environment of the mills by the planting of shrubbery and road building."

C. W. Hubbard, Treasurer of the Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, after pointing out that both duty and self-interest demand that large employers of labor do welfare work among their employes, said:

"It seems to me that there is too little thought of the harm of giving too much publicity to welfare work. It is not wise for the beneficiaries of welfare work to find themselves exploited in the public press. It would be well if the public could be interested in the general subject, leaving the details for quiet study by those intending to practice them."

"The need and difficulty of this work are greater in America than in England or in France, where one has to deal with a permanent community of one nation and one

language. We ask the public to recognize this need and to demand of our large employers that they also recognize it, and that they use their brains and their money in some organized effort to improve the lives of our laboring population. We also ask the public to remember that we have before us one of the toughest problems of the race—that of forming character. We ask the public to be slow in passing judgment, and to be charitable, if in our efforts we make mistakes."

Frederick P. Fish traced welfare work to the natural spirit of co-operation and of friendship that always exists wherever men are associated together for a common purpose and in a common work, with all the inequalities of position inevitably involved. This spirit, which he said permeated the army, the crews of ships, bands of explorers, the founders of governments, and the industrial associates, was not philanthropic, though containing an element of philanthropy; not charity, but primarily loyalty to the work and to the men associated in the work. "The man above expects and exacts loyalty from those below; the men below expect and exact loyalty from those above. Herein is the root of the movement represented here to-night. The purpose is to find a way, through organization and through method, to disclose to employes this feeling of loyalty on the part of employers." Mr. Fish continued:

"There are many ways in which this can be done. One is by the spirit of fairness, which the chairman has expressed as one of his cardinal principles of doing business. If there is a spirit of fairness at the top, it permeates the whole organization and is known to the man at the bottom, and he appreciates it and instinctively reciprocates it. Another is to make the conditions of the work just as favorable as they can be. Another is to see that the wages are on the right basis. They cannot be excessive, or enterprise would be ruined. But they can be meager and inadequate, and where they are, the employer is absolutely failing in this fundamental duty of loyalty and friendship to the men who work for him.

"Now, we in this welfare work, as I understand it, are endeavoring so to shape our organization, so to regulate our affairs, and so to establish our relations in an enormous aggregation of men, as to permeate the whole system with this spirit of fairness, frankness and co-operation.

"The interesting exhibits of applied welfare work that we have seen on the screen to-night illustrate methods of showing the employed that employers have thought for their comfort and welfare. Furthermore, they tend to create a standard for which the wage-earner should work in other relations and ultimately will bring up the standard of living in the community. For when we consider the cheapness of such sanitary appliances, the day will undoubtedly dawn when every artisan will demand them in his own home because he has them in his factory.

"All movements for social betterment are equally significant. What is the purpose of annual fairs in industrial communities? It is not merely for casual amusement, but to give the working people to understand that employers regard them as attached by the tie of a common enterprise and a common purpose.

"Take the business in which I am engaged. All through this country I have occasion to go into telephone exchanges from Maine to California, and wherever I go it delights my soul to find that the exchange manager shows me with more pride the retiring room for the girl operators, the bath facilities, the racks for their clothes, the hospital beds, the lunch counter, the cooking apparatus, than anything else in his whole establishment; and he feels that pride because he recognizes that therein he is carrying out, not the philanthropy nor the charity, but the spirit of friendship and loyalty which employers and employes naturally feel toward each other, unless their relations become artificial and strained, as is too apt to be the case under modern conditions.

"I personally believe that the importance of this welfare work cannot be exaggerated, because it is almost the only obvious and tangible expression that is open to us under modern conditions of the feeling on the part of employers, which should be and must be cultivated to the greatest possible extent, that they are the friends, the loyal friends, closely interested in the affairs of their employes."

Those present at the dinner were:

H. H. Vreeland, President New York City Railway Co., New York City.
James E. Freeman, President Hollywood Inn Club, Yonkers, N. Y.
Augustus P. Loring, President Plymouth Cordage Co., Boston, Mass.
Jamea Logan, Chairman Executive Committee, United States Envelope Co., Worcester, Mass.
Frederick P. Fish, President American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Boston.
Frederic S. Clark, Treasurer Talbot Mills, North Billerica, Mass.
Charles Dana Palmer, State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, Boston.
W. E. C. Nazro, Welfare Manager Plymouth Cordage Works, North Plymouth, Mass.
George W. Brown, Treasurer United Shoe Machinery Co., Boston.
G. E. Emmons, Manager Schenectady Works, General Electric Co., Schenectady, N. Y.
Charles S. Dennison, Treasurer Dennison Mfg. Co., Boston.
Thomas G. Plant, President Thomas G. Plant Co., Boston.
J. G. Taylor, President The Taylor-Burt Co., Holyoke, Mass.

Franklin W. Doliber, Mellin's Food Company, Boston.
B. Preston Clark, Boston.
W. C. Fish, Manager Lynn Works, General Electric Co., West Lynn, Mass.
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WAGES ADJUSTED TO PRICES.

[The following extract from an address by James F. Williams, of Streator, Ill., was published by the *Industrial Independent*, official organ of the Citizens' Industrial Association, with its approval and the advice that we present to our readers Mr. Williams' "sound common sense." We are happy to comply.—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

Let me say that there are just three ways in which a man may increase his wages, three possible sources out of which an advance may come. I will summarize them briefly:

1. It may come out of the pocket of his employer; that is, wages may be increased at the expense of profits.
2. It may come out of the pocket of the consumer; that is, wages may be increased by raising the price of the product either by artificial combination or otherwise, and charging it up to the buyer.
3. It may not come out of anyone's pocket; in other words, wages may be increased by enhanced skill and efficiency in production, by which the sum total of the goods produced may be increased and thus more wealth created, which can be divided as wages or profits.

Corresponding to these three ways of increasing wages there are three stages of trades-unionism. In the first stage the workman thinks his wages come out of the pocket of the employer and he is all the time fighting to get more. He does not realize that the employer is only a middleman who stands between him and the market, and that even if he could compel him to give up all his margin it would not make him rich. He does not remember that the margin of the employer is made up of small profit on the work of many men; so that if he can make ten cents on the labor of a thousand men it will give him a profit of a hundred dollars a day; and yet so small is the profit on any one man that if the laborer could get all of it, it would not make the difference between comfort and poverty. As long as the laborer is in this stage of unionism he will always be fighting the employer and trying to take his profit away from him; and we shall have local strikes, lock-

outs and all manner of industrial strife as the outcome. Mind, I am not saying that the employer may not be claiming an excessive profit, and that he may not be even less enlightened than the men but, be that as it may, there is no hope that this stage of unionism will ever bring permanent peace. It will always be a primitive and barbarous stage in which attack on the one hand and reprisal on the other will be the rule, and the law of the highwayman, "That he may take who has the power, and he may keep who can."

Men pass out of the first stage into the second stage of unionism by enlarging their combination and by changing the point of attack. Instead of attacking the employer, they attack the market—that is to say, the consumer. In this way they make the employer a friend of unionism instead of an enemy, and together they present a united front against the common foe—who is the man who buys the goods. In order to make this co-operation possible, the union must be so extended as to include every competitor in a given industry. It must be made co-extensive with the competitive area; otherwise, it will fail, and the union will return to the first stage, where it fights the employer and not the consumer.

This point is well illustrated by the experience of the miners of Illinois, who, prior to their national organization, were spending their energy fighting their employers and impoverishing both themselves and the community. If the glass blowers, the coal miners, or the clay workers of Streator, were to confine their union to this town alone, the result is so obvious it would be a waste of time to discuss it. They would be at the mercy of a competitive market and would have to accept such wages as the market allowed or go out of business. The same thing is true of any workmen, skilled or unskilled. If they do not organize on a large enough scale to control the market, the competition of non-union producers will soon drive them to the wall. In this connection the situation of unskilled labor, with its unlimited and uncontrolled supply, presents a difficult problem. Speaking quite frankly, it seems to me the most promising plan of organization for common labor is to unite itself with the skilled labor in the same trade, and to be enabled to take part in making a uniform scale that shall be binding on everybody in that industry. So doing, they will get on a common ground with the employer and present a common front to the enemy; who is, in this case, the innocent and often unconscious consumer. They will thus pass from the first to the second stage of unionism, from chronic war to comparative peace. For in the second stage the friction between employer and workman is greatly reduced, joint agreements take the place of strikes—and the millennium is one step nearer.

But we are not yet at the goal of unionism. There is a third stage, which is as far in advance of the second as the second is ahead of the first. It is the stage in which the laborer refuses to use his power to plunder either the employer or the consumer. I was discussing the relation of the union to the consumer with an intelligent Northumberland miner this summer, and he put it with such clearness that I can not do better than reproduce his argument.

"Who is the consumer?" said he; "the consumer is my fellow-workman. If I can force up the price of a ton of coal by combining with my fellow-miners, who pays for it? Why, even the mason, hod-carrier, the factory girl, even the poor widow who is struggling to bring up her fatherless children."

"But," I suggested, "suppose all men and all women in every trade were unionized."

"Then," he replied, "we would all be just where we were before. For suppose there were 25 per cent. added to the wages of every worker in England. What would be the result? Why every one of us would have to buy, and we would be no better off. It's like traveling in a circle; you get no further ahead." * * *

No union that hopes to increase wages by lessening production or by appropriating some other person's earnings can hope to ultimately succeed. You cannot create wealth by refusing to produce it; you cannot increase wages by diminishing the source from which they must be paid. Restriction is folly. Seamp work cheats nobody as much as the laborer. * * * A catchpenny motive is just as sordid in a union as in a capitalist; and a mean, grasping spirit is the more contemptible, in so far as the union professes to occupy a higher plane and to appeal to higher motives. You cannot rear a broad structure on a narrow foundation. Nothing less than industrial peace, social solidarity, the subordination of selfish and class interests to the rule of ethical and economical law, can be the ultimate aim of unionism. Only such an aim can arouse or justify social enthusiasm or hope to make a permanent contribution to the solution of the labor question.

The Northumberland Miners organized two bodies with legislative and judicial powers, that might roughly be compared to our upper and lower houses of Congress. They called one the "Board of Conciliation," and the other the "Joint Committee," and they gave them jurisdiction over any dispute that might arise, and invested them with power to enforce any decision they might arrive at.

They agree on a wage basis that should bear a certain relation to the market price of coal, and they made

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LESSONS OF THE INTERBOROUGH STRIKE.

"Labor organizations must keep their part of agreements if they expect success."

"No labor organization can break its contracts or aid others to break theirs and live."

In those two sentences, Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, summarized the greatest lesson of the needless, unwarranted strike on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. All that labor has gained, all that labor expects to gain, in wages, hours and conditions of work, is the result of the organization being stronger than the individual. If, then, the results of this greater strength through organization are to be retained, and if such further gains are to be made as the business conditions of industry may warrant, the collective contract must be held by labor in as high respect as is the contract between individuals. This is the doctrine that the chief leaders of organized labor, as well as its disinterested friends and advisers, have been constantly preaching to the mass. Now this doctrine has been driven home by a concrete object lesson so impressive that it will reach every local union from Maine to California. It should also impress every employer in the country with a new sense of the responsibility and conservatism of the national leaders of organized labor, whom some employers habitually denounce. To take its charter away from a local union for violation of a contract seems a drastic measure; but be it said to the credit of the organization of which Mr. Stone is the head, he would himself have been called to account at its annual convention, and his own head would have fallen had he failed in this instance to enforce its laws. The promotion of trade agreements between employers and wage earners is one of the primary purposes of the National Civic Federation. But work to this end would be futile indeed, had organized labor upheld the precipitate action and unreasonable conduct of the local leaders of the three organizations involved. The heroic action in this case of the national chiefs of organized labor gives renewed hope to all who are interested in promoting industrial peace.

The second great lesson of this conflict is that labor organizations must vest the decision of vital issues in their national officers. This principle has been recognized by many of the unions and is embodied in the constitutions or by-laws of many national labor organizations; but in New York City some local organizations have too long been permitted to treat this principle as a dead letter. In fact, they have frequently and openly defied the national authority on the pretext that metropolitan conditions made them a law unto themselves. Some such action as that of Messrs. Stone and Mahon was necessary to bring these locals to their senses. A great deal of trouble in the building trades has arisen from this disposition on the part of the New York unions to ignore or openly defy the authority of their national bodies.

The enforcement of this national authority in labor organizations is of the utmost importance to employers and to the general public, and should receive their cordial approval. The establishment of such large and responsible authority makes for all the approved methods of attaining industrial peace, including trade agreements and arbitration. Equally important with the establishment of this authority to wage earners everywhere is it to awaken their rank and file to the necessity of electing sane, responsible and honorable men to positions of local leadership.

These lessons were forcibly put by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in a speech which he delivered at Baltimore, the day following the end of the Interborough strike, to an audience of labor men, who heartily applauded his remarks:

"The most important object in the labor organizations to-day is the honor of agreement between employer and employee. The strike in New York involved the violation of agreements, and if the leaders of the New York unions had considered the agreements the strike could have been prevented. It was a simple case of the members of the local unions flying off half-cocked and not taking the advice of the men who have made the

labor organizations in the United States what they are to-day. I want to impress upon you, fellow unionists, the importance of living up to your agreements and contracts."

William H. Farley, of the Tilelayers, one of the most experienced of the local leaders in the building trade said:

"The labor men of New York feel that this strike and the stand that the national officers took has done more for the labor movement than anything that has happened within the last ten years. It has proved to large employers that the national leaders intend to hold trade agreements sacred, and local leaders in the future will not be so quick to get into fights of this kind without first consulting their national officers. The possibility of strikes will be reduced to a minimum, and instead of strikes we will have arbitration. The members of organized labor will then lose no time during the arbitration, and employers of labor will be willing to arbitrate as long as they know that the national leaders will be able to hold the local unions in line.

"After one conference during the strike, one of the representatives of the Amalgamated Association, who had been in the labor movement less than two years, said that he learned more of that movement in an hour's talk with Thomas I. Kidd, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, and William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association, and with some of the local leaders, than he ever knew before. This goes to prove the value of education of local unions as a preventive of strikes. The result of this strike is a lesson to union men everywhere, and especially to building trades men who seem to ignore their national officers and have caused many strikes that should never have been ordered."

The conclusion of the Interborough strike thus presents an interesting paradox: While many arguments in favor of the trade agreement by its advocates were nullified in this instance by the headstrong local leaders, the upholding before all the country of the responsibility of labor for its contracts is a lesson so valuable in itself and so beneficial to the cause of industrial peace as to make the outcome of defeat in reality a victory. This lesson is well worth all its cost.

WAGES ADJUSTED TO PRICES.

(Concluded from page 7.)

it the business of the Board of Conciliation to adjust the scale every three months. They made it the function of the Joint Committee to sit on all internal questions that might arise in the daily operations of the mines, and settle them forthwith. This body is in almost constant session, and like the Board of Conciliation, is composed of an equal number of miners and owners, and presided over by an outside chairman or umpire. Both associations maintain a staff of salaried officers, who are experts on all matters pertaining to the coal trade. * * *

Wages go up and down with the market; there is no maximum and no minimum. During the great depression the price went so low that the scale was abandoned in some of the poorer mines, and men were allowed to work for whatever the mine would yield; and during a spell of very high prices the miners once volunteered to accept a reduction to check the upward tendency and to save the industry from the effort of a reduction.

LABOR WRESTS VICTORY FROM DEFEAT.

(Concluded from page 16.)

not only of my good offices, but also those of President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor; President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America; Vice-President Kidd, of the American Federation of Labor, and President Healey, of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, were inconspicuously rejected.

"Nothing now remains for me to do but to declare that the present strike is neither authorized nor approved by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, and I therefore advise all our loyal members to report for duty at once. To maintain their organization, which has done so much for the betterment of their material and moral conditions, and by the result of their present experience avoid such errors in the future; in that effort I shall be glad to assist to the fullest."

LABOR WRESTS VICTORY FROM DEFEAT.

(Continued from page 1.)

strike, to go into effect Saturday morning at the rush hour. Every train in the Subway will come to a standstill, and there will not be a wheel turning on the Elevated. This order is final."

Mr. Pepper also announced: "Unless Hedley rescinds his schedule I will tie up the whole road."

When Mr. Pepper was asked whether, before striking, it would not be necessary for him to get the consent of President Mahon of his national organization (the Amalgamated Association), he defiantly replied: "We don't need any teaching from Mr. Mahon. We can strike when we like, and when we do, we won't waste any time."

Another member of the employees' committee was quoted as saying, after the conference: "The situation was so tense during the conference that several members of the committee were in favor of granting the Interborough officials just fifteen minutes to grant their demands."

In vain did Mr. Hedley explain to the men that the new schedule had not received a fair trial, because it had been subject to the sudden increase of traffic in the Subway caused by the severest storm in New York in twenty years, which had almost paralyzed travel on the elevated and surface roads. He asked that the schedule be allowed to stand for a week, in order to allow it to be tested under normal conditions. This request the committee peremptorily refused. He asked the men to appoint a sub-committee of three to join with him in making a schedule. But the men would listen to no proposition whatever, and issued an ultimatum that unless the new schedule were taken down by 11 o'clock the next day, they would tie up both the Elevated and Subway. This demand was carried to President Belmont, who ordered the schedule taken down.

Mr. Pepper's exultant remark was: "The men have obtained all they ask. We'll get all the rest we want."

Mr. Jencks declared: "We got everything we went after."

Thus ended the preliminary encounter. The local chiefs had threatened and blustered to their hearts' content. The company's officials, in order to avoid a rupture, had humbly accepted the orders of Messrs. Pepper, Jencks and Pinney, and gone back to the former schedule, with the understanding that a new schedule was to be arranged before March 1. The company thus had every intimation that could be conveyed by abusive language and an intolerable spirit of dictation that the local leaders were plotting trouble. It was evident that if the men continued in this spirit a clash was inevitable, for no quasi public corporation under heavy obligations to furnish safe and rapid transit for the millions of people of a great city could long endure such a situation.

The New York Civic Federation at this juncture appointed a special committee of fifteen to tender its good offices if need for them should develop. This committee was composed of the following:

Representing the Public:—Oscar S. Straus, Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, Albert Shaw, Roland Phillips, Thomas F. Woodlock.

Representing Employers:—Charles A. Moore, Frederick D. Underwood, Emerson McMillin, Louis B. Schram, Marcus M. Marks.

Representing Wage Earners:—Samuel B. Donnelly, Edward A. Moffett, A. J. Boulton, Herman Robinson, James P. Archibald.

Both the Interborough officials and the employees' committee were apprised of the appointment of this committee and its willingness to aid in every possible way in preventing a rupture. While the ill-natured talk of the local leaders of the three unions involved had given notice to the Interborough officials of what they might expect on the 1st of March, it gave warning also to the national officers of these unions that there was need of a restraining hand to be placed on the local leaders. The national officers took hold at once with such apparent success that Chief Stone felt safe in making the statement to Mr. Belmont appearing at the beginning of this article.

The Civic Federation committee also quietly sounded the situation and was assured by the local leaders that prior to March 1, when the Amalgamated contract on the Elevated road would expire, they would send a committee to the Interborough offices and present a schedule calling for increases in the wages of a number of the trainmen, some of whom were getting as low as \$1.40 a day. They said that while there was a handful of radicals who wanted an eight-hour day, the executive committee knew that this was impracticable and would not ask for it. They promised, however, in the event of a disagreement with the local management, to take the matter up with the Civic Federation committee along the lines of conciliation and arbitration.

The Civic Federation committee in the meantime sounded the Interborough Company far enough to feel assured that there would be no hitch over the wage question, as the demands were not regarded as unreasonable. It seems, however, that the operating department of the company, after its experience in the conferences in February, was determined to take no

more chances of being held up at the last moment by impossible demands, and took precautionary measures.

As late as February 27, Grand Chiefs Stone and Hannahan, respectively of the engineers and the firemen, being in conference with Civic Federation members on another controversy, gave the information that everything seemed to be going along all right on the Interborough, they having received such information from their local organizations.

Even on Saturday, March 4, both Messrs. Pepper and Jencks announced in the papers that the people of New York need not worry; that there would be no strike, but that if any differences arose they would be dealt with in a businesslike manner; that if they could not come to an agreement with Mr. Hedley, they would go to Mr. Bryan, and if they could not agree with Mr. Bryan they would go to Mr. Belmont.

On Monday, March 6, however, it seemed as if this conciliatory talk had been largely for public consumption. The local leaders had instructed the men to vote on Monday on authorizing the committee to call a strike in case their demands were not granted.

Up to this time the engineers and firemen had publicly kept out of this last controversy, rightfully stating that their organizations had three-year contracts and no grievances that could not be taken care of in a regular manner. But at 3 o'clock that day, when the Amalgamated committee appeared at the Interborough offices for an answer to their demands, the engineers and firemen joined it, and at this time the engineers renewed all the demands they had not secured in their three-years' contract last September, utterly repudiating that document.

Manager Hedley stated that these new demands contained propositions that he had no power to grant, and urged the employees' committee to take their demands above his head to the proper authority—first, Vice-President Bryan, and then, if necessary, President Belmont, who, although in Florida, could be reached on the telephone at any time.

This idea the men refused to consider, saying, in effect: "You are the General Manager and it is your business to have all the power necessary to grant our demands or else get it from somebody who has. We are here to get action, not delay."

Together with their written demands, the men presented another paper containing the name and home address of each member of the committee. "There are our demands, and there are our addresses, where you must send your answer, yes or no, before 11 o'clock to-night," they said as they departed.

The spirit of reckless irresponsibility of the local leaders was glaringly exhibited that afternoon in other ways. "Let us talk to him ten minutes and no longer," said Mr. Jencks to Mr. Pepper, as they approached Mr. Hedley's office. "If they want to throw down the gauntlet, we'll pick it up," Mr. Pepper responded. Again Mr. Pepper was asked whether he could order a strike without the consent of the national officers of his organization, particularly of William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association.

"That's my business," replied Mr. Pepper, amid the laughter of the local committeemen surrounding him. After the conference in Mr. Hedley's office, which lasted half an hour Mr. Pepper stated: "We made our demands. They are final. We are to get an answer, yes or no, by 11 o'clock to-night, and then something will happen."

Meantime a sub-committee of the Civic Federation committee, consisting of Messrs. Schram, McMillin, Marks, Moffett and Donnelly, undertook to intercept the employees' committee as they left the Interborough offices at 4 o'clock, but failed to reach them. The members of the employees' committee scattered to their respective headquarters, with the exception of the Amalgamated members, who, with local President Pepper at their head, went to the Clarendon Hotel to have a talk with their National President, W. D. Mahon, who had reached the city during the day. Mr. Mahon pleaded with them to abandon their rash plan, and stated that the national officers were ready to take up any grievances they had and were satisfied that they could secure a fair adjustment. He pointed out to them further that under the by-laws of the national organization they could not have the support of that organization without having first submitted the questions at issue to the national executive committee and obtaining its approval; and that the by-laws of the organization provided that arbitration should be offered by the employees and refused by the company, before a strike should occur. But this all fell upon deaf ears. In so many words they notified their national officers to keep their hands off, and to the statement that arbitration must first be offered, they replied: "We will strike first and arbitrate afterwards."

Messrs. Donnelly and Moffett, as a sub-committee of the Civic Federation committee, visited the headquarters of the Amalgamated local, where the vote was being taken, and tried to prevail upon the local officers either to extend the time twenty-four hours, or to offer, as a last resort, a proposition looking to arbitration. They practically guaranteed that if either were done the Civic Federation committee could bring about an amicable adjustment and save the New York public the great inconvenience that would follow a strike and at the same time protect the contracts between the Interborough and the unions.

But the local leaders rejected all peaceful overtures. In the first place, they were absolutely certain that before 11 o'clock that night, "Hedley would be on his knees to them," and that if by any possibility he did not grant all their demands and risked a fight they would "bring him to his knees by noon the next day." They utterly disregarded National President Mahon's official warning that he would not sanction the strike.

In the meantime, Grand Chief Stone, of the engineers, who had been notified of the part his local organization was taking, at once wired Mr. Jencks that if the motormen went out on strike without following the by-laws of the national organization, they would find themselves outside the brotherhood; and as he had an important engagement elsewhere he telegraphed Assistant Chief E. W. Hurley, who was at New Haven, Conn., to take charge of the situation. Mr. Hurley reached New York at 11.30 that night, and at once sent for Mr. Jencks. Mr. Hurley used every argument to have the local leader retrace his steps; he threatened Mr. Jencks with expulsion from the order; pointed out to him the sad facts that many of the men were too old ever to get back on another railroad; that they would lose their insurance and bring disgrace upon their organization. To all of these entreaties Mr. Jencks replied that the men had voted to go out, and that he could not recall them. Assistant Chief Hurley then wanted Jencks to issue an order authorizing him to use Mr. Hurley's name instead of his own, recalling the men, but Mr. Jencks declared that it was too late.

Thus, despite all efforts, the strike was on.

The next duty of the Civic Federation committee, under the by-laws of its organization, was to endeavor to bring about peace between the company and the strikers. The committee was called together, Chairman Straus presiding.

It was clearly perceived that the local unions were in open rebellion against their national officers, and as the local officers were declaring that they would "accept nothing but a complete surrender of the company," which was impossible, the first move decided upon was to bring the local and national leaders into working relations. In this task it was evident that only the labor members of the committee could be of any practical value, and until there was an occasion for opening negotiations with the Interborough Company, the main work of the committee would devolve upon them.

A sub-committee consisting of Edward A. Moffett of the Bricklayers, A. J. Boulton of the Stereotypers, William H. Farley of the Tilelayers, Herman Robinson, General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor, Robert Neidig of the Housesmiths, Edwin Gould of the Teamsters, Frederick Lemon of the Elevator Constructors, and James P. Archibald of the Painters, was appointed to call upon President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association at the Clarendon Hotel, and Vice-Grand Master E. W. Hurley of the Brotherhood of Engineers, at the Grand Union Hotel, and tender their services, which were accepted. A sub-committee consisting of Wm. H. Farley, A. J. Boulton and Frederick Lemon then called on the joint executive committee of the strikers to invite them to a conference with their national officers. This effort was but partly successful, as only the Amalgamated members would accept. President Pepper appointed a committee of three, Messrs. Madden, May and McCormick, to attend the conference. In addition to the full local committee named, the conference included President Mahon, Vice-Grand Master Hurley, Thomas I. Kidd, Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; James Hatch, of the Upholsterers, and President of the Central Federated Union, of New York, and Timothy Healey, National President of the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

This conference lasted four hours. One reason advanced by the strikers' committee for precipitate action was that the Interborough Company had been collecting strike breakers in New York from other cities, and that every hour's delay tended to make a strike ineffective. In reply to this, it was pointed out that it was only a question of two or three days at any time for the company to collect strike breakers; that from that standpoint, it would be good tactics to let the company go on accumulating strike breakers; that so long as the men kept at work, the company was put to the expense of maintaining an army in idleness, and that this very factor would soon become a potential influence with the company for peace. This argument was not one of theory, but was drawn from experience.

This conference broke up at 10 o'clock Wednesday night, the sub-committee appointed by Mr. Pepper being thoroughly convinced that they had made a mistake in calling a strike without the sanction of the national officers. They thought they could convince the whole executive committee of the strikers of their error by 11.30 o'clock and bring about a full conference at midnight. They reported at 12 o'clock, however, that they had not been successful, but thought they would be able to report favorably by 10 o'clock the next morning.

In the meantime the sub-committee of labor members of the Civic Federation had called upon Grand

(Continued on page 16.)

VITAL QUESTIONS AT ISSUE BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND WAGE-EARNERS.

HOPEFUL INDICATIONS THAT THEIR RIGHTFUL RELATIONS CAN BE ATTAINED THROUGH SANE METHODS OF PROVED SUCCESS IN THE GREATEST INDUSTRIES.

By RALPH M. EASLEY. Reprinted by permission from *The Bankers' Magazine*.

ONE of the subsequent assets, if it may be so expressed, of the great anthracite coal strike has been the general awakening of interest in the industrial question. The "empty coal-bin" carried it home to practically every citizen. Prior to that strike, the view of the labor problem taken by the public was more or less academic and generally colored by local conditions. The rapid development of industry during the past fifty years has so revolutionized methods of production and distribution that innumerable and most intricate problems have arisen which only some such tremendous jolt would bring to public view. The great coal strike turned the inquiring mind of the public toward the questions lying back of industrial disturbances, such as "fair wages," "arbitration," "shorter hours," "the open shop," "boycotts," "black lists," "piecework," "restriction of output," "opposition to machinery," "minimum wage," "apprentices," "sympathetic strikes," "recognition of the union," "trade agreements," "integrity of contracts," "jurisdictional quarrels between unions," etc. These it found to be not only burning practical questions with every employer and employee, but also interesting from a general sociological and scientific point of view.

THE PIECEWORK SYSTEM.

Take the simple question of piecework, which has caused so many strikes, and which is a potential cause of more. The public hardly knew what the question meant. A most scholarly and eminent citizen wrote it "peace-work." But in the manufacturing world they would never think of spelling it that way! The Machinists' and Boiler Workers' Unions oppose piecework, while the Hatters' and Glove Makers' Unions will fight for it. The International Association of Machinists is so pronounced in its hostility to piecework that one of its annual conventions voted to refuse to work by that system after July 1, 1904, although a contest was afterward postponed by a referendum vote. The Industrial Commission gave a list of twenty-eight national labor organizations that prefer piecework and twenty-two that forbid it. In England there have been more strikes to secure piecework than to prevent it. Similar difference of opinion exists among employers, some being willing to order a lockout, if necessary, to force piecework in their establishments, while others insist upon day labor, believing that system to yield a better quality of work. Back of each of these positions there is an apparently good reason. The bitter hostility of some unions to the piecework system springs from the fact that after fixing a scale of prices for work by the piece, employers, when not checked by a union, often arbitrarily reduce the scale of prices for work upon finding that some of the men are making what they consider too high wages. Here the union comes in and says in effect to the swiftest workers, "You must slacken your speed. By employing all your energy you do not help yourself, for you are reduced at once by your employer, while you are forcing those less speedy to a starvation basis or to over-exertion that destroys their health."

This tendency of the employer thus arbitrarily and selfishly to reduce the scale of wages is so pronounced and recognized by employers themselves that a new plan is being introduced by some manufacturers called the "premium system," which undertakes to remove all cause for the fears of the workingman, and at the same time secure to the employer the benefits held out by the piecework system.

THE OPEN SHOP.

The open versus the closed shop is another question that has especially come into prominence the past year; and from the fiery speeches made by the leaders of the opposing sides, one would judge that there is no way out short of the utter annihilation of the unions, if the open shop should prevail, or the extinction of the non-union man, if the closed shop should be adopted. As both Mr. Gompers and Mr. Parry state the matter, there seems to be an "irrepressible conflict;" but, while theoretically the open or closed shop problem seems to be impossible of solution, practically it is being worked out every day. There are closed shops which are working satisfactorily and they are not criminal conspiracies against the public; and there are open shops operating successfully, and the unions accepting such have not gone to pieces, but are stronger to-day than they ever were.

Is there not a great deal of fustian put out on both sides of this question? We are told with ponderous eloquence that it is "unconstitutional," "un-American" and "infamous" for an employer to agree to employ only union men. We are told on the other side that an employer who should discriminate against union men would be violating every principle of justice and

equity, and in some States the penal code. Is it not possible that both are overstating the case just a little? For instance, many employers insist on emphasizing vigorously the liberty and rights of the non-union man, and those rights should be fully protected; but are there not also some rights, and some liberty of action, due the employer? For example, if he wanted a hundred men to perform a certain piece of work, and thought he could secure better service by employing only non-union men, or only union men, only Germans, only Irish, only Catholics, or only Methodists, would it not be his right to so discriminate? And would it be anybody's else business? This, of course, does not apply to labor employed by the Government—City, State or National—but to an individual employer.

Is there not a great deal of human nature in this open shop question? When a union leader goes to an employer and says, "If you don't discharge that 'scab' in an hour, we will tie you up," or "If you employ any non-union men, we will call a strike and put you out of business," the old Adam at once arises in Mr. Employer and he frequently responds by kicking Mr. Agent out of the office. But suppose this same agent should go in and say: "Mr. Employer, we want to make a contract with you to do your work. You want your work performed in a good workmanlike manner, under such conditions and at such rates as we may mutually agree upon. Now, we don't object to working with non-union men, but if you will make an exclusive contract with us, it will put us in a position to discipline and control our men so that we can enforce our contracts, and we can guarantee you better and altogether more satisfactory work." In other words, does not that place the proposal on a business basis? What freedom of contract, or what liberty of action, would be violated by such an agreement? What essential difference is there between that proposition and the common everyday agreement made in the mercantile world between manufacturers and dealers wherein the manufacturer says to the dealer, "If you will handle our goods exclusively, we will make you a discount;" or, as testified to by a manufacturer in a case recently, "If you will make the statement every ninety days that you have sold no goods made by our competitors, we will allow you a discount of ten per cent."

When Smith lets a contract for a house, the contractor, of course, hires all the men. Smith may never see them, nor does he know whether they are all Catholics, Protestants, Germans, Irish, union or non-union men; and in fact he has nothing to do with it, and cares nothing about it. In the case of the Longshoremens and the Great Lake carrying companies, the union contracts with the employer in just about this manner.

A good illustration of the human nature that crops out in this question came under my notice recently when a conciliation committee, which had worked for a week to settle a strike involving several thousand men, finally secured an agreement upon everything except the disposition of five non-union men. They had been taken in during the strike. The employer said that under no circumstances would he discharge those men at the command of the union. The union emphatically said it would not go back to work until the "scabs" were discharged. Consultation developed the fact that these particular five men were incompetent and undesirable in every respect, but the employer stood on the principle involved and justly refused to "throw them down," as he put it. The committee prevailed upon the union to give up its contention and go back to work with these men. When the union finally yielded, the leader called up the manufacturer and said, "Well, we will go back to work to-morrow morning." The answer, delivered in a tone as snarling and bitter as it could be made, was: "Well, you will have to work with those non-union men if you do." "All right," was the leader's reply, in his best "Sunday voice," "there won't be any trouble about that." On reaching the shops the next morning they found that the employer had discharged every non-union man.

When an employer makes a demand for an open shop on the public pretense of securing liberty for the non-union man, but privately announces that with the open shop he will "smash" the union, it can hardly be expected that the union will submit. If, as some employers claim, the open shop means the death of the union, one certainly cannot blame the union for fighting for its life. On the other hand, if a closed shop means the absolute control of all the business of the shop by the union, leaving the employer only to pay the bills Saturday night, then the employer cannot be blamed for wanting to "smash" the union. However, these extreme positions, I believe, are both

unnecessary evils, which patience, tact and forbearance will remove in time.

While I believe the employer has the absolute right to make an exclusive contract with the union, I have just as strong a conviction as to the legal rights of the non-union man to determine for himself, without coercion, whether he shall belong to a union, or not, and to work without molestation wherever employed. There is no legal conflict between these two rights.

The bitter feeling toward the non-union man in this country is marveled at by the trades-union leaders of England. In many of their contracts there is a clause stipulating that they work with non-union men; but this state of affairs did not always exist. The English unions passed through the bitter stage several generations ago, and doubtless the broader spirit will eventually control in our unions. It is hard to believe, when one now sees the tolerance and fraternizing of the various religious denominations, that at one time they were burning one another at the stake on account of differing views.

THE RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT.

The question of "restriction of output" is one that has called forth strong denunciations of unions and has been the cause of much friction. Many of the union leaders indignantly deny the charge, but they speak from their own craft experience only. There are unions that deliberately place a limitation on work and do it openly in their by-laws, and, generally speaking, all the union rules and methods, whether governing membership, apprenticeships, working with non-unionists, the minimum wage, piecework, machinery or output, are in some form a restriction upon the employer, and have come into vogue to protect the members at some point where they feel that competition will be destructive. But this natural desire to prevent destructive competition is so universal that it is not fair to stop the inquiry with the labor union. It is common to capitalists, farmers, the professional classes, and merchants as well.

The merchant who cuts prices is just as reprehensible in the eyes of the other merchants as is the non-unionist who cuts wages in the eyes of the unionist. The tactics employed in the mercantile and in the labor worlds to deal with the common enemy, the price or wage cutter, are almost identical. Purchasers of holiday books will doubtless remember finding a printed slip in each one containing the following:

In accordance with the agreement of the American Publishers' Association, which went into effect May 1, 1901, this book must be sold at retail at the published price without discount.

Now, back of that simple little statement there is a history of a combination between 95 per cent. of the publishers of all kinds of books and magazines in the United States, and about 90 per cent. of the wholesale and retail booksellers. The publishers made an iron-clad agreement among themselves that they would refuse to sell books to any booksellers who cut prices. This combination between the publishers and the booksellers was so advantageous that the sellers helped to compel the independent publishers (the "scabs") to join the publishers' organization. As these organizations have existed only four years and include practically all the old-established publishing houses in the United States, I will quote verbatim from the official circulars produced in court:

By special agreement entered into with the Organization Committee of the American Publishers' Association, the members of our association are bound not to buy, not to put in stock, nor to offer for sale the books of any publisher who shall finally decline to co-operate with us in the maintenance of the net price system by joining the American Publishers' Association and issuing books under the net price system. Inasmuch as the publishers have carried out their part of the agreement upon which our contract was conditioned, it now becomes necessary for us to preserve our part of the agreement. We had sincerely hoped that you would be pleased to join the American Publishers' Association and co-operate with us through it in the maintenance of the net price system; and if you will take the matter into consideration at the present time, we are confident that you will now join the Publishers' Association and not compel us to take final action in this matter. We inclose a copy of the last issue of the Booksellers' Bulletin. By referring to page 6 of the Bulletin you will see that one publisher has already been cut off by the members of our association. We sincerely hope it will not be necessary to extend the list. Very truly yours,
AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS' ASSOCIATION.

The resolution on which the above notice was based is as follows, adopted by the American Booksellers' Association June 17, 1902:

WHEREAS, All publishers of trade books still remaining outside of the Publishers' Association have been repeatedly invited by us to join the organization and through it co-operate with us in the maintenance of the net price system; and,

WHEREAS, Such publishers of general trade books as still remain outside of the Publishers' Association are continuing to sell their publications to the few persistent price-cutters, and thus encouraging them to continue their opposition to the net price system; therefore,

Be it Resolved, That we, the American Booksellers' Association, in convention assembled, do hereby instruct our secretary to give final notice to such publishers that it is our intention to

apply Reform Resolution No. 1 unless they immediately join the American Publishers' Association and co-operate through it with us in the maintenance of the net price system; and therefore,

Be it Resolved, That should any such publisher on receiving such notice decline to co-operate with us by failing to make application to the American Publishers' Association after receiving final notice, the secretary shall promptly issue notice to all members that Reform Resolution No. 1 is thereafter to be applied to such publisher, and all members shall discontinue handling the books of such publishers, as provided by Reform Resolution No. 1, until further notice.

As a further illustration of the methods adopted and the success with which they were carried out, the following extracts are given from a circular letter sent out by one of the publishers:

Several things have already been demonstrated of interest to the entire trade in connection with the "no cut rate" movement.

1. The substantial loyalty to the association of all dealers. In only one case (up to date of this letter) has there been any cutting of price—one large department store in New York City.

2. The vigor and promptness of the association to punish those who violate its regulations. The association immediately took steps to assure itself that the cut in price was deliberate and intentional. The entire wholesale publishing trade was at once notified not to sell a book of any kind published by members of the American Publishers' Association to the offending concern. There is every indication that this order will be loyally carried out by all publishers and wholesalers.

The two organizations above referred to claim they took the only course open to prevent the "demoralization of the trade" by department stores, "home library" and "mail order" agencies, but the methods are strikingly similar to those of the labor unions.

Everyone is familiar with the bitter warfare that has gone on for years between the "cut price" drug stores and the wholesale dealers and manufacturers of proprietary remedies. In fact, the whole commercial world is honeycombed with definite organized efforts to prevent what each trade would term destructive competition, and, in conducting the various fights on these propositions, the boycott, spies, and, in some cases, physical attacks, have been employed. Even the recent disgraceful conduct of the livery drivers in Chicago, where burial of the dead was interfered with, finds its parallel but not justification in the conduct of the "coffin combination," which in many cities has carried its fights against the independent coffin companies to the same disgraceful limit. In one Western city, the fight became so bitter that attachments were taken out for the corpses by the rival companies, and, in another, because a man had had an undertaker who handled independent coffins, he could not secure a hearse nor a public conveyance and had to take the body to the cemetery in a grocery wagon.

While the limitations and restrictions by unions have caused wholesale condemnation, little or no attention is paid to the regular meetings of manufacturers and dealers at which they openly discuss and agree upon prices and limitations of output. The New York *Commercial* of January 2, 1904, contained the following statement, which is certainly to the point:

The power of the Steel Corporation has been demonstrated by its ability to maintain high prices for its finished material in the face of a falling off of something like 60 per cent. in the demand for steel, and reductions ranging from 40 to 50 per cent. in the price of pig iron. This has been accomplished through the various pools which have been formed for the purpose of regulating prices and output. Practically all the pools met last December and decided to maintain the 1903 schedule. The iron and steel industry is now controlled by various associations, among them the billet manufacturers, steel rail manufacturers, structural manufacturers, steel plate manufacturers, tin manufacturers, and pig iron manufacturers.

In fact, when one strikes the iron and hardware world, it is difficult to find anything that is not in a pool or combination of some description, where prices are arbitrarily fixed and in some instances output prorated. I do not claim that these pools and combinations are not necessary to maintain stability in the market and, therefore, stability in employment; but I simply desire to call attention to the fact that what is accepted as an every-day matter of necessity on one side ought not to be too harshly condemned on the other. When a union man observes how readily the public acquiesces in the demand of all railroad corporations that their "fixed charges" be provided for beyond any peradventure, he wonders why the union man's "fixed charges," that is, his cost of living, should not be as surely provided for by the employer. Thus the "minimum wage" demand is nothing more or less than what the unionists claim to be their "fixed charges."

Limited space forbids reference, even by name, to the hundreds of combinations one may find upon investigation that restrict prices or limit output. In fact, it can be said that there is scarcely an industry that is entirely free from combinations of capital or combinations of labor in some form. There is an infinite variety in the methods of these different combinations, but there is a general similarity in their efforts to regulate competition and bring pressure to bear on persistent "competitors," "price cutters" and "non-unionists." It may well be asked, in view of the universality of this effort, What is to be the outcome? and, What should be the policy of the general public toward combinations? We may ask, Shall all combinations be suppressed and all industries be compelled to submit to the unregulated competition of individualism? Or, shall these combinations continue to grow and competition be entirely eliminated in the "ideal state" of socialism? If neither of these extremes should be followed, what shall be the middle ground where competition may continue without being destructive and where the public shall not be exploited

by monopoly of capital or monopoly of labor? Shall these combinations be left to work out their purposes, or shall the courts and legislatures be called upon to deal with them?

CONFERENCES AND TRADE AGREEMENTS.

Whatever the destructive forces that are finally brought to bear on this phase of the situation, there are some constructive forces whose great potentiality gives us hope that progress is being made, not the least being the trade agreement. While here and there these joint trade agreements between small bodies of employers and employees in a given craft have resulted in conspiracies against the public, now being dealt with by the courts, the great majority of them have proven of immense value in preserving the stability of industry. Such employers' organizations exist in over one hundred different industries, like the Stove Manufacturers' Association, the American Publishers' Association, and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association, which meet annually in joint conference with the Iron Molders' Union of North America, International Typographical Union, and the United Mine Workers, respectively, and consider in a businesslike way the conditions of the trade, conditions of labor, and all matters pertaining to the special industry as well as the position of the general public.

The elevating effect of the joint trade agreement system upon the intelligence and character of the union leaders is clearly shown in a statement by Mr. Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, referring to the sixth annual joint convention of the operators and mine workers of the interstate bituminous field, held at Indianapolis, in February, 1903. He says:

Looking back over the recent convention, and comparing it with the conventions held at the inception of the movement, one is struck by the change in the *personnel* of the miners' delegates. Instead of seeing flannel shirts, hob-nail shoes, no vests and often no coats, you meet a body of men as well dressed as any body of men gathered from the middle class in any Eastern city. There has been a corresponding change in the intelligence, as shown in the faces of the delegates, and particularly perceptible to those who have argued scale questions before these meetings for the past fifteen years. It is a critical audience of practical workmen, who are quick to detect sophistry or misleading statements.

Mr. Robbins did not so state, but it is equally true that the tone and breadth of view of the operators who met these men correspondingly improved. Page after page of testimony could be recited showing that the educational side of these joint conferences is important. Recently the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, the organization which deals with all the large iron and steel companies, met in special conference with the employers to consider abandoning certain artificial restrictions which had grown up in the trade and had become "vested rights." After a week's discussion the union leaders recommended that the restrictions be abolished; a referendum vote was taken by the organization, and the recommendation was accepted. At the same time, the organization of its own volition, in consideration of the trade conditions, offered a cut of 10 per cent. in the wages of its men notwithstanding the fact that the organization had a contract which still had months to run.

EMPLOYERS WHO DESIRE TO DESTROY THE UNIONS.

But there is another class of employers, which, under the banner of "law and order," "free labor," "individual liberty," etc., is organized primarily to "smash the unions." These employers refuse to consider the history, purpose and benefits of trades unions and see only the coercive, brutal and lawless methods which have too frequently been indulged in by the newer and cruder unions. Some of these same employers' associations had no sooner become organized than they adopted identical methods of warfare. It is openly boasted by one organization of employers in a city of something over 100,000 inhabitants that they compelled every employer to become a member; and that where they found any employer reluctant, they got the banks to shut off his credit and the wholesale houses to refuse supplies.

The attitude of this extreme class of employers and employers' associations is quite similar to that of the extreme wing of the labor movement—the Socialists. Socialists denounce the unions and the leaders of the unions for entering into agreements with employers, just as extremists among employers denounce all movements looking toward dealing with unions. The Socialists affirm that the class struggle is irrepressible, and that the workingmen must fight their employers to the bitter end and make no compromise. There are also a few labor organizations controlled by the Socialists which take similar ground respecting employers. The community of sentiment between the Socialists and this class of employers' association appeared plainly in an editorial in the *Socialists' Daily People* (New York, April 7, 1903,) commenting upon the annual address of the president of the National Manufacturers' Association. The Socialist editor says that the president is correct in holding that an "equitable arrangement" cannot be effected by the "artificial" method of conciliation or arbitration. An "equitable arrangement," he says, "can only be effected by allowing the class struggle full scope; and as a means to this end nothing is so much to be welcomed as the straight-out tactics" of that association. "Socialism," the editor concludes, "will triumph as a result."

If these two extreme wings of irreconcilables had their way, the outcome would be either arbitrary control by labor or arbitrary control by capital. If all employers stood for intolerance and bigotry, or if all unions stood for tyrannical and unreasonable methods, the end would necessarily be a revolution. But the American people, as a whole, are not willing to enter upon such a permanent warfare of "capital" and "labor." They have enough practical sense to recognize conditions as they exist, and they have the courage and patience to deal with them.

I believe that rightful relations between employers and employees will eventually be worked out in this country, in spite of the Socialists in the wage-earners' camp and the anarchists in the employers' camp.

AN ECONOMIC EXHORTATION TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

(Concluded from page 2.)

have to get if the factory and the employees were idle part of the time.

The manufacturer and the men will get less per piece, but more in the aggregate, and if you can keep the price low the demand for the article, whatever it may be, will be increased.

That is, if you can get your goods cheaper and yet have the men who make them earn in the aggregate as much as when the price of the goods was higher, you are increasing the amount of work, not diminishing it. In other words, it is by increasing the output per man, not by restricting it, that you give work to more men.

And therefore every bit of efficiency that you can add to the ability of an individual, and every bit of waste that you can avoid and thus enable the goods to be turned out cheaper, will increase the number of consumers, and increase the number of men employed, and increase your own means of comfort and improvement.

STUDY THE CONDITIONS.

Fourth—The unions should adapt their demands to the conditions of a particular business.

In order to determine how large a part of these earnings of any business you can properly demand, it is essential that your representatives should understand the conditions of the business.

It is not sufficient that you should make a demand and have that demand assented to or refused. Your representatives must be able to understand the needs and the possibilities of the business you are engaged in.

John Mitchell was successful in the anthracite strike because he understood the conditions of the businesses of the employers and they did not understand the workingman's side of the question.

Your representatives must understand not merely the general line of the business, but the possibilities and the necessities of the particular business in which your demands are to be applied. Concerns engaged in the same line of business in one part of the country and in another, or even in the same community, have varying possibilities and necessities, and your demands must be tempered by those possibilities and necessities.

The possibilities of employers' businesses vary like the employees' capacities. If you attempt to apply rigidly a uniform rule to all you may kill the goose that lays the egg; and except in extreme cases the goose must be kept alive whether the egg be golden or not.

Don't assume that the interests of employer and employee are necessarily hostile—that what is good for one is necessarily bad for the other. The opposite is more apt to be the case. While they have different interests, they are likely to prosper or to suffer together. Like in the case of dealer and customer, co-operation and a mutual regard for the other's rights are essential to continued success.

This is the lesson unions should teach.

There is no trade union that has a higher average of intelligence or whose management is marked by a higher degree of business sagacity and forethought than the typographical. It never forgets that prosperity in the printing business can only be assured by conditions that justify good wages. In the matter of contracts, a typographical union keeps faith with the employing party. The rules are carefully drawn to prevent hasty and ill-considered strikes. The Socialist element is kept in safe subordination.—*Washington Post*.

Armies are necessary evils, but for my part I prefer a procession of trades-unionists to the marching by of armed regiments and the simple and homely garb of a worker to the tawdry trappings of men of war. I respect a man who honorably fulfills his calling as a soldier, but he is no better in my eyes than the man who honestly labors in other and more peaceful vocations.—*London Truth*.

A review of the past twenty years goes to show that the labor problem, like the poor, is always with us. It is a chronic condition. It is the result of the eternal struggle of man to better his condition.—*Wall Street Journal*.

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OF

The National Civic Federation

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H. A. Sherwin, President Sherwin-Williams Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
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Nathan Straus, R. H. Macy & Co., New York City.
H. H. Vreeland, President New York City Railway Co., New York City.
J. H. Williams, Vice-President J. H. Williams & Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary.

PROFIT-SHARING, INSURANCE, PENSIONS.

The Working of a Successful Plan to Promote Thrift and Relieve Distress Explained for the Information of Employers.

IN the article that follows, Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the largest corporation of its kind in the world, describes and explains the plan of profit-sharing, insurance and pensions, as carried out through its Employees' Association. Mr. Robbins presents this plan for the information of other employers, after the experience of more than four years has demonstrated its practical success from the points of view of both the company and the wage-earners. His treatment of the subject reflects the aid that a willing employer may receive from the suggestions of an assistant especially devoted to the development of such a plan.

J. B. L. Hornberger, Comptroller of the company, and president of the Employees' Association, to whom President Robbins gives credit for originating and extending the plan, contributes these interesting observations:

"Our plan had in part its origin in the knowledge that the average wage-earner does not think it worth while to save, because he cannot save much; but we made it as simple and easy as possible for him to save. We organized our work with a view to encouraging even the earners of the lowest wages to save something. The plan operates exactly like a building association, only in our case the investment of the money is altogether in the Pittsburgh Coal Company's preferred stock. 'The Employees' Association has a double purpose:

To encourage the men to save money, and that might be called the humane side of it; and to get them to become stockholders of the company, and that might be termed the practical side, since when they serve the interests of the company, as stockholders, they serve themselves.

"Many of the wage-earners have taken stock. They are as yet a comparatively small percentage of the whole; but at this time there are nearly 2,000 out of about 50,000 employees who are becoming stockholders. Since September there has been a very marked increase in the purchase of the stock.

"A large percentage of the employees are foreigners, cannot speak English, and are suspicious of the company, and these do not understand our methods and fail to appreciate the spirit of the organization that is intending to help them. They are very prone to give their earnings to some agent of a foreign bank, or to some self-styled banker, such as a grocer, who takes their money and promises them a good rate of interest. In many cases they make good, and in many cases they make away with the deposits. These defaults have made the men suspicious, and have made it more difficult for us to gain their confidence. Some of them carry their money on their persons. I remember one man who took off a belt he had been wearing next his skin, and he had \$800. His wages probably averaged \$500 or \$600 a year.

"We had, also, to encounter the suspicion caused by the business failure in the past of some small employers, causing the loss of savings entrusted to them by wage-earners. But we were aided here by the size and solidity of our corporation."

PLAN FOR SELF-HELP AMONG EMPLOYEES.

By FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,

President of the Pittsburgh Coal Company.

The plan of profit-sharing, benefits and pensions that is carried out through the Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association is in harmony with a wide recognition of the necessity of adjusting social relations to new conditions created by modern industrial development. This plan represents a broad spirit of comradeship



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
President, Pittsburgh Coal Company.

ship and affects many thousands of employees. It is also noteworthy, because after four years it has long passed beyond the experimental stage, and is a thoroughly demonstrated practical success. This demonstrated success is important to students of industrial providence, since the company is the largest producer of coal in the United States. The employees of all kinds number 50,000, and are to be found from the mouth of the Mississippi to every port on the Great Lakes and in the mines of many intervening States.

The Pittsburgh Coal Company is an example of the present tendency to concentrate business under the control and management of large corporations. Its plan of profit-sharing, employees' accident insurance and benefits, has proved a practical and satisfactory solution of a serious problem that arises out of the tendency to concentration. In the new order of things, the percentage of managers and operatives, whose capital, as well as their brains and hands, is employed in a given business, is largely reduced; and there is a greater increase in the percentage of those whose only interest in the business is the daily, weekly, or monthly wage earnings. The new order, without some such factor as our Employees' Association, means eventually a wider separation between the employer and the employee, and a corresponding indifference on the part of the employee to the interests of the employer, while the latter may lose that paternal interest in the welfare of the wage-earner that existed under

the old regime, when individual contact was common. It was with the purpose of preserving this interest and to encourage the employees in habits of sobriety and thrift, as well as of assisting them in emergencies and old age, and of perpetuating under the new order the incalculable benefits of service by loyal and disinterested employees, that the plan here described was put into operation in the latter part of 1900. I have found this plan most available to put into practical operation a broad and generous policy toward the great body of the company's employees. It is my hope to see its beneficial results, if not its exact form of operation, extended to the yet larger number of employers and employed that are represented in the Joint Interstate Convention of miners and operators, which annually works out and agrees upon the wage scale and the conditions under which more than half a million mine workers and others dig and ship the bituminous output of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The plan is in accordance with the injunction of the greatest of all leaders of men: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The operation of the Association proceeds under two heads—first, investment; second, insurance and pensions.

The Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association makes contracts with employees to sell them preferred stock of the company at cost, the stock being bought on the open market by the officers at such times as the funds of the Association and the condition of the market may warrant. Employees pay for this stock at the rate of \$1.00 per month per share. They have the privilege of withdrawing from their contracts at any time upon thirty days' notice, and when such withdrawals are made employees receive back the full amount of their payments, together with interest at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. A new series of stock purchase contracts begins at the first of each month.

Since December 1, 1900, therefore, there have been some fifty series of contracts, the first nine of which matured at intervals of one month beginning on May 1, 1904. The dividends paid on stock held by the Association to fill its contracts with employees are divided pro rata among the several series. The net earnings thus accumulated by the Association amounted, up to Jan. 31st, 1905, to \$129,240.20; and the portion of these earnings falling to the series which have matured was sufficient to net a return to the employees holding those series, based upon the market value of the preferred stock, of more than 20 per cent. per annum on their monthly payments. The Association has purchased a sufficient quantity of stock at the low prices then prevailing to enable it to close out the next ten or twelve series of contracts on about the same basis as those which have already matured. The first nine series of contracts embrace 2,460 shares, leaving in force 2,280 contracts, covering 17,222 shares.

While it is true that a large percentage of the Association's contracts are with heads of departments, superintendents, clerks and the more intelligent class of employees in the general offices, at the mines and the various docks and selling agencies of the company on the Great Lakes in the West and Northwest, and in the Hocking district of Ohio, yet it is a significant and encouraging fact that the percentage of purchasers among the miners and day laborers at the company's mines and shops is steadily increasing. Not a few of these latter, who never before accumulated any savings, are now taking upon themselves the dignity and bearing of men who have a financial interest in the company's operation; an element of conservatism and fairness, and a disposition to repress radicalism and lawlessness, are becoming more and more manifest among the men.

The great fall in stock values which began last year and affected Pittsburgh Coal Company stocks along with others, together with the general business depression of the first months of the year 1904, which resulted in closing down a number of the company's mines and curtailing very materially the company's gross output, checked the growth of the Association. With the great improvement in the company's business, however, incident to the opening of lake navigation and the general resumption of operations at the mines early in June, the number of stock purchase contracts began to increase and is increasing daily. It is confidently expected that the operations of the Employees' Association will eventually place a large portion of the company's preferred stock in the hands of the people who are digging, handling and selling the company's coal, building its tipples, cars and docks, and keeping its accounts.

Up to this time the company's insurance and pension benefits accrue only to workers in its mines. These benefits are conducted through branch lodges of the Employees' Association. These lodges are organized at practically all mines of the main company, and their organization is rapidly extending to mines of the subsidiary companies, such as the Monongahela River Consolidated Coal & Coke Company, the New York and Cleveland Gas Coal Company, Mansfield Coal & Coke Company, and the New Pittsburgh Coal Company, operating in the Hocking district of Ohio. The organization of a lodge is voluntary at each mine, but no lodge is organized until the majority of the operatives at the mine agree to be governed by the general by-laws adopted at a convention of the employees, at which each of the company's mines was represented by a dele-

gate selected by the men. One of the features of these by-laws is that every employe at the mine is to be protected by the benefits and pay dues. Each lodge is governed by an executive committee of three, selected by the men, and this committee passes upon all claims for benefits and issues all warrants. The treasurer of the Pittsburgh Coal Company Employees' Association, under the by-laws, is elected treasurer of each of the lodges; all disbursements, therefore, are made from the company's general offices by the treasurer of the Employees' Association.

INSURANCE DUES AND BENEFITS.

The dues paid by the men are at the rate of 40 cents per month per man; the benefits are graded into seven classes: First, for a fatal accident while at work, \$150, of which the company directly contributes one-half; second, death of an employe through natural causes, \$100, paid altogether by the men; third, death of an employe's wife or father or mother, if the employe is the sole support in such cases, funeral fund of \$75, paid altogether by the men; fourth, death of an employe's child over two and under twelve years, a funeral fund of \$25, paid altogether by the men; fifth, non-fatal accident of a serious nature, benefits \$10 per week, one-half paid directly by the company; sixth, non-fatal accident of a less serious nature, benefits \$7.50 per week, one-third paid directly by the company; seventh, minor accidents, benefits \$5 per week, paid altogether by the men.

The conduct of the relief department employs a manager (J. E. McDonald, secretary and treasurer of the Association), one staff surgeon, one adjuster of claims, three bookkeepers, one stenographer, and clerical service, and includes payment for postage, etc., etc., at all mines, shops and agencies.

It should be specially noted that all expenses of the Employees' Association are paid by the company.

START AND GROWTH OF PENSION FUND.

The pension fund had its start in a contribution of \$10,000 by the company. Its growth and maintenance are provided for by monthly portions of 2 cents per man of the 40 cents dues paid by the men, to which is added 1 cent per month per man paid by the company. This accumulating fund is invested in the preferred stock of the company and under the by-laws is to remain intact and grow for a period of ten years; at the end of that time the principal and earnings of the fund in excess of \$100,000 may be used in the payment of pensions to operatives of the company who have paid into the fund continuously for a period of ten years, and who, through old age, accident or sickness, are not able to earn a livelihood.

MANY THOUSANDS PROTECTED AND AIDED.

There are at this time about 20,000 employes paying dues into the various lodges of the Association. A large percentage of these are married men with families. If an average of two is allowed for each man (a wife and one child, a father and mother and sister), it will be seen that 60,000 people in the Pittsburgh district are protected and helped in emergencies by the relief department of the Employees' Association. The benefits paid up to and including January 31st, 1905, were \$188,891.54, and there had been accumulated in the pension fund on the same date \$32,671.87.

APPROVAL SUCCEEDS LOCAL OPPOSITION.

The organization of these lodges met with resistance at first from radical elements in certain communities, but this opposition has all melted away and evidences are not wanting of a growing appreciation of the wise and beneficent measures taken by the company to minister to the welfare of its employes.

The *United Mine Workers' Journal*, the official paper of the largest body of organized labor in the world, after analyzing the last annual report of the Employees' Association, said editorially:

These figures tell clearer than words what Messrs. Robbins, Hornberger and Jones are doing to relieve the "labor question" of its rancor and turmoil. Read the report, consider the purpose and intent of the Pittsburgh Association, and you can clearly see the pitiable meanness, the whole grotesque humbug lurking under the term Parryism. There is a great corporation, the largest of its kind in the world, officered by men who, in the multitude of perplexing duties, have hearts and minds for the men who toil for them. The sordid side of wealth has not appealed to these great business men. The merciless struggle for dividends has not deadened their manhood or their sense of equity and justice. These shares are not froth and bubbles on an ocean of watered stock. Behind them stands \$75,000,000 of tangible property, managed by men of brains and integrity, whose fortunes are linked with the miner-shareholder. Then behold the Death and Accident Association, in all of its beneficence, its mercies and goodness. The 19,250 men who contribute to its funds have an anchor against the surges of trouble's seas. Hurt in the mines? You are not left to the mercies of charity. You do not have to grovel and cringe for necessities or medical attention. Why? Because the Pittsburgh Coal Company inaugurated a system backed it with its dollars, officered it with men of commanding ability, and helped you erect a barrier against want and woe in the time of death or disaster. It is such things as these that rob the anarchists and the Parryites of their power to poison the minds of workmen against their employers and cause them to stand as a bulwark against the assaults of the demagogues.

It also teaches, practically, how by thrift and industry the workmen themselves may easily work for themselves instead of others rather than by chasing rainbows and chimeras. It is a wholesome object lesson against the ravings and industrial insanities far too prevalent at present.

It is obvious, of course, that the benefits of the com-

pany are indirect at the best, but, nevertheless, the management is thoroughly of the opinion that the plan has a definite value for the company, and this is understood clearly by the men.

Patrick Dolan, President, and William Dodds, Secretary and Treasurer of District No. 5, United Mine Workers of America, have both heartily approved the plan from the standpoint of the employes. That they were not particularly favorable to the plan at its inception makes their commendation of especial interest and effectiveness. Secretary Dodds, who was associated with John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, in attending several international meetings of labor representatives in Europe last year, authorizes this statement:

In my opinion the Pittsburgh Coal Company, through the opportunity for their employes to become partners in the business and share in the profits, is to be commended to all large corporations in the United States, and there is no doubt in my mind that in the future the employes of this country will better understand the interests that can best be served by the co-operative policy embodied in the profit-sharing through the stock held by the employes.

The fund which the Pittsburgh Coal Company has established amongst their employes, to take care of them and their families in case of sickness or accident, is certainly to be commended and encouraged, and employers would do well to put themselves in touch with the Pittsburgh Coal Company and secure information through the by-laws and have similar institutions established in their different industries, and I certainly appreciate the efforts of the officers of the company who have been instrumental in giving opportunities and protection to their employes, who are in a large measure unable to take care of themselves in case of accident and death.

It is important to note that, in the face of original opposition by some of the men at the mines to this plan of profit-sharing, benefits and pensions, the management of the company persevered. Other employers who undertake welfare work of this description may also encounter at the beginning suspicion and even aspersion of their motives. I would advise them also to persevere. Any sincere effort for good will bear fruit somewhere, sometime. Sooner or later the persistent showing of humane, sympathetic interest will evoke a response that will promote industrial peace and prove for the mutual advantage of both employers and employes.

WHY EMPLOYEES OBJECT TO RAILROAD RELIEF DEPARTMENTS.

By E. E. CLARK.

Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors.

In his paper, "Railway Provident Institutions," which appeared in your issues of November, 1904, and February, 1905, Mr. M. Riebenack presents comprehensively the "provident effort in which the railways of the United States are interested on account of their employes."

All large employers of men have, and should have, an interest in the health, welfare and contentment of their employes. It is not too much to say that the railways are in the front rank of employers in this regard. I am not one of those who are unable to see anything good in what the employer does or wants. Human nature is human nature, however, and whether or not it be the impelling motive there is a strong motive of self interest in or behind every move made by an employing corporation which involves the expenditure of the corporation's funds.

It is unfortunate that improvidence is so general a trait of human nature. Scarcely the average person believes in literally applying the scriptural injunction to give no thought to the morrow. There are altogether too many men who are content, if left to their own inclinations, to continue in most hazardous employment and to grow old knowing, if they ever think of it, that it is merely a question of time when they or their families, or both, will be dependent upon charity. And so, influences and education which encourage and teach reasonable thrift and providence must work good to present and future generations.

Self respecting, steady, reliable and thrifty employes are greatly to be desired by a railway company. The man who spends his hours off duty in procuring full amount of necessary sleep and in reputable amusements and reading is a more reliable and efficient and valuable employe than if his habits were of a more questionable nature. He is less apt to make mistakes; is less likely to antagonize patrons; less apt to be injured himself and he sets a good example for his fellows. It is, therefore, a good investment from a purely business standpoint for the employing company to assist in affording opportunity for employes to so occupy their time by contributing to reading rooms, libraries, etc. The services of an intelligent employe are always of more value and prove most economical in the long run.

The railway employes are quasi public servants. Those employed on trains face dangers more appalling than the average person dreams of. A President of the United States, in recommending to Congress legislation intended to afford them more safety in their employment, called attention to the fact that the men in service on the freight trains of the country were in greater danger of being killed or injured in the discharge of their duties than were the average sol-

diers in time of war. The latest official records show that in the year ending June 30, 1903, one in every 123 of them was killed and one in every 10 was injured, and this record is not materially different from the average of the ten years preceding it.

I do not wish to belittle or underestimate the spirit which has led some railway companies to provide pensions for employes who have worn themselves out in their service. No occupation is so exacting as railroading. No workmen have such irregular hours and none, with the possible exception of sailors, are obliged to expose themselves to the extremes of weather to the same degree. If a man lives to be sixty-five or seventy years old in such work and has been a faithful employe, as he must have been, he has certainly earned a pension and it should be viewed more in the light of according something which is his due than as granting him some special consideration in the form of a gratuity. And when we consider the public character of the corporation and the growing interest in its affairs by the general government it does not require a very wild stretch of imagination to imagine a time when such care of worn out employes as is given through pension funds will be imposed by legislative requirement.

Any reasonable assistance which the employing company can render or any fair inducement which it may offer in the direction of thrift and saving on part of employes is good work in a good cause.

Hospital departments have been maintained, to the support of which employes have been required to contribute, with benefit to both employes and employing companies. This has been especially true in the less thickly populated regions of the far West. Except in isolated cases where someone charged with management failed to inspire or to hold the confidence of the employes, they have contributed to this department willingly and cheerfully.

Stock-sharing plans have behind them the theory and belief that if an employe owns even a small interest in the property he will be a better and more valuable employe who will take greater interest and care in the discharge of his duties. This is a rational theory and it would be a splendid thing if the employes of every railway owned enough of its stock to insure against having the property managed and operated with an eye principally to the stock market.

Mr. Riebenack says that there are nine "roads" which conduct purely Relief Departments, representing 31,000 miles of railway. I wish he had named the "roads" to which he referred. Systems of railway are made up of several "roads," each having a corporate name, but when we speak of the Pennsylvania railway the average person understands that we speak of the system. It is well known that the Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio and the Burlington systems conduct relief departments. The mileage of the Pennsylvania system, covered by the relief department, as given by Mr. Riebenack, is 10,271 miles. The mileage of the Baltimore and Ohio system, taken from official guide, is 4,410 miles, and that of the Burlington system, taken from the same authority, is 8,442 miles. We, therefore, have 23,123 of the 31,000 miles accounted for in these three systems, and it would hardly be fair in discussing such a subject to bewilder the average reader with distinctions in technical names of roads which for all purposes in which the public are interested lost their identity when they became part of the system.

In a little further analysis of Mr. Riebenack's figures we find that he gives the total number of the employes of the "nine roads" as 318,000, and that 159,704 of them, or just about half, are on the Pennsylvania system.

Information is not at hand as to the date upon which the Baltimore and Ohio relief department was established. It was, however, at a considerably earlier date than that on which the Pennsylvania system instituted its relief department, viz., February, 1886. The Burlington relief department was organized about 1887. It will thus be seen that the establishment of such departments is not appreciably on the increase and that they are not maintained by many railway systems. It is well known that in some instances railway companies have proposed to their employes the institution of such departments and that the employes have promptly and emphatically negated the proposal. It should be here remarked that in many others of the lines of provident effort referred to by Mr. Riebenack railway companies are receiving cordial support from their employes in their general and increasing interest and efforts in those directions.

OBJECTIONS RAISED BY EMPLOYEES.

And now we come to the question of why the employes object to relief departments. There are two principal objections. One is that, despite the fact that the word "voluntary" is included in the official name of the department; despite the fact that it is emphasized and italicized; despite the fact that a United States statute prohibits compulsory membership on part of employes, or discrimination against applicants for employment, because of their unwillingness to join such department, the employes of the companies which conduct such departments in speaking where they are

not afraid to speak plainly generally express the conviction that in so far as an employee who is a member of the department is concerned, he feels that if he should withdraw from it he would incur the displeasure of his employers, and that, when the opportunity offered, a fellow employee who retained membership in the department would be given preference over him, and that so far as applicants for employment are concerned, the man who is not ready and willing to join the relief department, is not needed and does not secure employment. In reply to inquiry as to how the practice followed affected applicants for employment, an old and reliable employee of one of these companies recently said: "An applicant for employment is required to fill out an application for membership in the relief department. He then goes to the examining physician, who is also the physician for the relief department, and if he is accepted as an employee he at the same time becomes a member of the relief department." It would be interesting to know how many men who did not become members of the relief department have been given employment within the past five years by the several important systems of road that conduct such departments.

If membership in the relief department carried with it nothing more than the requirement that certain reasonable sums be paid periodically as a condition of being entitled to certain specified sick, disability or death benefits, the objections entertained by the employees would not be so strong or so well founded. If that were all that the department undertook to do the men would feel that in paying their contributions they were providing for their fellows as well as for themselves and were removing the necessity for circulation of subscription papers for the purpose of relieving or burying unfortunate fellow employees.

If the relief department simply undertook to require men, through mutual or co-operative means, to provide some financial assistance for themselves and their families in the hour of sickness or injury or death and did not attach conditions to the acceptance of the benefit, for which the employee has, in fact, paid full or practically full value, which conditions operate wholly in the interests of the employing company and against the injured employee, there would not be such general distrust of, and opposition to, them on part of the employees. Neither would there be such broad and justifiable ground for criticism of the relief departments as now presents itself.

The applicant for membership in a relief department is required to execute a contract that, in the event of his being injured in the performance of his duties and of his accepting the benefits provided in the department for such cases, he thereby releases the employing corporation from all liability under the statutory or common law. This means that if a member of the department is injured through neglect of the company or of its agents and, believing that no permanent disability is to ensue, he accepts the first month's benefits provided by the relief department and tendered by the company, and, later, finds that he is disabled for life or his death ensues, all efforts to recover damages from the company are frustrated by the company pleading the contract which the employee signed when becoming a member of the relief department.

Instances of this kind have not been rare and a sufficient number of them, accompanied by distressing conditions and surrounded by facts which clearly demonstrated the injustice involved, occurred in the State of Iowa to lead the Legislature to place upon the statute books of that State a law which specifically provides that such contract is and shall be null and void.

The fact that the company insists upon such a contract is sufficient evidence that the relief thus afforded to it from legal liability is one of the strongest reasons for its interest in the relief department. The fact that the department is thus made a shield against liability which would otherwise attach to the company leads one's thoughts away from the idea that the company's interest is purely philanthropic.

Mr. Riebenack furnishes figures which show that in the eighteen years of the existence of the Pennsylvania system's relief department the company has contributed to it the sum of \$2,544,348.11, and that the cost of management has been \$1,815,641.54. The company has, therefore, contributed \$728,706.57 more than the cost of management. And the cost of management is entirely within the control of the company.

But if we dismiss from consideration the cost of management we find that in eighteen years the Pennsylvania system, containing 10,271 miles of railway covered by its relief department, on which are employed 159,704 men, has paid as its contribution to this fund—and this includes the purchase of relief from legal liability as above mentioned—\$2,544,348.11, or a fraction over \$15.93 for each employee. Considerably less than one dollar per year per employee. I quote figures for the Pennsylvania system because they are the ones at hand, having been furnished by Mr. Riebenack.

Mr. Riebenack argues that the contract under discussion is a legal and voluntary agreement. Its legal-

ity is not here questioned. It has been sustained by numerous courts. It was found necessary in Iowa to enact legislation clearly making it illegal. The contract is voluntary in this: That the employee and the seeker for employment sign the agreement believing that if they do not do so they will have to go elsewhere for employment.

All men who work for railways are not fully informed as to their legal rights. Most railway employees find it difficult to lay up much against the rainy day and hence find it almost absolutely necessary to accept the assistance which the relief department provides. The railway employees of the country generally object strongly to relief departments being made agencies through which the corporations evade liabilities which the law places upon them and which they should not be permitted to thus escape.

THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE RECALLED.

Some Inside History Showing Andrew Carnegie's Favorable Attitude Toward Conference.

THE memorable address of Andrew Carnegie at the annual dinner of the National Civic Federation, having revived an interest in the Homestead strike, our attention has recently been called to an article written by Edward W. Bemis, at one time Professor of Political Economy in the University of Chicago and now head of the Water Department in Cleveland, in the administration of Mayor Tom Johnson. This article appeared in the *Journal of Political Economy*, published by the University of Chicago, for June, 1894, and dealt with the causes leading up to the Homestead strike, and the history of its conduct and conclusion, based upon a thorough personal investigation by Professor Bemis. The extract from that article which follows recalls a chapter of the strike not generally understood:

Only once in twenty-six years of personal management has Mr. Carnegie, in a single one of his works, had any stoppage from strike or lock-out, but when difficulties were likely to arise, he had shown a disposition to "sit down and wait" till an agreement could be reached rather than to call in new men.¹

¹ Note—In 1886, he wrote in the *Forum*: "I would have the public give due consideration to the terrible temptation to which the workman on a strike is sometimes subjected. To expect that one dependent on his daily wage for the necessities of life will stand by peacefully and see a new man employed in his stead, is to expect much. This poor man may have a wife and children dependent upon his labor. Whether medicine for a sick child, or even nourishing food for a delicate wife, is procurable, depends upon his steady employment. In all but a very few departments of labor, it is unnecessary and, I think, improper to subject men to such an ordeal. In the case of railways, and a few other employments, it is, of course, essential for the public wants that no interruption occur, and in such case, substitutes must be employed; but the employer of labor will find it much more to his interest, wherever possible, to allow his works to remain idle, and await the result of a dispute, than to employ the class of men that can be induced to take the place of other men who have stopped work. Neither the best men as men, nor the best men as workers, are thus to be obtained. There is an unwritten law among the best workmen, 'Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's job.' No wise employer will lightly lose his old employees. Length of service counts for much in many ways. Calling upon strange men should be the last resort."

* * * In this connection there are certain hitherto unpublished facts to be taken into account. On the first Sunday (July 17th) following the arrival of the militia at Homestead, two gentlemen, prominent in labor circles, came to Homestead and urged Mr. O'Donnell, chairman of the Advisory Committee, to go to New York and secure, if possible, the intercession of some prominent man, for the purpose of inducing Mr. Carnegie to order Mr. Frick to re-open conference with the men. On the unanimous vote of the Advisory Committee, Mr. O'Donnell set out. On reaching New York and consulting with a few labor leaders it was decided to approach Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who, as candidate for the vice-presidency on the Republican ticket, was assumed to be interested in maintaining peace in a tariff-aided industry. In the office of one of the editors of the *New York Tribune* the letter given in the note below was dictated by Mr. O'Donnell, but dated from Homestead and dated back a couple of days.²

² Note. Hon. Whitelaw Reid, New York N. Y.

Dear Sir: I address you in behalf of the 12,000 inhabitants of Homestead, Pennsylvania. In their name I ask that you interest yourself in the unfortunate controversy still pending between them and the Carnegie Steel Company by whom the majority of the adult population of the town is employed.

In presenting this matter to you I have no desire to dwell upon the merits or demerits of the conflict. I am looking toward the future, not the past. With the past I assume you are fairly well informed; sufficiently well, at all events, to make it unnecessary for me to supplement your knowledge at this time. It would be foreign to my purpose to do so. I simply therefore lay before you the situation as it exists to-day.

A thorough, not only one of the most prosperous in Pennsylvania, but in the entire Union, whose population represents to the highest degree the thrift, industry, intelligence and morality—in short, the best tendencies of the American people, is at present practically under martial law. The entire State

militia, numbering 8,000 or more, are in control of the place at an expense to the commonwealth of \$22,000 a day. The spirit of peace and progress has been supplanted by one of intense bitterness and discontent. It is in the interests of no one that this state of affairs should continue; that it should not, there is but one, and only one, course to pursue. I say only one, and I speak advisedly. That course is an honorable settlement on the lines that I shall presently indicate.

But before submitting my proposition permit me to say a word in reference to the course of procedure which appears to be in the minds of the Carnegie Company. I mean their express determination to put non-union men at work in the places of our people by the aid of the State authorities. I am not going to discuss the question of the right of the company to do so. I simply want to point out the practical effect of that action, which in my judgment may be briefly summed up in the statement that it will precipitate an unending internecine strife at Homestead. It must be borne in mind that a majority of the present employees own their own homes. All their interests center there; and they will never surrender them without the most determined effort, and one that will be made regardless of all that can be said or done to the contrary. In brief, owing to the peculiar conditions of this strike which I have indicated here, the trouble will, in my judgment, only begin in earnest when the mills are set going by the men who will take the places of the old employees.

I am sure that you agree with me in saying that it is not desirable to have this come to pass. It is not desirable that the present situation should continue, nor is it desirable that the men who have by years of patient toil acquired a little homestead should be cut off from their employment if it can be prevented in any honorable way. It can be prevented easily and without the sacrifice of honor or dignity upon either side. How shall it be done? Simply let the Carnegie Company recognize the Amalgamated Association by re-opening the conference doors, and I have no hesitation in saying that when that is done the end of the strife is at hand. I am warranted in saying that there is no disposition on the part of the employees to stand upon a question of scale, or wages, or hours, or anything else. The spirit that dominates them is conciliatory in the extreme, for they deplore the recent sad occurrence as much as any other class of people in the whole country. I assure you that they will do all in their power to bring about a re-establishment of harmonious relations.

I ask you to interest yourself in this matter because I believe you are in a position to render more effective service than, perhaps, any other man in this country. I do not think that it is necessary for me to dwell upon this point, nor state the reasons why this is true. That it is true is sufficiently clear to my mind to cause me to ask you to do what you can in every honorable way to bring about an amicable settlement.

My appeal is not in the name of any political party, nor in the name of organized labor, but for the sake of the men, women and little children that make up our present distressed community.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,
HUGH O'DONNELL.

Mr. O'Donnell states, as did President Weihe, on July 6th, that there was "no disposition on the part of his employees to stand upon a question of scale, or wages, or hours, or anything else." All that was wanted was a "re-opening of the conference doors."³

³ Note—The information here given on this point is derived not only from Mr. O'Donnell, but also from very high and absolutely reliable authority, entirely disconnected with the Carnegie Company or with organized labor. Inquiries addressed to the Carnegie Company have brought no reply.

Mr. O'Donnell, having been charged by the Carnegie officials with murder in connection with the events of July 6th, hastened back to Homestead on the promise that Mr. Reid would cable Mr. Carnegie. Mr. O'Donnell surrendered to the authorities and was held in prison five days. Then (July 25th) he was released on \$10,000 bail. Meantime Mr. Reid, in response to Mr. O'Donnell's letter cited above, had applied to Mr. Frick for Mr. Carnegie's address in order to telegraph him—Mr. Carnegie being at that time absent in Scotland and his address not being known to any one in this country except his business associates. Mr. Frick refused to give the address; whereupon Mr. Reid obtained it from our Consul General in London, John C. New, and then cabled Mr. Carnegie, urging a speedy and amicable settlement. An answer was received by cable from Mr. Carnegie in which he accepted the terms proposed by Mr. O'Donnell and urged that Mr. Frick be seen immediately with a view to effecting the settlement.⁴

⁴ Note—Copies of these cablegrams cannot now be obtained.

By this time the New York anarchist, Alexander Berkman, without the knowledge or recognition of the strikers, had made his attempt on Mr. Frick's life (July 23), so that when the gentleman who undertook the mission of reconciliation reached Mr. Frick he found him confined to his bed with the injuries he had sustained. My informant (whose name is withheld) goes on to say: "Mr. Frick was obdurate. He refused to consider the matter at all, denounced the strikers as assassins and declared that if Carnegie came in person, in company with President Harrison and the entire cabinet, he would not settle the strike."⁵

⁵ Note—My informant adds: "There is a well-defined rumor that since Mr. Carnegie's return he has written Mr. Reid, expressing regret that Mr. Frick did not agree to O'Donnell's proposition as forwarded to Mr. Reid."

Mr. O'Donnell writes: "Thus it would seem that the bullet from Berkman's pistol, failing in its foul intent, went straight through the heart of the Homestead strike." Disclaiming the idea of having intended to make political capital out of the New York trip, he asserts the purity of his motives.⁷

⁶ Note—Mr. Frick's previous refusal, July 7th, to confer with President Weihe and the strikers, as well as his refusal to give Mr. Carnegie's address to the editors of the *New York Tribune*, throws some doubt on the probability of Mr. Carnegie's order being followed, even if Berkman had not made his attempt.

⁷ Note—He says, in a letter written in February, 1894: "Believe me, I was actuated with but one desire, and that was the banishment of our troubles, and to have restored to our own prosperous little borough a peace and repose that had formerly blessed its humble homes. Mine has been the sacrifice. To-day, in reward for my efforts, I am misunderstood and maligned by the unthinking crowd—a modern Ishmael doomed to wander in the desert of ingratitude."

THE VOICE OF THE PRESS DECLARES FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

EDITORIAL APPROVAL OF THE AIMS AND WORK OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION FROM MANY VARIED SOURCES.

A METHODIST EDITOR'S COMMENDATION.

Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley, in the Christian Advocate.

Mr. Gompers presided and made an appropriate speech. He is a very slow speaker, but clear and forcible. Mr. Carnegie was present in the afternoon and was to have been present in the evening, but found himself too weary to attend. But he sent a most pertinent address, in which he stated that industrial peace reigns in six-sevenths of the industrial world. He recommended employers to keep their old men; declared that when the employer succeeds in running the works with new men his victory is really a defeat. He believes employers should make it an invariable rule never to employ new men in case of a strike, but to wait patiently for the old men.

After Mr. Carnegie's address Archbishop Ireland was called upon. We had long desired to have an opportunity of hearing the archbishop, as his reputation for fervid oratory is world-wide. Long ago in France he delivered an address in the French language so interesting as to be rapturously applauded, not alone for what he said, but for the admirable French in which he spoke it. As we sat near him the opportunity was afforded of asking him something of how he acquired his mastery of the French tongue. He responded that he spent eight years of his youthful life in that country. In conversation he is very attractive and animated. His address was a genuine oration of the old type, built upon two pillars—fellow Americans and fellow workers. All the problems could be solved by intelligence and sympathy for one another. One passage was directed against those who endeavor to break down the social structure.

Next came August Belmont, who testified to the efficacy of face-to-face conferences with honorable employees. He affirmed that it is a practical method of reaching a common understanding, and from his own experience testified that conferences over controverted points were followed by a better understanding and an harmonious agreement in the conduct of a great public service corporation. John Mitchell made a pleasing speech, in which he declared that he had not promoted strikes for the sake of strikes, and never would. James Kilbourne, of Ohio, read a very carefully prepared address. Mr. P. H. Morrissey, of the Railroad Trainmen, had only a little previous notice, but he made such a rational, calm, and well expressed speech as to secure universal applause. Mr. Oscar S. Straus gave a full statement of the number of labor disputes which had been settled by the Federation during the past year.

The National Civic Federation seems to us an admirable institution, for it tends to substitute calm discussion for acrimonious controversy. We are also convinced that the only thing in the way of "industrial peace with honor and liberty" is the attempt to prevent non-union men from working, which is equivalent to preventing employers from securing work unless labor unions consent to it. One of the speakers admitted that his union went upon the principle of making no trouble with non-union men who worked for union wages. We had framed a favorable estimate of the motives of those who established the National Civic Federation, and have appreciated everything good that we could trace to it in the struggles of the last few years. Our estimate of it was greatly enhanced by the proceedings at this dinner.

BRIDGING THE CHASM.

Address by John T. Wilson, Grand President International Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

A potent factor in the partial elimination of strikes and lockouts during the past few years has been the National Civic Federation, which is endeavoring to substitute conciliation and arbitration in lieu of the wasteful and barbarous strike and lockout so frequently resorted to in the recent past as a result of disputes between employers and employees. The Federation is composed in equal numbers of representatives of employers of labor, representatives of employees and representatives of that large public interest which unjustly bears the brunt of each industrial conflict. Especially worthy of mention in this connection is the efforts made by the MONTHLY REVIEW of the National Civic Federation to bridge the chasm which divides the classes by giving each interest an impartial hearing through the columns of the REVIEW, thus allowing the public to judge of the reasonableness of each contention from the facts and the arguments submitted, rather than by appealing to class prejudices and arousing class hatreds, and thus widening the gulf between the representatives of capital and the representatives of labor.

AN INDUSTRIOUS EXECUTIVE.

Boston Herald.

Mr. August Belmont is getting some very handsome compliments, apropos of his unanimous and enthusiastic election to the head of the National Civic Federation. The New York Times, for instance, calls him a workman of great industry, adding that the wage earner who had to carry a tithe of the cares and responsibilities of this organizer and manager of great enterprises would feel himself burdened beyond his strength. Mr. Belmont's sympathy with honest toil may be assumed from the fact that he earns his rest, when he has it, by the most systematic devotion to business. He is now one of the largest employers of labor in New York, and he gets on amicably with all his employees.

GOOD WILL THE WAY TO CONCORD.

Chicago Record-Herald.

Strikes and lockouts are costly, uneconomic, wasteful, and American capital and labor are too sensible and practical to prefer them to the pleasant ways of confidence and peace. Hence, as President Roosevelt said in his letter to Mr. Gompers, "The highest aim of all should be the establishment on an ever closer basis of mutual respect and friendship of the relations between employers and workmen."

Where the proper disposition is wanting, where distrust and suspicion and bitterness prevail, no mere machinery of arbitration will insure industrial tranquility. Where there is what a great philosopher has called the highest product of human development, a good will, no obstacles can long obstruct the way to concord and understanding. The essential condition is that each side should not only place itself on a basis of reason and fairness, but should believe the other side to be equally willing to reach a settlement conceived in reason and fairness. The Civic Federation, in reporting encouraging progress in all the departments of its work, demonstrates the efficiency of friendly discussion, conciliation and arbitration as cures for industrial ills.

A HIGH STANDARD OF LEADERSHIP.

Boston Transcript.

The National Civic Federation has come to stay. That at least seems assured by the enthusiasm, increased definiteness of purpose and notably representative character of the fourth annual meeting of this unique institution just held in New York. From the beginning the Federation has been subject to

superficial criticism from those who were not, and from an outside standpoint could not be, aware of the solid, practical work that has lain behind the more general aspects in which from time to time it has come into public notice. The annual meeting with the numerous conferences, the sessions of the executive council, and the detailed reports on the various phases of practical work during the past year, conciliation, trade agreements, "welfare institutions," etc., furnish probably the best reply to unfriendly criticism that could be offered. The movement has passed the experimental stage.

The gravity of the issues the Federation is called upon to face demands a high standard of broad-gauged, tolerant, sagacious leadership. That it had in Senator Hanna; and in his associates, whose active co-operation will be given now to Mr. Belmont, the new president. Mr. Belmont's election seems to have been the result, largely, of the somewhat new light in which he came before the public in the important conferences which prevented the threatened strike on New York transportation lines last summer. As the fruit of that experience, he is decidedly persona grata to large labor interests, and presumably will not need any intervention to get a respectful hearing among the captains of industry and finance. It is to be hoped that the experience of the coming year will justify in even increased measure President Roosevelt's estimate of the Federation, in his letter read Thursday night, that it is "a movement so praiseworthy and so thoroughly American in conception that it should as a matter of course receive the earnest support of all good citizens who are awake to the vital needs of our nation."

LIVE AND LET LIVE.

New York Mail.

All that was said at the banquet of the National Civic Federation, and all that was implied by the fellowshiping of employers and employees over the mahogany, was in a sense an amplification of the text given by President Roosevelt in a lay sermon at Washington the same evening: "The one all-important necessity of our social, industrial and political life is the necessity of the realization of what brotherhood means." It means that each man must "recognize in his fellow man his brother whose interest he must have at heart."

Men must live and let live; that is the principle of industrial peace. The extreme men on both sides are being relegated; that is the cheering sign under which both sides move to a better understanding.

GOOD INFLUENCE EXTENDING.

San Francisco Chronicle.

The main source of the influence of the Civic Federation is the great prominence of all prominently concerned with it. They are among our most eminent men. The late Senator Hanna was president, and the vacancy caused by his death has been filled by the election of August Belmont. The first vice president is Samuel Gompers. That the body is of recognized national importance is shown by the fact that the President of the United States deems it proper to address a sympathetic letter to the annual meeting, sent, by the way, through the hands of Vice President Gompers. The influence of the body is great and is extending. Federations on similar lines are forming in other countries. The entire work of the association is to assure industrial peace by promoting industrial friendship. Friends will not fight each other.

CONFIDENCE IN HANNA AND BELMONT.

Buffalo News.

August Belmont's election to the presidency of the National Civic Federation meets with general approval. Mr. Belmont is a man of great ability and ambition and will undoubtedly make a creditable figure in his new role. The office to which Mr. Belmont is chosen is the one left vacant by the death of Senator Hanna. That men of wealth like Hanna and Belmont should have proved acceptable to the labor men of the Civic Federation is in itself a gratifying fact, tending to show that while there may be classes in this country there are no class barriers. Workingmen gave Hanna and Belmont their confidence, and rightly, too, for Hanna knew and Belmont knows industrial conditions and the lot of the toiler.

BELMONT AND GOMPERS.

Los Angeles Express.

"Belmont and Gompers." This is a legend which, without further explanation, might serve as caption for a stirring story of encounter between capital and labor, but in these mild days when amity seems to be a universal watchword it merely conveys the intelligence that the New York banker, sportsman and representative of Rothschild and the leader of America's greatest industrial army are in friendly association as president and vice-president, respectively, of the National Civic Federation. Much good must be predicted from this harnessing of Belmont and Gompers, even if they find occasional difficulty in trotting in unison. Such action tends to lessen apparent extremes, and often it is successful in proving that real differences are non-existent.

MR. CARNEGIE'S SYMPATHETIC STUDY.

Baltimore Herald.

The ablest labor leaders are stateamen, recognizing the force of public opinion and guarding against the handicap of a decision by the Civic Federation against them. The letter addressed by Mr. Carnegie to the meeting can only promote a better feeling all around. It is a plea for a better understanding between the men and the employer, for patience in dealing with the difference between them, for a regard by both sides for each other's good points. His paper discloses the man with vast experience in employing labor who has studied the question with a large sympathy.

WAIT FOR THE OLD EMPLOYEES.

Milwaukee Sentinel.

It amounts to commendation of Mr. Carnegie's thoughtful address read at the meeting of the Civic Federation to say that extremists like D. M. Parry, who are at odds with the spirit and methods of the Federation, will find in it little to approve. To illustrate, the great ironmaster made the at first view rather startling assertion that a large corporation makes a mistake when it adopts or even considers the policy of employing new men when its old employees are on strike. Mr. Carnegie qualified his statement by adding that, of course, in special branches, as street and other railways, where unbroken continuance of a public service is imperative, hire rule could not apply. But his general principle is that large employers will best serve their own interests by waiting patiently for the old men to return in case of a strike, though the rule must have its exceptions.

It is not difficult to deduce from Mr. Carnegie's view an argument for the organization of labor where employed in large masses. The physical difficulties in the way of direct personal contact between employers and workmen under such conditions are obvious. But indirect contact and thereby a degree of mutual acquaintanceship, so necessary to mutual reasonableness and sympathy, can be obtained by resort to the representative principle. But even such contact is impossible between large employers and a host of unorganized and therefore unrepresented workmen. The only medium of contact possible is the representative body created as a result of labor organization. Unionism should make for industrial peace and equity—if only the men selected to lead and represent are well and wisely chosen and are really and honestly representative of the collective interests they are supposed to stand for.

A WELL DESERVED HONOR.

Buffalo Times.

Hon. August Belmont of New York, has been elected president of the National Civic Federation to succeed the late Senator Mark A. Hanna, and the honor is well deserved. Mr. Belmont employs a large number of men and he has always taken a deep interest in the affairs of the Federation, believing it to be an organization through which great good may be accomplished in the mutual interests of capital and labor. In the construction of the New York subway Mr. Belmont won the friendship of the employees by his eminent fairness and justice in dealing with them. As president of the Federation he will have an opportunity to do much toward solving the problems involving capital and labor, and that he will improve it, all who know him are confident.

INDUSTRIAL WAR USUALLY AVOIDABLE.

Philadelphia Inquirer.

So far Mr. Belmont has never figured in any of the labor troubles of the country, although he is financially interested in many corporations. He is a quiet, unassuming man of much force of character and his selection, while a surprise, may prove to be one of the happiest possible. It is certain that the Federation is constantly achieving much, not only in the settlement of actual disputes, but in preventing strikes and in a larger way educating the people up to the knowledge that such industrial wars are usually disastrous to all concerned, and usually avoidable. The career of the new president will be watched with the greatest interest.

MR. CARNEGIE'S INDUSTRIAL DIPLOMACY.

Detroit Tribune.

A new school of industrial diplomacy is being fostered by Andrew Carnegie, whose address at the dinner of the National Civic Federation in New York was characterized by its good sense. He approaches the problem in much the same manner as he has approached the question of international war, the more portentous threats of which have been time and again averted by the offices of diplomats. "A corporation engaged in a dispute with its men makes a great mistake if it adopts a policy of running its works with new men," Mr. Carnegie has here become responsible for a bit of genuine wisdom. The idea is possibly wholly selfish, born of bitter experience and advanced for a motive that cannot dissociate itself from material gain, nevertheless it is an attitude that can be borrowed with profit to everyone. In the body of industrial strikers there are skilled men with whom those on the list of idle, and thus available, labor cannot compete. Each new man is as much a potential striker as the old. A strike is a difference to which there is a possible agreement, rather than a revengeful warfare.

MR. CARNEGIE AGAINST STRIKE BREAKERS.

Detroit Times.

Andrew Carnegie, in his speech at the National Civic Federation, an organization conspicuously in contrast with the convention of Parryites, which met in New York recently, declared that a victory over labor, won by the employment of new men, is a defeat in reality. He declared the method unjust to the men and their families and disastrous for the employer because of the necessary inferiority of men employed in time of labor trouble to take the place of old employees. Mr. Carnegie did not mention labor unions in his speech, but his words apply so perfectly to those situations where union men are opposed by strike breakers that their meaning loses no force from that fact. As a criticism of employers' associations and a support of the contention of unions that the men opposed to them in the ranks of labor are inferior workmen, no higher testimony could be adduced.

MR. CARNEGIE DEPLORES INTOLERANCE.

Pittsburg Press.

Mr. Carnegie has been until recently one of the largest employers of labor in America. It is, therefore, significant that he believes thoroughly in the mission of industrial reconciliation, rather than in the efficacy of the spirit of violence. This, we take it, Mr. Carnegie deprecates, whether it be manifested by lawlessness on the part of strikers or intolerance on the part of employers (such for instance, as the employers' association, represented by D. M. Parry, whose motto appears to be "War to the knife, and the knife to the hilt"). In addition to the Carnegie letter, the Federation listened to a letter from President Roosevelt, who made it plain that industrial conciliators have his entire sympathy. The Federation has already done a great deal to promote industrial peace. Representative American citizens could find no worthier work. August Belmont, who was elected, to succeed the late Senator Hanna as president, has not been known to the country as a special friend of the cause, but he has the ability and the influence to fill the position acceptably.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

Saratoga Springs Saratogian.

August Belmont has taken part in many works of great public moment and in many ways his career has been a good example of what men of brains and wealth may accomplish toward the world's good. But never before has there been shifted to his shoulders a greater opportunity or a larger responsibility than has come with the headship of the Civic Federation bestowed by the ballots of his fellow members. The work of that organization toward a closer fellowship and understanding between capital and labor was one of the great moving forces in Senator Hanna's life. How dearly he cherished the plan and how hopeful he was of the results to follow, only his intimate associates knew. But he left much of his inspiring faith behind and it is to be hoped that Mr. Belmont will feel its influence and will seek to carry forward the same ends with the same high and unselfish purpose that prompted his dead predecessor in the past.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AS SEEN BY LABOR CARTOONISTS.



MONEY MONGER:—Now, my cook book says, use equal parts of these two ingredients and when thoroughly mixed add to my dough.

J. G. Gowan, San Francisco, Cal.

Iron Molders' Journal.



Clearing the Path

Although a burden instead of a helper, the individual at the lower end of the rope shares in the benefits of the others efforts.

International Hol Carriers' Journal

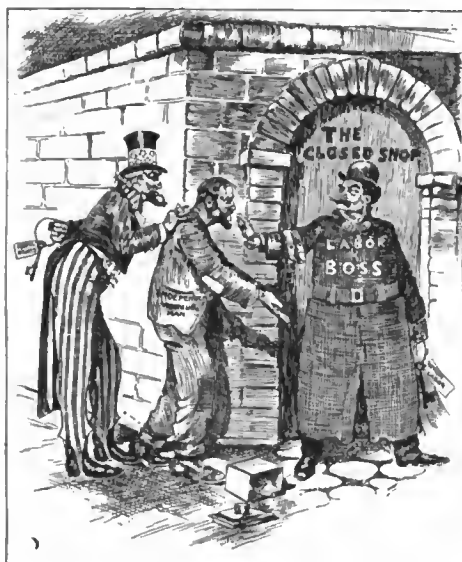


THE HONE OF PROVISION

Journal of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AS SEEN BY ANTI-UNION CARTOONISTS.

"A Square Deal—No More, No Less"



LABOR BOSS to Independent Workmen: "You can't work here. You don't wear the color." Thanks Boss to Independent Workmen: "Honor said, my boy. I have a boy that will open it."

Industrial Independent

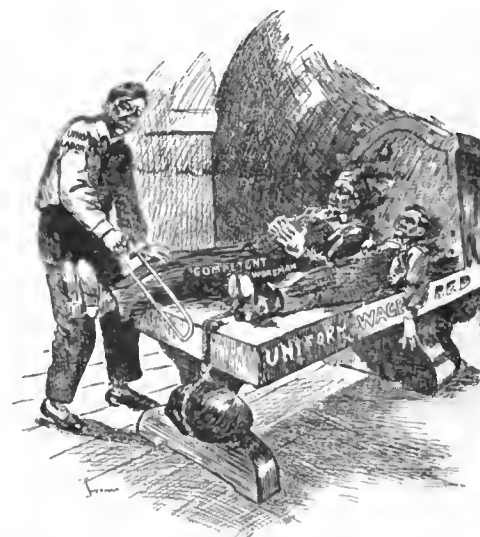
YOUTH UNDER THE BAN



UNION LABOR—THE DOOR IS CLOSED. FOLLOW THE ROAD.

Industrial Independent

The Modern Procrustes



Procrustes was a ruler of ancient Greece, who, according to tradition, carried his victims to his palace and, if they were not of the right height, cut off their heads or legs. —Century Dictionary.

Industrial Independent

LABOR WRESTS VICTORY FROM DEFEAT.

(Continued from page 9.)

Chief Stone, of the Engineers; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; and John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, for assistance, and they were on the ground Thursday morning. At 10 o'clock that morning, no answer having been received from the joint executive committee of the strikers, Chiefs Stone and Hurley, of the Engineers; President Mahon, of the Amalgamated; President Samuel Gompers, President John Mitchell, and Herman Robinson, met in conference to decide on the course of action. At 12 o'clock there was still no answer from the strikers' committee and President Mahon telephoned the local Amalgamated officers that unless he had an answer by 2 o'clock in person he would issue a statement repudiating the strike. Chief Stone meantime drafted his statement to the public, but agreed to hold it back out of courtesy to the committees that had been trying to bring about a conference. At 3 o'clock the sub-committee of the Amalgamated Association appeared at the Clarendon Hotel and reported to Mr. Mahon that while the Amalgamated members of the joint executive committee were willing to call in the national officers, the engineers and firemen had outvoted them and therefore none of them could accept.

Chief Stone then read his letter to the committee and it was heartily approved and given out to the public. It is as follows:

"The Brotherhood of Engineers have no differences between their organization and the Interborough

Company at the present time that could not have been adjusted at the present time in a proper manner.

"The present strike now going on by men claiming to represent the Brotherhood of Engineers is in direct violation of our orders. It is not recognized, nor will it be supported by our organization. The contract entered into in September, 1904, between the Interborough Company and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers we recognize to be as binding to-day as it was when signed, and loyal members of the Brotherhood of Engineers are instructed to at once report for duty to comply with the requirements of the agreement. Members refusing to do so will be expelled from membership in our organization. It has been reported to me that many of our members have been misled by statements that the grand officers have given consent to this strike. This is not correct. No request was made or granted, nor were the officers of the Brotherhood of Engineers consulted in the present situation. This is the first time in the history of the Brotherhood of Engineers that our members have repudiated their agreement with any railroad. Labor organizations must keep their part of the agreement inviolate if they expect success. Had our laws been complied with conditions as they now appear could not exist on the line of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company."

Mr. Mahon's statement soon followed and was:

"The present strike of Local Division No. 332, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, was undertaken without consulting the responsible officers of the general organization, without their consent or approval.

"Last Saturday a telegram was received at my Detroit office stating that 'the situation in New York

City is critical,' and my presence was essential at once. I reached this city on Monday morning and was astonished to learn that the request for my presence here was made on personal responsibility and not at the instance of the local division.

"A copy of the demands to be presented to the Interborough Railway Company on Monday afternoon was shown me, and I strongly advised against their presentation, for, in addition to the demands for better conditions, the document contained the endorsement of the local division of engineers (motormen) which violated the agreement that organization had with the company.

"I had reason to believe there would have been little or no difficulty in obtaining from the company better conditions, but our organization is strongly committed to the maintenance of its own agreements with employers, and was in honor bound not to encourage the violation of an agreement which another organization had with the employer of its members.

"Under our laws our local unions have no right to strike in violation of any agreement they have with the employers, and surely then they can have no right to strike to support another organization to do an act which they themselves have no right to do.

"It seemed to me that without resorting to drastic measures I might yet give whatever assistance my experience and position offered to advise a way out of the difficult and questionable position in which our men and our local division were placed, to try and bring about an honorable adjustment in the establishment of better relations between the men, the organization, and the company; however, the repeated tender

(Concluded on page 8.)

The National Civic Federation Review

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TEN CENTS

IS COMPULSORY ARBITRATION PRACTICABLE?

SHOULD CORPORATIONS RENDERING PUBLIC SERVICE BE REQUIRED TO ARBITRATE ALL DIFFERENCES WITH EMPLOYEES?

COMPULSORY Arbitration, with special reference to the practicability of its application to quasi public corporations, was the special topic discussed at the second annual meeting of the Civic Federation of New York and Vicinity on April 4. This subject was directly suggested by the recent strike on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, which presented a number of problems, both interesting and difficult, bearing upon the relations between similar corporations and wage-earners. Compulsory Arbitration, as a method of ensuring to the public uninterrupted service, was favored by the Hon. Seth Low, ex-Mayor of New York City, and as in accordance with existing legal institutions, by Everett P. Wheeler; while an argument against Compulsory Arbitration was presented by James P. Archibald, President of the New York Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. Bishop Potter, in an informal interchange of views, suggested the creation of a commission to examine this and kindred topics concerning the relations between employer and employee.

This discussion, of which a verbatim report follows, is but the introduction to other symposiums upon the same subject, to be presented in future issues of THE REVIEW.

The Hon. Oscar S. Straus, member of The Hague Tribunal and versed upon the subject of international arbitration, who acted as chairman, in bringing the topic before the meeting, said:

The subject of compulsory arbitration, as you know, has had probably the longest trial in Australia and New Zealand. The results are disputed by both sides. Some assert that it has proved disadvantageous to the cause of industrial progress; others look upon it more hopefully. The question has projected itself upon the attention of many in this country, and is receiving serious consideration by students, scholars and men of practical experience in the relations between capital and labor. The chairman refrains from expressing any opinion upon this subject, but wishes rather to throw out suggestions as to the lines of thought that doubtless will enter into the discussion here to-day.

In the beginning of the development of law, if one

individual injured another, it was regarded as an individual affair, and the individual injured was remitted in a very inchoate way to his right for redress. As law developed, a new theory also developed upon

takes up the question; and the public prosecutor assumes the power of the state in order to correct the injury that the public has received.

Now, analogously, we may say, that if a difference arises between a public service corporation and its employees, it is no longer a question solely between the public service corporation and the employees; but it is the larger interests of the general public that are trespassed upon. The question arises, What rights have the general public and how can those rights be best conserved? Under the theory of the law, in public service corporations, the state is a silent partner, and as such has a right to insist upon the most efficacious means to prevent interruption of its service and to impose compulsory arbitration. Others say that compulsory arbitration infringes on a still more fundamental right, individual liberty. I suppose largely around these two questions the whole subject will naturally be considered. Certainly all sides are looking for light, not only from a theoretical standpoint, but light from a concrete and practical point of view; and we are fortunate to-day in having with us men who have studied this problem both theoretically and concretely.

I will ask ex-Mayor Low to open the subject of compulsory arbitration. I need not introduce him to you. You all know him. (Applause.)

Mr. Low:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: The recent strike in New York upon the Subway and Elevated roads was not so much a labor trouble as a social tragedy. Probably a million people, more or less, suffered "in mind, body and estate" while the strike lasted; and many of those who struck, if deprived permanently of their places, may feel the consequences to their dying day. It is amazing that society should be subject to such a disaster because of the unwisdom and the obstinacy of a few men. It is pitiable that the victims of such a blunder should suffer so severely for a mistake in judgment, even if wilful. It would be appalling if such

a thing could happen and nothing be learned from it. No one is able to suggest any way out of such difficulties except through arbitration; and when compulsory arbitration is spoken of in the interest of the com-



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which to-day the whole law of crime is based—namely, that if one man injures another the most serious infraction is that which results in disturbing public peace. It is upon that theory of law that the public

munity, it is apt to be challenged by both sides. The capitalist says: "Compulsory arbitration is unfair, because labor is not responsible;" and labor says: "Men are not slaves: they cannot be compelled to work against their will."

I venture to submit, however, that at one point capital and labor stand in precisely the same position before the law; and that, at this point, if it is desirable, compulsory arbitration may be insisted upon, and may be made practicable. Without the privileges given by statute, neither capital nor labor, as illustrated in corporations and trade unions, can lawfully combine. In the eye of the common law, such combinations as a corporation and a labor union were both conspiracies. In other words, in order to combine at all, in such forms, both capital and labor have to ask the same privilege at the hands of the State.

The State can certainly say, if it will: "Yes, you may combine, but only upon the condition that all disputes between you shall be arbitrated." And the State can as certainly, secure the acceptance by both parties of the award of an arbitration, by providing that a failure to arbitrate, or to abide by the award of the arbitration, shall work a forfeiture of the privilege of combining. In the case of a corporation, it would, in that event, lose its charter; and in the case of a trade union, which is an association of individuals, each individual would become amenable to the criminal law against conspiracy. Such a provision would probably be equally effective as to both labor and capital; and it would be equally fair to both, because it would apply to both equally for the same cause; that is to say, because of a failure to observe the conditions upon which the statutory privilege of combining had been granted.

Of course, in this paper, I am not attempting to deal with the details of legislation. It would be altogether possible, I believe, instead of depriving a company of its charter, to deprive the responsible officers and directors for a term of months or of years, as the statute might provide, of the privilege of being officers or directors in any corporation within the State; and, similarly, if a trade union were at fault, only the officers or the men responsible for the fault need be deprived, as in the other case, for a term of months or of years, as the statutes might provide, of the privilege of belonging to any trade unions within the State.

The community, then, is not helpless. The question rather is, why should it not insist upon such legislation, limited, if you please, in the first instance, to public service corporations, where the evils felt by the community are greatest.

It may throw some light upon the problem to try to show the philosophy of the present situation. For many centuries the best men of the race, the world over, have been struggling to secure for the individual man equality before the law and freedom of opportunity. In this country, and at this time, these results have been achieved more generally than ever before. On the other hand, as we observe what is going on about us in the field of industry and commerce, it seems as if the individual capitalist was disappearing in the corporation, and the corporation itself in the trust; while the individual laborer is disappearing in the trade union, and the trade union itself in the brotherhood or federation. What does all this signify? Does it mean that, in this large field of human activity, the loss of individuality is threatened by the force of combination? I think not. It means, on the contrary, as I conceive, that we have reached, in human society, the era of combination simply because we have first succeeded in individualizing each man as to his legal rights and as to his social privileges. In other words, what has happened in society may be illustrated by the art of printing. Until each type had come to represent a single letter only, the era of limitless combinations of types did not appear, and there could be no art of printing. When every type had been individualized, then, and then only, the era of limitless combination was attained and the art of printing was born. This, I think, is what has happened in our day in human society. Men combine at will, because they are free to combine, and because they perceive that in combination they can accomplish what before was impossible. Combination does not threaten individuality: it is rather founded upon it. This proposition, I submit, goes to the very root of so-called labor troubles.

One sometimes hears it said, for instance, that labor combines because capital combines, as if combination on the part of labor was simply an act of self-defense. I think that a very partial and inadequate explanation of the combination either of capital or labor. Men combine, in our day, because they are free to do so, and because they perceive the advantage of doing so, and they do it in obedience to a social law as irresistible as the force of gravity. If capital and labor seem often to be in conflict, through their different forms of organization, it is, as I conceive, because this universal social law affects the two precisely as the law of gravity affects us and our antipodes. The same force is felt by both, and if, in affecting both in precisely the same way, it seems to draw them into conflict with each other, that is because they start from opposite positions. If, then, this is a true philosophy

of our times, the inference from it is important. Nobody thinks of antagonizing the force of gravity. Everybody simply takes it for granted, and adjusts his actions to it. Just as soon as, in a free community, the movement towards combination on the part of both labor and capital is recognized as a movement in response to a law as universal as the law of gravity, the bitterness of antagonism between capital and labor will tend to moderate. Each will take for granted the position of the other, and each will strive, as wise men always strive, so to adjust themselves to universal law as to get from it the greatest possible advantage. Then the effort to destroy the trade union, on the one hand, and the trust on the other, will give place to the wiser effort to regulate both so as to do away with the abuses of which each is capable.

This power of combination in industry and business, while of slow growth, in its recent manifestations is almost like the discovery of a new force. It has taken more than a century since the steam engine was invented for men to learn how to make the use of steam as effective and as safe as it is now; and yet, even now, from time to time, boilers explode and loss of life takes place. No one should be surprised, therefore, and no one need lose heart, if progress in learning the limits of safety in the use of the power of combination, on the part of both capital and labor, is slow, and if, in the process of learning, much injury is done. It is only through experimentation that men learn what can be done and what cannot, when they are put into possession of a new power. Especially must this be the case when the same power is put at once into the hands of men who occupy competing relations as to its use. The first impulse of human nature, when given control of a new power, is to use it to its utmost; and it is only as experience shows what are the limitations of its usefulness, that such limitations are accepted. Capital, in combination, has sometimes imagined that it could do anything that it wished. Labor, in combination, has often yielded to the same idea. Both have found, when they have carried their ideas to the extreme, that forces exist in society with which they are obliged to reckon, and which put a limit upon what they are able to do. In the first stages of the struggle growing out of the efforts of both capital and labor, each to secure for itself, by combination, a larger proportion of the joint products of both, resort was almost uniformly had to main strength. The appeal to justice and the appeal to the community's sense of right seemed to be unnecessary when one side or the other apparently had power enough to have its own way, no matter what people thought. I think it may fairly be said, speaking broadly, that this stage of the matter has been passed in the so-called conflict between capital and labor nowadays. At the beginning of every such controversy, both sides now put forth a statement of their positions, in the endeavor to secure the favor and help of public sentiment. This they do because both have discovered that seldom, if ever, can either side win, in such a dispute, unless it has public opinion with it. From this I infer that the time is ripe to urge that no breach of relations between employer and employee should ever be allowed to take place without a resort to arbitration.

When arbitration is urged in any controversy, one side or the other is pretty certain to say, "There is nothing to arbitrate." This phrase always has one of two meanings. First, it often means, on the part of the employer, that he does not admit the right of his employees to any voice in the decision of the points under discussion; or, second, it may mean, either on the part of the employer or on the part of the employee, that he feels himself so strong that he does not want to arbitrate. Men often say, with a great deal of force, that the finding in almost every arbitration is a compromise. The weaker side is always ready to arbitrate, because it feels that, while it may not get everything that it wants, it is pretty sure to get something. The stronger side, for the same reason, is unwilling to arbitrate, because it feels that, while it may not have to give everything that is asked, it will have to grant something, and it does not want to grant anything.

These two attitudes deserve consideration. And first, that of the employer who thinks that his employees have no right to a voice as to any of the questions under dispute. Abundant experience has shown that, in these days, this attitude concerns not only the employer and his employee, but also it often exposes the community to breaches of the peace, and always, to very many serious and direct evils. This claim, when made, is sought to be justified by saying that it is one of the rights of private property. Can such an attitude toward organized labor be, in fact, so justified? In all ages the rights of private property have been modified in the public interest. Witness the abolition of mortmain and the use of real estate as affected by municipal ordinances. It appears that, as to all lines of business that depend upon public franchises, no such claim can be admitted; because, for such purposes, the private corporation is only the agent of the state; and it may properly be said that no agent of the public has a right so to conduct his business as to involve the community in disaster. As to all business carried on by corporations, the soundness of this position may again be questioned; because every cor-

poration receives from the State two very vital privileges—first, that of limited liability, and, second, that of indefinite life. The State may well demand of people who receive such privileges at its hand, that they also shall conduct their business in ways that are consistent with the public interest. Were it worth while, it might be shown that the argument in favor of arbitration, even as between the business firm, or individuals and their employees, is only less strong; but the amount of business likely to lead to labor disturbances, carried on under these forms in these days, is so small as practically to be negligible in this discussion. It may be said, therefore, that it is very seldom indeed, if ever, in our day that the capitalist is justified in saying that there is nothing to arbitrate, because he is unwilling to admit that his employees are entitled to a voice as to the conditions upon which they will work for him.

Turn now to the second sense in which that phrase is frequently used, "There is nothing to arbitrate;" that arbitration, after all, is merely a form of unwelcome compromise. Is it certain that this is an argument against it? I perceive that the round world is kept in place by an opposition of forces, and it may easily be that the best possible arrangement, as between employer and employee, is the arrangement, if they fail to agree, upon which a fair-minded arbitrator would decide. That is to say, the equilibrium between the demands of the opposing forces, so established, may be, upon the whole, the best possible adjustment for the time being. Such a practice would certainly tend to adjust the relations between employer and employee upon the basis of reason and good will, instead of by force and compulsion. Relations established with good will are not only likely to be more permanent, but also more mutually advantageous, for my business experience convinces me that no business relations are enduring that do not involve advantage to both sides.

There are certain lessons vital to this argument to be drawn from the recent strike in New York City upon the Subway and Elevated roads. From the moment that the breach occurred, and the public had read the statement of the two sides on the issues involved, there was never a moment's doubt that public opinion would be against the men, and that public sympathy would go to the railroad. For these two things were evident to the most casual reader: First, that there was no issue at stake that justified such immense injury to the public as was done by the strike; no issue, indeed, that could not have been easily adjusted by arbitration; and, second, that one section of the men, at any rate—the motormen—had gone out in flat violation of their agreement. Every friend of industrial progress through industrial peace, when he became aware of the facts of the situation, must have felt a sinking of heart, because it is perfectly evident that organized society cannot prosper when men will not keep their faith. Most happily, the day was saved by the good sense and the courage of the national labor officials, by promptly and publicly repudiating the locals who had broken faith. It is, therefore, now more clear than ever, that the more responsible labor leaders and the more responsible labor unions are to be trusted when they have once given their word. As long ago as when the Book of Psalms was written, the writer said that the just man was he who kept his faith, although he had sworn to his own hurt. It is only because the laws of nature are uniform that men can live in the world subject to those laws; and it is only because the great mass of men, in their individual relations, do keep faith that human society is possible. It is idle to consider the establishment of trade agreements, or arbitration, or anything else, with men who will not abide by their contracts. Therefore, if it was discouraging that so intelligent a body of men as the motormen involved in the recent strike should absolutely disregard their agreement, it was, on the other hand, highly encouraging that this action should be so promptly and vigorously repudiated by the officials of the National orders. I venture the opinion that no one thing is more unfriendly to the success of the cause of arbitration, and also to the cause of trade agreements, than the claim on the part of the employers that the men do not live up to their bargains. The Civic Federation, therefore, can do no better work than to exert its great influence in bringing home to the business community the highly encouraging significance of this unhappy episode. Let it be once made clear that the men will abide by agreements entered into in their name by the unions to which they belong, and the movement toward arbitration and the movement toward trade agreements will both have received an immense impulse; and the day may yet come when this force that makes for combination in human society, as it affects both labor and capital, will show itself as consistent with the peaceful and orderly development of industry, as the same principle, applied to the art of printing, has shown itself to be friendly to the unimaginable development of that art, which men fondly call "the art preservative." (Applause.)

The Chairman: I am going to ask Mr. Everett P. Wheeler, who has given the subject careful consideration, to address us upon compulsory arbitration. (Applause.)

Mr. Wheeler:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: You know there are two sorts of lawyers—one, the lawyers who make a specialty of seeing how not to do it and the other who make a specialty of seeing how things can be done.

I see here a portrait of a man who was one of the ablest of us all, Mr. Simon Sterne, whose specialty was to see how things could be done, and I believe, among all the members of the bar in his time, there was not one who was more successful or more suggestive in that direction. My endeavors have been to follow his example in that line, and I suppose it is for that reason that you, as an old friend, have appreciated that I am honored by being asked to speak.

Now, it does seem to me that compulsory arbitration is entirely practicable and that it might take this form: Let an act be passed by the Legislature making it unlawful for employers to lock out their workmen or for the workmen composing a union to strike until the subjects in difference between them have been previously submitted to the arbitration of a competent and impartial tribunal which would be provided by the law. That is all you need, as it seems to me, to accomplish the result. Practically I would say that such a law should apply, in the first place, to what we sometimes call public utility corporations—to common carriers especially—who perform a public function that in many states is performed by the state itself. In Europe most of the railroads are managed by the respective kingdoms or republics, and managed to the satisfaction of the public as well as to the advantage of the state itself. In this country, on the contrary, with the single temporary exception of the railroad across the Brooklyn Bridge, I am not aware that any city or state has undertaken to manage and direct a railroad. But it certainly is perfectly competent for the states of this Republic, or the cities under the authority of the state, to do it. We have thought it advisable up to this time in general that railroad corporations should be organized under the direction of the state. But certainly they are subject to the control of the state that creates them and vests them with a public franchise and function. There is not, I apprehend, any serious difficulty in compelling performance by a railroad of the award of such a tribunal. That is not seriously contested, and if it were, the experience which again I say Mr. Sterne so often had of procuring the appointment of a receiver of a delinquent railroad corporation, who very often managed the corporation quite as well as the board of directors did, would meet the difficulty and would show that the corporations were certainly amenable to such a tribunal.

All we ask is to establish another court. The present courts of justice in effect enforce compulsory arbitration. If my client has a contract, and the other party to it refuses to perform, there are many cases already under which the court will decree specific performance and will enforce it. There have been receivers appointed, not only of railroads but of newspapers, and of many other lines of business, who have carried on the business, whatever it was—and I don't say always carried it on well; sometimes carried it on very badly; but it has been carried on, and in many cases has been well carried on. So I think we may pass from the side of the corporation.

Let us look at the labor side. The objection is made that to compel the performance of an arbitration tribunal would be to create an involuntary condition of servitude. Let us look at that seriously from the practical and not from the theoretical side. Practically, what is it? One thousand men or ten thousand men make an agreement voluntarily. You don't compel them to do it. Nobody compelled the motormen, for example, or the trainmen, or any of them to enter into their agreement with the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. It was perfectly voluntary. There was no compulsory servitude there. Do you mean to tell me that it is compulsory servitude if a court obliges a man to keep his contract? In what book, in what decision of a court, can any authority be found for that proposition? Look it squarely in the face. It is said that it is involuntary servitude to compel a man to keep a contract he has voluntarily made. The objection is absurd.

What, after all, is it that leads the great majority of men to make contracts to do something—to do a piece of work, to manufacture a given article? Why, it is the necessity of life. It is the Lord Almighty that creates that condition of servitude—we must work or starve. There is sometimes accumulated capital; but that is the accumulation of the labor of some one. All capital, after all, when you look at it, is the accumulation of labor in the past and that labor was voluntary labor. And you get it in that concentrated form, as it were. So then we are under that necessity. We want to live. We want to have food and clothing and shelter, and to get that somebody certainly has had to work for it. That is the necessity. That necessity lasts and that necessity compels in itself the performance of the work.

Go a step further. What is it in effect that makes a strike? Why, it is the decision of the leaders. The men who are in the union elect certain leaders. It is those leaders as a rule that decide upon a strike.

The men follow them. We all know, and cannot help but admire, the loyalty of the men. The leaders are amenable to the process of the court. If they commit a crime they can be punished for it, and if it is a punishable offence to violate the judgment of an arbitration tribunal, why cannot the law punish the leaders for that offence as it would for other offences? And if they are punished, the strike of necessity goes to pieces. If there had been such a law as that, and the leaders of this late strike had sought to do what they did and had been arrested on the charge of violating the law, the strike would have gone to pieces from the first. It never had any life except from the action of the leaders and the loyalty of the men. If the state should interfere and say, "You must do this; it is as much an offence against the public to initiate such a strike without arbitration as it is to pick a man's pocket," and the state proceeds to punish that offence, that would be the end of the strike. And why should anybody complain that society compels members of it to perform contracts which are made for the public benefit? I confess I have tried very hard, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, to see the objections to that proposition, and I fail to see them.

I would like to say this one thing in conclusion. We are, after all, a law abiding people. We are too much given to making laws, and many laws are made undoubtedly that are not enforced. I am willing to admit that. But when in your experience has a court, after a fair hearing, decided and rendered a judgment, that the judgment has not been obeyed? You may say you can appeal. Very well, you appeal. But when the final court has rendered its judgment, who can give an instance where that judgment has not been regarded? Take this notable case of the Northern Securities Company. There, the richest, most powerful persons in this country were involved. The interests were mighty. We all remember the struggle and the keen competition that resulted in that famous Northern Securities agreement. Those people have been obliged, by the law of the land, to submit this controversy to the judgment of the court, and the court has annulled their agreement. They had another controversy, as to how the result of all that combination should be divided, and the court has decided that. They are going to obey the decision. Is there anybody, from the greatest to the least, that was connected with that combination who is not going to submit peacefully, without a struggle, to the decision of the court? Will it be necessary to order out the marshal or the United States troops to enforce the decision? Not at all. That is ingrained in the American people. I think I can truthfully say—I am sometimes called an optimist—but I think I can truthfully say that the disposition of our people is to submit to the decision of the court when it has been rendered after a fair and impartial hearing. I don't believe you would need any compulsion. I don't believe, when such a tribunal has rendered its decision, there would be any occasion to put anybody in prison or take any method of enforcing that decision.

May I refer to my own experience in this connection? Every man's experience ought to be worth something to himself, and it is out of the combined experience of many individuals that we ought to learn something, at least, of a useful lesson for the conduct of life. I have been practicing law in this city for forty years. I can only remember three occasions in all the cases I have tried, and I have tried a great many, where it has been necessary to resort to the compulsion of the sheriff or marshal to enforce the orders of the court, and one of those cases was the case of a defaulting trustee. If even out of one thousand cases there were three where you had to call in compulsion, would that be a serious defect? I submit that such a law as I have suggested could be devised which would do justice to all parties, which would provide a fair and impartial court, the decision of which would be respected and would be greatly in the interest of the public, because it would prevent these social wars which we call strikes. (Applause.)

The Chairman: I shall now call upon a gentleman to speak on the other side, a representative labor leader, Mr. James P. Archibald, who I believe has given considerable thought to the other side of this question. (Applause.)

Mr. Archibald:

The general objections to compulsory arbitration, based upon political, social and economic grounds, apply to the specific phase of the question here under consideration, which would limit the application of compulsory arbitration to differences between employees and employing corporations chartered to perform service, essential or important, to the public convenience, comfort and welfare. Despite that limitation, it will be found that nearly all, if not every one, of the broad reasons that can be adduced against legislation to make industrial arbitration compulsory will hold good as against the proposition to employ compulsory arbitration only in differences between employers and employed engaged in quasi-public service. Furthermore, this is true even if we admit at the outset that the corporation engaged, for instance, in transportation, owes to the state a duty, more or less de-

fined and restricted, in requital for its charter, and that the employees of such a corporation are in a sense public servants who, in accepting employment, have incurred on their side the duty of exerting every effort to secure the safe and prompt conveyance of goods and passengers. Even to place thus in a category by themselves such a corporation and such employees, does not exempt them from the operation of universal principles.

The first of these broad objections to compulsory arbitration, to my mind, is that it must tend, in its practical operation, toward control of industry by the state; that is, toward Socialism. The very definition of arbitration, whether compulsory or voluntary, implies a surrender of control of any industry to which it is applied by either of the two parties whose co-operation is essential to its success and to their share in its prosperity. Arbitration is defined by the Industrial Commission as the authorized decision of an issue, as to which both parties concerned have failed to agree, by some person or persons other than those parties. That is, the decision thus reached may be unsatisfactory to either or to both of the parties. If each has agreed in advance to abide by the decision, whatever it may be, that agreement involves only a voluntary and temporary self-sacrifice by one or the other or by both. But if the state is empowered to compel obedience to the award, to which each party is enforced to submit, the outcome would be, in case the parties should refuse either to carry on the business or to work, that the state would assume the conduct of the industry; that is, if its continuance were essential or conducive to the public welfare. It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion of Socialism further than to say that opposition to Socialism thus implies opposition to compulsory arbitration, whose ultimate tendency toward Socialism is clear enough in theory and not to be measured by any experience.

The next broad objection to compulsory arbitration is that it is unnecessary. It is a general principle that legislation should be framed only to meet requirements. Needless laws cumber the statute books and are a burden to society. The maxim that the best government is that which governs least may be carried to an extreme, but it is certainly true that no one would seriously contemplate a large extension of our judicial machinery without a clear demonstration of its necessity. Now, in the regulation of industry there has been no such demonstration of the necessity of the creation of a court of arbitration, to which either party to a dispute could cite the other at will or caprice, and from whose decision, reached without reference to a jury, there could be no appeal. The advocates of compulsory arbitration are keenly aware of this vital objection. They usually preface their argument by statements designed to picture the United States as in an incessant ferment of industrial war, and at least one of them has gone so far as to apply the famous definition of war to the relations of capital and labor as a whole. But a calmer view will show that the normal and usual condition of industry is one of peace, and that war is the exception. So distinguished and experienced an observer as Andrew Carnegie recently remarked that "peace reigns in six-sevenths of the industrial world." Mr. Carnegie reached this conclusion by pointing out that out of 22,000,000 engaged in gainful pursuits only seven millions are in mechanical and manufacturing occupations. Outside of these, in agriculture and domestic service, peace reigns. Out of the seven millions engaged in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, he estimates that not more than three millions, or those having relations with large employers, are often disturbed by industrial war.

The strikes, then, that do occur, nearly all involve directly less than one-seventh of the total wage earners of the country, and only a fraction of them at one time.

Official figures show that of the 22,783 strikes in the twenty years from 1880 to 1900, the industries most affected, in the order named, were the building trades with 4,440 strikes; the coal and coke industry, with 2,512; the metal and metallic goods industry, with 2,079; the clothing industry, with 1,536; the tobacco industry, with 1,509, and, least of the six, transportation, with 1,262. Of the total 22,783 strikes, 58.09 per cent. were in these six industries. In the number of establishments involved, transportation also takes lowest rank; few more than 5,000 establishments being involved in the twenty years, as against 41,910 in the building trades; 19,695 in the clothing industry and 14,473 in the coal and coke industry.

In this connection, it is to be noted that this lack of necessity for compulsory arbitration is progressively decreasing. The methods of conciliation, conference and voluntary arbitration are largely responsible for this decrease of industrial war. No one can fail to be impressed with the fact, of common knowledge, that there has been no strike of serious consequence upon any of the great railway systems since 1893, or for more than a decade. This, it has been pointed out, is due to the increase of organization among railway employees. Strikes upon such public service systems as gas or water works are so rare that they may be left out of account. There remain, then, only the strikes upon street railways in centers of population to be considered in relation to the necessity for compulsory arbitration, and as to them the necessity is yet to be demonstrated. In their case, it is not the capital or the number of employees involved that becomes important. It is the inconvenience of the public and the dislocation of the business of a community

that cause the outcry for a drastic remedy or an effective prevention. The gravity and the reality of these public grievances cannot be minimized or obscured. Yet it is none the less true that their occurrence is local, though intense; their endurance temporary, though acute; their effect limited in time, though accompanied by an appreciable increase in danger of operation. These are not adequate causes for introducing an innovation into our judicial machinery.

The organization of employees, accompanied by the organization of employers, is a constantly increasing cause of industrial peace, and a constantly increasing argument against the necessity of compulsory arbitration. If, then, we accept the organization of labor as socially and economically desirable, as tending to elevate the mass and increase its power of consumption, we must oppose compulsory arbitration as inimical to the development of unionism. A primary object of unionism is the negotiation of trade agreements, otherwise collective bargaining with employers, organized as corporations or associations. Nearly every labor organization in the country is opposed to compulsory arbitration because of the conviction, that is shared by many professional economists, that its adoption must, in the words of Carroll D. Wright, "inevitably result in the destruction of trade unions." A decision in a contest adverse to a union would render that union liable to whatever penalty would be contingent upon disobedience. A violation of the decree of the arbitration court by the union would probably be followed by the imposition of a money fine or the loss of its charter and its dissolution. The only alternative, obedience to the decree, if the decree were against the sense of justice and therefore against the sense of self-respect of the employees, would amount to working for specified wage under compulsion, or, in other words, to involuntary servitude, forbidden by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The ready answer to this is that the operation of compulsory arbitration in New Zealand has not there destroyed the trade unions, but has strengthened them, just as it has promoted unions of employers. That may be in part because the New Zealand system is accompanied by the preferential employment of union labor under the terms of an award, accompanied by the requirement that the unions admit all competent workers, without ballot and upon the payment of a nominal fee. But, aside from that explanation, which implies a national closed shop in all industries, as well as making dependents of workers incompetent to earn the minimum wage and yet able to earn their living if permitted, the conditions of life and labor in New Zealand are so radically different to those in the United States as to make inapplicable to this country the lessons of the experiment in New Zealand. That experiment, moreover, has not reached conclusive results even in its own territory and under its peculiar conditions. Its strongest adherents have confessed their inability to transfer it to this country. The report of the Anthracite Strike Commission said: "Apart from the apparent lack of constitutional power to enact laws providing for compulsory arbitration, our industries are too vast and too complicated for the practical application of such a system."

It is precisely the belief that the awards, or the bulk of awards, of a court of compulsory arbitration would be adverse to wage earners that impugns in advance the efficiency of this device. It is an essential precedent to voluntary arbitration that each disputant shall feel confident that his interests will receive the same consideration as those of his opponent. Each must have faith that the award will be guided by a spirit of perfect fairness. But when the element of compulsion is introduced, this essential element of confidence disappears. It is impossible, as men are constituted, to guarantee the fairness of a tribunal of arbitration clothed with power to compel the hearing of disputes and to enforce its conclusions. It is a condition that must be taken into account that the belief largely obtains among wage earners that state-created courts or boards are generally, if unconsciously, on the side of capital or invested interests as against the more indefinite influence of labor.

Another general objection to compulsory arbitration is that it involves a surrender of the right to strike and of the corresponding right to lock out. These are weapons that neither self-respecting capital nor self-respecting labor can afford to surrender. The abandonment of the power to fight would make for the peace of subjection, for the craven submission of one side or the other. The possession of the weapons of war makes for peace in industry as surely as it does in international affairs. The arguments for an effective military force as an insurance of national security against foreign offense and of foreign respect for the rights of a nation abroad are quite parallel to the arguments for retaining an inalienable right to refuse to work or to refuse to employ, reinforced by thorough organization. The mutual respect of employer and employed is essential to harmony. The abandonment of liberty to fight for conviction of right would impair and ultimately destroy that mutual respect. It would be a confession of inability to reconcile mutual respect with a manly compact of peace.

I have enumerated all these general objections to compulsory arbitration as applicable to the specific class of public service corporations and their employees. It is for the advocates of compulsory arbitration to prove that they are not so applicable. It is for them to show that the injury to the public convenience and safety or to the

conduct of business is so frequent, so serious, so important as to warrant an innovation that is repugnant to republican conceptions of liberty.

But, it is said, it may be possible to create a method of compulsory arbitration that will stop short of compelling either employers to continue a business or employees to continue to work. Let us see how any conceivable plan of non-compelling compulsory arbitration would work in practical application to a system of rapid transit in a great city.

The chief purpose of such a plan would be to prevent, under any and all circumstances, the interruption of service. The first essential, then, would be to forbid by law either strike or lockout on the railroad, pending the submission of a dispute to the court of arbitration. Assume that the corporation on the one side and the employees on the other have been deprived by law of this weapon. The decision of the court follows. It is regarded, we will say, as unjust by the employees, who then enter upon their deferred strike. Pending the decision of the court, would the corporation be in contempt if it gathered an army of strike breakers? The strike breaking remedy is not immediately effective in preventing delay and interruption to traffic, and it involves danger to the traffic. The only alternative would be for the state or municipality to operate the road with police or military. If there were to be no interruption nor danger to traffic, the members of these forces would have to be trained to render instant and efficient service as motor-men, trainmen, signal men and in all other capacities necessary to the continuous and safe operation of the road. Is the public prepared to include these accomplishments in the list of requirements for service in the police or army?

It has been suggested also that, as the final court of appeal in all industrial disputes is public opinion, a court might be created with power to compel the production of all testimony, persons and papers, and to render its decision. It is argued that under present conditions public opinion cannot learn the truth in industrial controversies; that it is bombarded with contradictory, *ex parte* statements and confusing and ill-informed reports in the press, and that the creation of a court empowered to ascertain and publish the truth would make conclusive and morally compulsory, because necessarily right, the verdict of that highest court of arbitration—public opinion. Strictly speaking, this proposition is not compulsory arbitration, but compulsory investigation, with submission of the finding to the verdict of the community.

This proposition is based upon the assumption that public opinion, if correctly informed as to facts, is infallible. But what basis is there for this assumption? As to the ascertainment of facts, the historic conundrum, "What is truth?" is persistently pertinent. Especially does it apply to an industrial inquiry as to which only experts, not laymen, would be qualified to arrive at a just decision, and even experts might disagree. A task difficult for such a select body would assuredly be confusing to the judgment of that vast, indeterminate jury known as the general public. Even in cases of litigation, carried to the highest courts of appeal, in the States and in the Federal Government, judicial decisions now divide the bench and fail to command by far the unanimous approval of public opinion. Yet those decisions are reached in accordance with procedure elaborated through centuries and with principles evolved through the teaching of all history. But judicial inquiry into industrial questions would explore unknown fields, would meet novel questions, involving both expediency and principle, would evolve new principles and in the absence of any body of industrial jurisprudence, would make of such a court in practice a legislative as well as a judicial agency.

Be it noted, the element of compulsion is still present. If there is to be a candid inquiry into the existing facts of an industry, the status quo must be preserved. If the industry be that of transportation, the employees must keep the trains running and the corporation must discharge none of its discontented employees, pending the inquiry. Each antagonist must appear in the judicial arena with hands tied. The contest must be reduced to statement and argument. It must be a battle of wittinesses and counsel.

The objection to this procedure is that it is against the normal processes of human progress. The race does not emerge from barbarism by argument, but by deeds. Valor, not eloquence, wins battles. In the long run, right, truth, justice must win, and they must be demonstrated. But they cannot stand unsupported against the ever powerful forces of wrong, untruth, injustice. It is only by fighting, or by the power to fight, that the weal of society is advanced through the adjustment of relations between its component parts. Remove this ability to fight by compelling peace while the issue is submitted to a tribunal, and that tribunal will inevitably and unconsciously be swayed by adherence to the old away from digression into the new. It must ever be kept in mind that the struggle of labor for betterment is not merely a question of here and now. It is eternally a question of the future, and not to be a combatant, at least potentially, would be for labor to turn its face backward.

There is a conspicuous illustration of these facts, which are facts of human nature, in the outcome of the anthracite coal strike. That was a struggle that in time came to affect the public convenience, comfort and health

as vitally as could the paralysis of any public service corporation. That struggle was brought to an end through adjudication by a tribunal of inquiry. Very well; but be it observed that the battle preceded the inquiry. Had there been in existence a tribunal empowered to pronounce a verdict upon the issues between the mine workers and the operators, it never would have made an award so favorable to the advance of civilization among the mass of inhabitants of the anthracite region as was made by the Anthracite Strike Commission, for the reason that there never would have been made the demonstration by the workers that they were so terribly in earnest in their conviction that their demands were just, that they were willing to go hungry and even to see their wives and children suffer, rather than work upon oppressive terms. There has existed for generations in Russia an office-holding class whose function was that of an industrial judiciary. Against industrial adjustment by this bureaucracy, it was a crime for workers to organize for appeal. The result was the evolution of industrial conditions so shocking as to be incredible to occidental minds and to cause a revolt in demand of rights that our civilization has grown to treat as axiomatic and to take for granted. Establish in the midst of our civilization such an industrial tribunal as proposed, and retrogression would ensue, perhaps slowly, but surely, toward the suppression of the toilers whose hands are tied.

The Chairman: Gentlemen, if there are any questions suggested by the discussion that any here wish to ask any of the three speakers, they are in order. Will Bishop Potter say a few words?

Bishop Potter: I would like to ask a question. I would like to ask my friend Dr. Low and my friend Mr. Wheeler how they propose to get this commission of compulsory arbitration appointed. Is it to be selected by the state or is it to be appointed by the two sides?

Mr. Low: I haven't attempted to work out the details of such a scheme, very largely because I don't believe myself entirely competent. The only thing that I presented was the reasonableness of such a method of settling disputes and the practicability of it. The point I endeavored to present for purposes of discussion was the reasonableness of settling disputes of this kind and its practicability if it was found to be desirable to do so. I assumed that if public sentiment desired, a law could be framed which would constitute such a tribunal in either of three ways—by permanent judges, by temporary judges appointed by authority, or, if voluntary arbitrations are carried out, by the choice of an arbitrator throughout the parties concerned.

Bishop Potter: Mr. Easley, how far would a board of arbitration created by the state be able to go?

Mr. Easley: There are boards of arbitration and mediation in several states. They have no power to do more in some states than to compel attendance of witnesses and the production of papers. They then make a report. They have no power to compel compliance with the report.

Bishop Potter: My friend Mr. Archibald's suggestion to you of the value of force and collision in settling industrial disputes emphasizes my difficulty in reconciling the terms "compulsory" and "arbitration," and while I desire to make my acknowledgment publicly of what has been said by Dr. Low and Mr. Wheeler, I am bound to say that they have neither of them made that point clear. The value of arbitration, as I understand it, is the voluntary note in it. The moment it loses that note it loses its value. And while I quite agree with Mr. Wheeler that we are a law abiding people and disposed to acquiesce in judicial decisions, yet what I should like information about would be, How are you going to make, for example, a body of men who are on strike in connection with a railway company, go back and take their places and do their work unless you invoke, as Mr. Archibald very admirably told us, the military element? And then I should like to inquire how you are to avoid the inevitable tendency of such a system of government as it applies to labor and to travel, and to all the labors of life that strikes involve—the tendency of such a system toward what we call militarism and are very properly afraid of?

I don't believe the ordinary misapprehensions that grow up between workingmen and the employers of workingmen are the result of deliberate misleading on the part of labor leaders, though I am bound to say that there is no greater opportunity for enlargement of intelligence and information which underlie the relation of employer and employed than at that particular point.

What I think we want to-day is not so much a law creating a board which shall apply to the labor classes compulsory arbitration, as a commission which shall interpret the terms on which the workingman and the employer of the workingman are related to one another. Dr. Low has stated the substance of the whole question when he has reminded us that it is impossible for such a relation to exist unless it is plainly mutually advantageous. What you want is when the workingman comes into collision with a condition, which is usually what happens to him, some such help as will translate to him the terms on which he works and shall translate to the employer the terms on which he pays, and I believe the solution of our labor difficulties, so far as they exist in America, is exactly that point—to get a commission—

(Continued on page 13.)

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

AN EMPLOYER, AN EDUCATOR, AND TWO LABOR LEADERS DISCUSS THEIR NECESSITY AND ECONOMIC EFFECT.

THE following group of opinions upon the advisability of encouraging trade schools in the United States, and upon their relation to organized labor, has been collected as a result of the present agitation of the subject in Massachusetts. Governor Douglas, who officially recommended the creation of a State Commission to examine and report upon the subject, presents an argument in their favor. R. Fulton Cutting regards their necessity as following upon the disappearance of the apprentice system and cites the operation of the New York Trade school as an example of their practical usefulness. On behalf of wage-earners, Frank K. Foster, representing the Typographical Union and many other unions in Massachusetts, argues against them, but does not object to an inquiry by a commission on which labor shall be represented. John F. Tobin, President of the Boot & Shoe Makers' Union, favors their introduction in that industry.

TRADE SCHOOLS, COMPETITION, WAGES.

The following is the condensed argument of Governor William L. Douglas, of Massachusetts, advocating the establishment of trade schools:

In my official capacity I have called the attention of the General Court to the necessity of considering the advisability of establishing trade schools. I notice that there is some opposition to the project by the workers, on the ground that it would create a surplus of skilled labor, and that graduates from such schools would go to other parts of the country and lend their talent to the building up of competition. These reasons are not altogether well founded.

The object of the industrial and trade school is, first, to benefit the individual—the person who is compelled to earn his living by the work of his hands. It is intended by the establishment of these schools to teach the person not only how a thing is done, but why it is done, and to broaden his knowledge of the entire industry in which he is engaged so that when he has served a sufficient time he will be capable of purchasing the raw materials, converting them into a finished product and possess some knowledge of marketing them.

The second object of the trade school is to provide a sufficient amount of skilled labor to enable the manufacturing industries of the commonwealth to keep in the lead in its several lines of manufacturing. Thus could Massachusetts capital be employed to advantage in the manufacture of a large part of the goods now imported into this country, which in turn would mean the better employment of our work people and the prosperity of those communities in which the industries were located.

I have every reason to believe that the opposition to the movement will be less when the question is better understood. Our country is far behind other nations in the establishment of industrial and trade schools.

There has been urged upon the legislative committee on education the wisdom of reporting a bill authorizing the appointment of a representative commission to consider the whole matter and report to the General Court its findings and recommendations, together with some practical plan whereby the system of trade schools for all our industries may be established in the commonwealth. Surely there should be no opposition from any source to our endeavor to learn all we can about the subject.

To those who have given the subject but limited study it is apparent that the future of Massachusetts is dependent almost wholly upon the success of her manufacturing industries.

The method of conducting trade schools in Germany and the thoroughness of the education are the best in the world. Germany saw the need of such schools many years ago. Trade schools were organized, graduates sent out and the effect was so marked on the industrial situation that other countries were attracted by the progress made, and finally realized that Germany was distancing them in the excellence of her manufactured goods. Germany with her technical schools and army of educated workers has demonstrated the great economic principle that finer and better goods can be manufactured at a less cost than by uneducated and unskilled labor. Throughout the empire of the Kaiser trade schools are to be found in all the cities, towns and large villages. New factories are springing up everywhere, and Germany is increasing her export trade wonderfully.

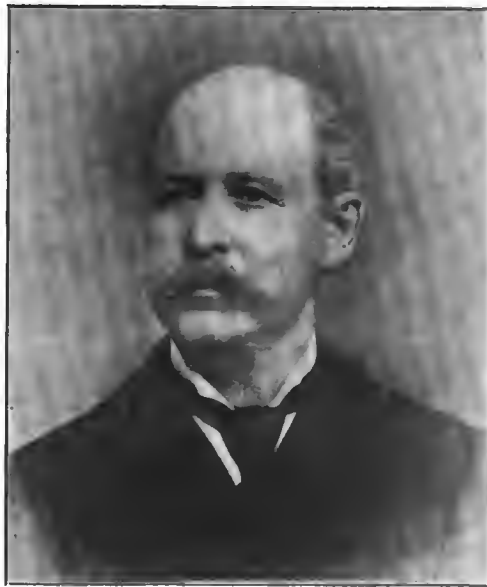
I wish also to call your attention to the fact that in Berlin, as well as in most German cities, trade schools for shoemaking, tailors, carpenters, metal workers, masons, etc., are being conducted with friendly relations with the labor unions, and in many cases the boards of inspection have upon them members of the trade unions.

England, too, has schools teaching 66 trades. These

schools are in operation and doing good work in all the cities, towns and larger villages. France is making great strides in the trade school movement. Belgium, Italy and Switzerland are also endeavoring to teach their young men to become expert mechanics. In Geneva, where the best watches are made, a young man must serve a five years' apprenticeship in order to get his education. He must make five or six of the best watches, make every part and put the watch together before he can receive a diploma which certifies that he is a practical, skilled workman.

The schools of technology, the textile schools and nautical training school of Massachusetts are doing a great work.

The Boston School of Technology has turned out mining engineers who have revolutionized the business. Twenty-five years ago a mine that would not yield from \$20 to \$30 worth of gold to a ton of ore could not be worked, because it cost \$10 to get the gold out of it. Now, thanks to education, a ton of ore can be worked profitably that does not contain over \$2 worth of gold. Under the Elmore process a ton of ore can be worked and 98 per cent. of the gold extracted at a cost of 10 cents a ton. Twenty-five years ago only about 25 per cent. of the gold could be saved. This shows what education can and does accomplish in our own country.



WILLIAM L. DOUGLAS,
Governor of Massachusetts.

The shoe industry is greatly handicapped by a lack of expert workers, especially in the cutting departments. Forty per cent. of our cutters do not perform the amount of work they should, owing to the lack of training to use quick judgment in placing patterns on the leather. In a trade school such as is proposed a competent instructor would teach pupils how to place patterns to the best advantage. By this lack of proper training the manufacturer loses, because the shoes cost more to cut; he loses because the workman is not able to produce as much work as an expert in the same number of hours. He also loses because the unskilled workman does not always put the right piece of leather in its proper place in the shoe.

The shoe manufacturer is also handicapped because the skilled workman is levelled down to the unskilled workman in the quantity of work done. This method of levelling down in the last five years has largely increased to the manufacturer the cost of cutting shoes. The cost in sole leather rooms, owing to unskilled labor, has also been increased by this levelling down process, and these conditions are growing worse every day. If these handicaps are not remedied it practically builds a barrier against the worker, which will prevent him from bettering his condition or in wages. The method in vogue to-day prevents any possibility of a young man's advancement, takes away his ambition, and places him in a position where he can see no hope for the future.

The shoe manufacturer is also handicapped because of the men who run machines, not more than 25 per cent. know how to keep their machines in thorough working order to produce the best results. Men have to be hired to do this work for them. A large corps of sub-foremen have to be employed to see that the work is kept up to a proper standard to meet competition. All this makes it harder and harder every day to meet competition.

With a thorough system of technical education, where a man would serve an apprenticeship and learn all parts of the business, our goods would be produced at a less cost and the workman would receive higher wages. When a young man thoroughly learns a trade and receives a diploma from a trade school, he is sure to get employment.

When our young men are all taught a trade, the problem of the unemployed will be solved. Those who are out of employment to-day are men who have very little knowledge of the work to be performed in any of our industries.

There will also be an opportunity for girls to learn a trade. In the factories owned by my company 680 women are employed. Trade schools would furnish an opportunity for girls after leaving school, between 14 and 17 years of age, to prepare themselves for employment. There has already been established in Boston a school for the education of girls where they are taught dressmaking, millinery and how to operate machines. They secure employment immediately after they receive a diploma from the managers.

The apprenticeship idea cannot meet the requirements of the present factory system. It has been outgrown. We must find a broader, larger way to assist the young man who desires to learn. The school for the man who may learn at once must take the place of the master who formerly personally taught his apprentices.

In the last generation the position of Massachusetts as a manufacturing state has greatly changed. Skill in workmanship will decide the future of Massachusetts, and only by the use of the best skilled labor can we compete with the Germans, English and French.

The skilled labor necessary to Massachusetts industries should be furnished not by skilled labor imported from abroad and other states, but by the young men from 15 to 21 years of age who are to become citizens of this state. We take away their birthright when we refuse them the positions of skilled laborers which we give to others, and equally so when we refuse to assist them in obtaining the knowledge which will enable them to compete with other skilled labor in their own state.

THE NEW YORK TRADE SCHOOL.

By R. FULTON CUTTING, President of Trustees of the New York Trade School.

The Trade School is the scientific method of trade education. The old apprentice system, now extinct, while narrow and unfair in some particulars, possessed practical qualities. The contract between master and youth embodied a mutuality of interests that supplied the inducement for the observance of its provisions. The master, taking the apprentice into his home and family, could only compensate himself by making him efficient and of good behavior. The more rapidly he could teach the apprentice his trade, the sooner would he become remunerative; and he looked to the last three years of his seven years of apprenticeship to compensate him for the cost of the young man's board and lodging during the whole term. It was always to the interest of the apprentice to acquire the trade as early as possible, as opportunities of earning a little money for himself were frequently afforded during the last years of his apprenticeship. The principal objection to the system, and that which led to the repeal in 1814 of the Act of Elizabeth, which with few modifications had been the law for four hundred years, was its practical restriction of the number of apprentices. The long term of the indenture and the exclusive methods of master workmen kept down the supply. In the middle ages the collusion between great land owners and the trade guilds was a serious abuse—the former desiring always to maintain a large supply of unskilled labor that they could hire at a low wage during the harvest seasons, and the latter, jealous of the privileges of their organizations, found common interest in shutting the door of opportunity to the unskilled.

Since the disappearance of the true apprentice system, there has been nothing adequate to replace it, in this country at least. The pseudo apprentice of to-day learns as he can from the journeyman with whom he happens to work; he is really not taught at all. The journeyman, intent upon his own duties and under no obligation to the apprentice, makes what use he can of the latter, but gives nothing in return. Of course, in not a few individual instances, the kind heartedness of the journeyman induces him to give the apprentice occasional hints and opportunities; but however sympathetic may be his inclination, he has little opportunity to act as a teacher. Moreover he has, himself, learned his trade in the same "rule of thumb" school. He knows the "how" of his trade, but rarely the "why." Manual dexterity can, of course, be acquired, and the really ambitious student can learn much from books, but the stimulus to the

ordinary measure of ambition that comes from an intelligent apprehension of the scientific basis of trade is lacking.

The New York Trade School, in a course of four months and with sessions of seven or eight hours a day, can actually teach a trade. It is difficult to comprehend how thoroughly trades can be taught in a school until a study is made of the system of instruction which prevails at this institution. In all departments each student is required to follow a prescribed course, starting with the basic principles and advancing, as skill is acquired, until all details from simple to complicated work are mastered. The students are of the proper age to insure excellent results, the general average being between eighteen and twenty. They are sufficiently mature mentally to realize the value of a trade and old enough to determine along just what line their aptitude lies. They are full of zeal and determined to succeed, and it is an inspiring sight to see them at work in the school shops. As serving to illustrate the practical character of the instruction, an outline is here given of the course in house painting:

(1) Name and use of tools, care of brushes, manner of keeping pots clean; (2) Painting new wood, priming, puttying and sandpapering, second and third coats; (3) Burning off paint when advisable; (4) Painting brick work; (5) Treating plastered surfaces in both kalsomining and oil; (6) Mixing paint, materials required; (7) Use of various stainers; (8) Color mixing in oil; (9) Color mixing in kalsomine; (10) Contrast and harmony of colors; (11) Painting doors and sashes; (12) Painting in two and three shades; (13) Flattening and painting with a glass; (14) Stippling; (15) Staining; (16) Varnishing; (17) Treatment of hard wood; (18) Enameling; (19) Gilding; (20) Preparing stencils and cutting same; (21) Laying in panels; (22) Applying ornaments; (23) Bronzing; (24) Graining; (25) Marbling; (26) Paper hanging.

During the progress of the course lectures bearing on the scientific features of the trade are given to the class.

It is true that these young men need from six months' to two years' practice and experience to make them fully equipped journeymen, but when they have had this they possess not merely the manual dexterity, but the scientific knowledge of their calling. They will have passed an examination, in graduating from the Trade School, of a nature that would floor many journeymen of this city who have spent years at the trade. Of course this does not mean that they are already as efficient as such journeymen, but it does mean that they possess possibilities of development and growth such as the ordinary craftsman does not.

The trades unions object to the school. It threatens to increase the number of journeymen too rapidly. The economic loss involved in spending five years in learning a trade that can be acquired in two or three does not appeal to their reason. They have spent five years as apprentices and the coming generation should not expect easier conditions. Of course, limitation of the number engaged in any trade is the fundamental objection of the trades unions to what they regard as an artificial method of increasing the supply, and one must remember that the journeyman who is no longer young does not wish to accelerate a movement that threatens to diminish his prospects of employment. The union fears its scale of wages cannot be kept up with an increased supply of skilled labor. But one factor in this question of supply and demand does not receive adequate attention by the American journeyman. Every spring hundreds of tradesmen flock to this country from various parts of Europe. They are usually very competent workmen—most of them have learned in European trade schools and technical institutions. They belong to the unions—they take advantage promptly of the demand for skilled labor which in good times exists all over the country during the season of pleasant weather. When the autumn arrives they sail back across the ocean, taking with them out of this country the earnings which should have gone to American tradesmen. This has been going on for years—the trade unionists of this country fighting against the education of their own children so that trade employment may be enjoyed by foreign craftsmen.

In the learned professions the tendency has been altogether the other way. It is true the general standard has been raised and it is necessary to acquire more learning to qualify, but the colleges and similar institutions have arranged their systems of study in such a way as to make it possible to acquire professional education under the most favorable conditions. That the professions have not suffered from this policy can readily be demonstrated. As far as efficiency is concerned, our professional men are second to none in the world. This is not the case with trade unionists. While the intelligence and energy of the American enables him to attain an excellence in the crafts that is astonishing when we remember his opportunities, yet in many trades the best men we have are foreign taught. They are the product of trade schools.

There can be no question but that trade schools tend to elevate the handicrafts by bringing into them men who are carefully and thoroughly taught, and who by reason of such training can undertake every branch of their trade. Proficiency and capability should be the passport into the ranks of journeymen and not simply the service of a stipulated term of years. The general run of apprentices under present conditions cannot become first class all round mechanics.

SOME OBJECTIONS OF WAGE-EARNERS.

The following are the views of Frank K. Foster, of the Typographical Union, as expressed to the Education Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, upon the proposed commission to investigate trade schools:

"We are not lacking in gratitude to our friends, the professional educators, and other disinterested philanthropists, who desire to expedite the manufacture of



FRANK K. FOSTER,
Typographical Union, Boston.

craftsmen by state aid. We cheerfully assume that they have but the single purpose of the future welfare of the state in their propaganda for trade schools. We deem it but just, however, that the public shall be informed as to certain reasons why trades unionists cannot be expected to share this enthusiasm.

"The great economic fact confronting us, from the trade union standpoint, is that there are hundreds of thousands of wage earners in this state whose life capital is their knowledge of a craft. They have listened very patiently of late to the frequent accusation that Massachusetts workmen possess comparatively little of this knowledge. This may or may not be true—incidentally, we don't believe it is true—but whether it be true or not, it is not germane to the point under consideration.

"But here our friends will doubtless interject the plea of the mobility of labor—that if a man cannot do one thing he can another. Would that this were true in general, as it may be true in especial instances. But every practical craftsman knows that the average man loses 50 per cent. of his earning capacity when divorced from his trade. It takes years of adaptation, of ad-



JOHN F. TOBIN,
General President, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

justment of sight and touch, of the acquirement of those deft details which are essential to skilled workmanship, to make the expert mechanic. You may as well say to the manufacturer whom you crowd out of business by flooding the market with the commodities he manufactures: 'You can go into some other field of business. The general welfare demands it.'

"No, gentlemen, you must consider the craft and the craftsmen as a whole, for the craftsman must practically depend upon conditions in the craft in which he

has been bred. Here is a vested interest, so to speak, which legislators may not consistently disregard.

"I take it that it will quite generally be granted that the wage rate of Massachusetts mechanics is none too high, bearing in mind that these mechanics are taxed upon almost everything consumed by their families, assumedly for their own protection. What regulates this wage rate? How many times have we been taught and told that it is the law of supply and demand, i. e., that wages will go up when the supply is less than the demand, and down when the demand is less than the supply?

"Now, while the trade unionist would modify this teaching of the economist by the assertion that the causes which make the wage rate are complex, and may be modified by the will power of the labor seller himself, they yet recognize the truth of the general proposition that two employers hunting after one man give an upward tendency to the wage rate, and vice versa.

"If, then, you propose by this commission to recommend that the commonwealth shall increase the quantity of the supply of the commodity of craft skill in any given craft beyond the normal supply drawn in through competitive demand among employers, how can you expect the trade unionists to wax joyful over a course of action which, according to your own economics, will have a tendency to break down the rate of wages?

"May we be pardoned for insisting that public attention shall be called to this possibility, and that, if the associations of labor are to be dragged at the chariot wheels of a so-called educational and philanthropic movement, they shall not be compelled to profess ignorance as to just what kind of a performance they are going through?

"Despite all this, we are not in an attitude of hostility to the appointment of this commission, provided that the industrial class be given its equitable share of representation upon it, and that the conditions of service be such that these representatives can afford to serve upon it. We believe that the present resolve is defective in that it provides for but one representative from the large class most directly concerned, and that it provides for gratuitous service, which would bar out all wage earners from accepting positions on the commission.

"We are not opposed to industrial education, in its broad sense. We are opposed to the proposition of trade schools which would virtually place the state in the position of a recruiting agency for certain manufacturers, which the normal conditions of the labor market force to pay higher wages for skilled help than they desire to pay."

A LABOR LEADER'S APPROVAL.

John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, is a prominent labor leader who has declared unequivocally in favor of trade schools and unlimited apprentices in his industry. The following letter states his position:

Boston, Mass., March 8, 1905.

Editor *The Shoe Retailer*, Boston, Mass.:

As a result of the recommendation of Governor Douglas in his inaugural address, the subject of trade schools has become a live question in the State of Massachusetts.

I confess that when the subject was first approached I was very much opposed to the proposition, having in mind the barber schools, where they profess to turn out skilled barbers in a very few weeks, and which has resulted in the five cent barber shops, coupled with groans and scars sufficient to make trade schools of that kind decidedly unpopular.

Shoe manufacturers and other advocates of the trade school dwell at length upon the necessity of more skilled workers in the trade, if we are to develop a foreign market and hold it against countries where trade schools flourish.

They also dwell upon the necessity of men learning the various branches of the trade, so that they become not only skilled workmen, but have the necessary qualifications to make foremen and superintendents.

Germany is said to be a dangerous competitor because of the existence of trade schools, and I understand that in that country apprentices at the different trades are obliged to spend a certain portion of their time in attendance at the trade schools, and no person is eligible to attend the trade school unless they are employed at the craft which they seek to learn in the school.

I would, therefore, suggest that trade schools be established and that shoe manufacturers have unlimited scope in the number of apprentices they shall employ, who shall be indentured for a period of not less than three years, and they shall spend at least one-third of their working time in attendance at a trade school and two-thirds in the factory of their employer, thus acquiring a practical and technical knowledge of the craft in all its departments; the trade school to be maintained at the expense of the state, and the employer to be compensated for the time the apprentice spends at the trade school through his superior skill because of the technical training.

Respectfully yours,
JOHN F. TOBIN, General President.

CHURCH FEDERATION AND ITS RELATIONS TO CAPITAL AND LABOR.

A GREAT INTER-CHURCH CONFERENCE WILL EXPRESS ITS INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS
—MINISTERIAL DELEGATES TO LABOR UNIONS.

By E. B. SANFORD, D. D., *General Secretary of the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers.*

AMONG the great movements of the present time one of the most hopeful and important is the drawing together, in closer fellowship and co-operation, of Christians of every name who hold to Christ as the Head of the Church.

It is significant that the basis upon which they find they can clasp hands and plan together in facing common difficulties and meeting common needs, is that of ministration and service. It is in the recognition of the great truth of the brotherhood of men, a truth that found its highest expression in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, that the fact is manifested that all Christians are one in Christ. In proportion as this fact is translated into terms of life, the Church is true to its mission and brings men to the recognition of their right relations to one another.

In the autumn of this year, for the first time in the history of the Protestant Churches in the United States, delegates appointed by the highest ecclesiastical assemblies or conferences of bodies, representing denominations whose aggregate membership is over seventeen millions, will meet in New York City for mutual counsel and federated action regarding matters of common interest.

This great Inter-Church Conference will directly and indirectly, represent a considerable proportion of the

of both. Never, until the Church shall lay the Golden Rule upon the conscience of capitalists and laborers, will the golden millennium of industrial peace be assured us.

"In all this contention it need hardly be said that the sympathy of the Church must to a large extent be with those, concerning whom Abraham Lincoln quaintly said, 'The Lord must like the common people, else He would not have made so many of them,' doubtless having in mind the fact that when Jesus was on earth 'the common people heard Him gladly.'

"In spite of all the blunders made by labor leaders, and the indefensible acts of their followers, philanthropic men must wish them success in every lawful effort to better their condition and secure their rights. But they must learn from their real friends that every act of violence hurts their cause and that law and order must be maintained at all hazards. We recognize as significant and hopeful the recent movement led by certain capitalists to settle by arbitration all disputes between labor and capital."

At the last session of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church held in Buffalo, May, 1904, the report of a committee of which the R. F. Coyle, D.D., of Denver, was chairman, was adopted that closed with these words:

"The Presbyterian Church has always believed and does now and most profoundly believe that the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ are the only basis upon which any true and lasting peace can be established between nations or between men in their industrial and other relations; and so believing the Church offers its earnest prayers and devotes its consecrated energies to the universal establishment of these principles, knowing that when the nations have received and adopted them they will learn war no more, and when men have embraced them they will dwell together as brethren: the employer, remembering that his employes are brethren, will treat them justly and righteously, and employes will remember that the employer has rights which must be respected; and while so believing, the Church rejoices in the efforts of all those who are laboring to apply these principles to specific cases and causes."

"Believing that the National Civic Federation and the Arbitration Council are working along the lines of these principles, and for high and righteous ends, we most heartily commend their efforts and offer our prayers for their success. Gladly will we hail the day when nations shall settle their differences and men their industrial contentions in the arena of calm, just council and arbitration."

The vigorous and thoughtful reports on capital and labor adopted by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the National Council of the Congregational Churches have already been published in the pages of this "Review" (Nov., 1904).

In view of these utterances and those we have quoted we have reason to expect that at the Inter-Church Conference to be held this year a message and plea in the interest of brotherhood and industrial peace will be sent forth, the influence of which will be far-reaching and fruitful.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND LABOR.

The Practical Success of a General Movement in that Denomination to Establish Cordial Relations between the Pulpit and Unionism.

The Presbyterian Church has been fostering for more than two years a movement to bring about a more cordial relationship between the church and organized labor. Those especially interested in this effort agree in reporting that the thoughtful labor leaders welcome the movement and urge their followers to co-operate. The result is already evident in the fact that much opposition to the church formerly existing among workingmen has changed into a spirit which makes it possible to carry the idea of co-operation between the church and trade unions, in the movement to better the conditions of wage-earners, farther than would have been at all possible two years ago.

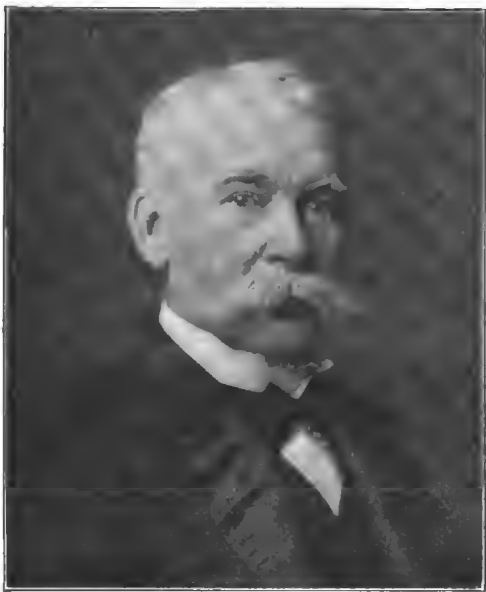
A practical manifestation of this movement, which has received the full sanction of the Presbyterian Church, is the exchange of fraternal delegates between Ministers' Associations and Central Labor Unions. This plan has been carried into operation in about a dozen cities, with such good results that a special effort is now being made to extend it in many more cities. Only last month the Brooklyn Central Labor Union admitted a representative of the Brooklyn Presbytery. As this plan has been devised and carried out by Rev. Charles Steltzle, the special representative of the church in the interest of workingmen, its first step is

to secure the interest of the President or the Secretary of a Central Labor Union. It has been found that this is easily accomplished, as soon as it is intimated that the delegate of the Ministers' Association is not bent upon preaching at the members of the Union, but that he wishes to learn, for his own benefit and that of the other ministers, something about what the organized labor movement in that city stands for.

The delegate minister does not ask for any of the privileges of regular members of the Union, but only for the privilege of the floor, when opportunity offers to make practical, helpful suggestions in the spirit of brotherhood.

It is regarded as important that the delegate minister should come to the union meetings unpledged to secrecy, the men trusting in his honor as a Christian gentlemen not to disclose matters that, for business reasons, it may be wise not to give to the general public. This understanding relieves the delegate minister of embarrassment, and makes a better impression upon the community. In turn, the delegate sent by the Union to the meetings of the Ministers' Association is also unpledged and trusted with equal confidence.

To employers in the church, the suggestion is made that it is quite as proper for a minister to be associated with an organized movement that embraces great masses



E. B. SANFORD, D.D.,
Gen. Sec. National Federation of Churches.

home and family life of our country and their religious affiliations. If the number of employes and those connected with labor unions, found in the membership of the churches represented in this Conference, could be correctly enumerated, it would be a surprise to many.

Its message touching the relation of capital and labor cannot fail, therefore, to interest the entire community. That it will hold up a high ideal of brotherhood and plead for the spirit of the Christ in solving the difficult questions that grow out of present industrial conditions, we cannot doubt.

These questions, in spite of all representations to the contrary, rest heavily upon the thought and heart of those who have official and ministerial leadership in the churches. This has been shown in the action of great denominational bodies in the past year. We quote first from the message signed by Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a communion having a membership of over three million.

This message which forms an important part in the record of the General Conference held at Los Angeles, California, in May last, says: "Assuredly one of the burning questions of to-day is the relation of employes and employed. It may smolder here or there for a time, but somewhere it breaks forth in volcanic eruption and now and then it shakes the whole social fabric like an earthquake. The workers with brain and the workers with hands are often in hostile camps between which sharp collisions are alarmingly frequent and disastrous.

"Situations leading to such enormous waste and so fomenting evil passions, cannot fail to command the intense attention of the Church of God, which was founded by Him who died to save all sorts of men from their sins, and from such frightful consequences of sin. The Church must come in between these vast contending forces, holding aloft the banner of the cross, to which both must bow, and offering to both the Sermon on the Mount as the charter of the rights and the duties



REV. CHARLES STELTZLE,
Labor Representative, Presbyterian Church.

of people as it is to be identified with associations or clubs composed almost exclusively of employers. This work is not primarily evangelical, but provision is made for meetings of that nature. Industrial problems are discussed at conferences between ministers and labor leaders. A considerable amount of literature is circulated upon topics connecting the church with labor, some of the suggestive titles being: "Jesus Christ and Rich Men," "Class Spirit in America," "Has the Minister a Closed Shop?" "The Relation of the Church to the Labor Movement," "Labor Leaders in the Church," "Not Missions but Churches for Workingmen."

This movement is opposed to Socialism, understanding that, while there may be Christian Socialists, Socialism is avowedly materialistic and that its leaders strive to make it a substitute for the church. But it concerns itself with the great host of workingmen who are not Socialists, and recognizes that the wage-earners of this country who are organized practically control the labor situation. The Rev. Mr. Steltzle says:

With the increasing struggle and influence of union labor, and the growing organizations of employers to defend their interests, America has before it the biggest social problem she has ever wrestled with. The Church cannot remain indifferent to this problem. There is rarely a strike or a lockout but the Church or its ministry are in some way involved. As a church, and as ministers, we must make our positions clear to the men who misunderstand us.

Rev. John Dixon, D. D., who in an official capacity is especially familiar with the prosecution of this work, says:

I have no doubt that the practical success with which this movement is meeting will have a visible influence upon the attitude toward the great questions involved in the relations between capital and labor of the representatives of the Presbyterian Church, in the great conference upon Church Federation to be held in New York City next November.

The Rev. Mr. Steltzle is a machinist by trade, having been employed for years in a large manufacturing establishment before entering the ministry, and he still carries his union card.

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THE ORGANIZED AND THE UNORGANIZED.

Letters from both employers and wage-earners are frequently received at the headquarters of the National Civic Federation bearing upon its attitude toward organized and unorganized labor. Several employers have asked why the representatives of wage-earners in the organization include only members of labor organizations. Why, they ask, is there no representation of the great mass of non-union wage-earners?

The answer to this query is simple. There really is no way to select a representative of unorganized labor, even if desirable, because that is composed wholly of individuals, each worker representing solely himself in his relations with any employer. To this reply, one employer made the rejoinder that non-union labor should be formed into an organization and representation given it. The fallacy of this suggestion is, however, apparent; for as soon as any number of non-union workers are organized, they cease to be "non-union" men, and their representative would not be a representative of unorganized labor.

A contrasting inquiry frequently made in various forms by members of trade unions may be thus summarized: "Why does the National Civic Federation include in the employers' branch of its membership some who do not employ union men, or who do not recognize union labor? If the Civic Federation believes in the organization of labor, why doesn't it expel all such members?"

This question involves a misconception of the character and scope of the National Civic Federation. Its by-laws define its purpose "to be helpful in establishing rightful relations between employers and workers." That broad statement does not restrict its mission to association of either employers or of workers. Again, its by-laws express the belief "that at all times representatives of employers and workers, organized or unorganized, should confer for the adjustment of differences." This language does not confine conference to representatives of organizations.

This question arose when the National Civic Federation was formed. It arose again at the formation of each of its local branches. But in every instance the labor members reached the conclusion that it is wise to include such employers in the movement. The reason they gave is that it enlists the interest, good will and intelligence of even the anti-union employer in a cause continually educational to all of its advocates. In one city there was at first objection to an employer as a member of the local branch of the Civic Federation, because he was then actually on a union's "unfair list." But further consideration caused the labor men to say: "Why, this is the very man we want to meet. We do not want to know only our friends; we want to make converts by showing that the leaders of organized labor are not agitators and grafters, but are devoted to the objects of unionism because they believe that their attainment is essential to the welfare of the human race."

There was a spirit akin to this in the response made by one large employer to an invitation to join the Civic Federation: "If to join the Civic Federation," said he, "means that I endorse all the radical acts or theories of organized labor, I will not accept membership; but, if it means that I recognize the labor problem as the greatest of the age, requiring the best that is in us all to work toward its solution through interchange of thought and experience, instead of through fighting, then I will gladly join in the effort."

SOME ANTI-BOYCOTTERS' BOYCOTTS.

The boycott is rated high among the crimes and misdemeanors imputed to organized labor by the anti-union employers' associations. This fact lends peculiar interest to the quotation that follows from an address by the chairman of the executive committee of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and to two remarkable examples of employers' association boycotts against independent employers in San Francisco. The quotation is made more refreshing by its opening exhortation, to those who "bitterly abhor" the "tyranny" of the union labor movement, to be "consistent in all things":

"Be ye consistent in all things," is a charge worthy of the consideration of all men. But let us see how consistent men are in some things relating to the labor-union movement, the tyranny of which they bitterly abhor.

The American Federationist is the official organ of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor. It is edited by Samuel Gompers, the President of that organization. Its issue for July, 1903, contained 125 advertisements; its September, 1903, Labor Day issue, 490; its July, 1904, issue, 102, and its September, 1904, Labor Day issue, 431 advertisements, representing manufacturing and mercantile concerns, transportation companies, etc., and why were they there? Simply for lack of moral courage to say No! or, worse yet, because of a desire, prompted by selfishness, to stand in with the unions.

Have we not had experience sufficient, and is it not time now, that men of common sense, men of honor, and men of ordinary patriotism, capable of reading the "handwriting on the wall," quit feeding their money into a cause which contemplates the destruction of an industrial and social system under which we, as a people, have prospered so well? If not, then when shall it be?

The Citizens' Alliance of San Francisco has threatened to boycott employers who do not join fight against the cooks, waiters and allied unions. This group of unions had agreements with the Restaurant Keepers' Association, fixing wages, hours and conditions of work. The Citizens' Alliance formed a new employers' organization, known as the Amalgamated Restaurant and Hotel Keepers' Association. When a committee of the allied unions attempted to renew the yearly agreement it encountered a flat refusal.

In the meantime, the President and Secretary of the Citizens' Alliance sent circulars to restaurant and hotel men urging them to join the new employers' association, which had declared "that no more contracts would be signed between its members and the unions." This was reinforced by the following formidable bit of literature:

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT.

THE CITIZENS' ALLIANCE OF SAN FRANCISCO.

HERBERT GEORGE, President.

'Phone—Main, 966.

My Dear Sir: Mr. A. W. J. Gibbs, General Manager of the Amalgamated Restaurant and Hotel Keepers' Association, reports to me that you (for some reason best known to yourself) think it best not to identify yourself with the Amalgamation. The Citizens' Alliance is deeply interested in making the movement a unanimous one so far as the hotel and restaurant keepers are concerned, to the end that it may be spared the cost of a long and expensive strike. I believe you are intelligent enough to realize that we live in an age of organization, and the only way for you to protect your business is to forget that there are big and little restaurants and accept the fact that everyone in your line of business has the Cooks' and Waiters' Union to deal with. We trust you will need no further hint than this one to ally yourself with the new Association that Mr. Gibbs represents, because this new Association is simply an auxiliary of the Citizens' Alliance, and the Citizens' Alliance is backing it. I suggested the plan, and I feel sure that every man who belongs to this new Amalgamation of hotel and restaurant keepers will realize before the end of the year that for every dollar he pays into it he will get \$10 back. We are not looking for trouble, and the only way to head off trouble is for all of us to get together and work in harmony. Above all things, I aim to avoid using the flour, meat, poultry, oyster and milk interests (which we have organized and now have in working shape) to coerce anybody. We are not in that sort of business and think the boycott is as un-American when practiced by our side as it is when practiced by the other side; but we are interested in the upbuilding of this new association for the protection of hotel and restaurant keepers, and it must succeed. The membership to-day is large and growing rapidly, but we want to make it absolutely complete to the end that its completeness will prevent the unions from breaking through our ranks.

We realize that many are hanging back believing they can get something for nothing by so doing. That is to say, they are perfectly willing that we should fight their battles with the unions while they stay outside and profit by the victory that follows. It is not our intention to let any man enjoy any such privilege. The membership is secret, and everyone must join and do his share. That is what the Citizens' Alliance is for. It is not fighting unions as much as it is fighting that class of people in its own ranks who refuse to do what they know is the right thing to do, believing that by hanging out they can play to both sides and thereby secure a little mean advantage over their neighbor. "A word to the wise is sufficient." You would greatly oblige me if you would call upon Mr. Gibbs and identify yourself at once.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT GEORGE, President.

As if this threat were not enough, another circular warned employers who were still reluctant to make war on the cooks and waiters that "We are now busy with the bakers, who are forming a strong organization"—thus adding bread to the other supplies that the association threatened to cut off from any hotel or restaurant persisting in dealing with the unions. This circular added the ominous information: "I have been compelled with the assistance of the Citizens' Alliance to commence suit against three restaurants for signing with the unions." To the threat of the boycott is thus added the vague terrors of the law for daring to make contracts with unions in defiance of the edict of the Citizens' Alliance!

Another employers' association in San Francisco, styled the Butchers' Exchange, places the union button under the ban and decrees the substitution of the "open shop card," enforcing its ukase with threatened penalties in the following circular:

SAN FRANCISCO BUTCHERS' EXCHANGE,

628 MONTGOMERY STREET.

Room 22, 3d Floor. Telephone—Bush, 131.

SAN FRANCISCO, March, 22, 1905.
The attention of the San Francisco Butchers' Exchange has been called to the fact that certain shops are taking advantage of trades union conditions to gain trade by the displaying of signs and the wearing of union buttons by employees; it has been therefore

Resolved, That no shop shall display cards or advertisements having any bearing on the labor question, or allow their employees to display union buttons while on duty, or any other insignia of unionism.

Any infraction of this rule will be punished by suspension, or fine, or by both.

The only sign or placards to be used shall be the regular *Open Shop Card*, which must be displayed in a prominent position.
L. B. WIELER, Secretary.
By W. A. SAMUEL, Assistant Secretary.

The *Labor Clarion* publishes a fac-simile of an official notice by the Butchers' Exchange that two butchers had been suspended, because they had refused to pay an assessment of the Butchers' Exchange, on the ground that they were not members. One of them tore up the open shop card. As a penalty, the *Clarion* states, these two butchers discovered the next day that they could buy meat from the Butchers' Exchange only by paying several cents a pound more than their competitors.

TWO CONSERVATIVES DISAGREE.

(From the *Iron Age*.)

While the management of the strike on the Interborough system in New York was admirable, one minor mistake was made, which we trust will not be repeated in any part of the country. An offer of employment was made to students at Columbia University, which was accepted, largely as a lark, by quite a number of the boys. Newspaper reports indicate that some of the professors of the university rather encouraged the students to enter employment which could at best be only temporary, since the boys are supposed to be engaged in preparing for a profession—a work which, as it is, suffers from only too many distractions. We do not blame the students when they seize upon an opportunity for excitement and for attracting public notice. But it was a serious mistake on the part of the college authorities to permit the boys to become strike breakers, because it fosters a class feeling, which should be studiously avoided. The pupils of an educational institution must not be placed in the position of participating in an industrial struggle. The day of learning the management of men must come to many of them when they enter upon their life work, but until they have left the university they should not be allowed to intervene as students, whatever they may do as individuals during their vacations. In the eyes of a very large proportion of our citizenship a certain odium attaches to every strike breaker, and our highest institutions of learning should not go out of their way to fasten that odium upon themselves.

We hold the belief, too, that the managers of the Interborough system made a tactical mistake when they invited engineering students to accept such employment, because it was obvious on the face of it that those who responded to the call could do so for only a very brief period. It gave strength to the conviction which the strikers themselves generally hold that strike breakers are employed for only a brief emergency and that few of them settle down as regular employees who permanently occupy at least some of the places of the strikers.

(From the *Wall Street Journal*.)

The organ of the American Federation of Labor comments with severity on the action of a number of Yale students in offering to take the place of strikers in case of a strike on the New Haven road. During the recent subway strike in this city a number of students offered their services as motormen, conductors and ticket sellers. The *American Federationist* does not think that the students are bad, or that they would knowingly injure the cause of organized labor, but says that "they must be misled by such attacks on trades unions as President Eliot, of Harvard, is in the habit of making." The spectacle of students taking the place of strikers is in its opinion "disgusting, shameful and dangerous."

This is laying down a rule that when a body of men give up their jobs in order to force a corporation to pay them higher wages or grant them shorter hours of labor, other men have no right to take their places. In other words, jobs are sacred to members of the American Federation of Labor, and nobody else has any right to them.

That is not the American idea. The spirit of this country is free labor for everybody. Let everybody have a chance to work, and if he does not want to work for the wages which are paid him, he has the liberty to stop working; he has the undoubted right to strike. But there is no moral or legal obligation on the part of other men to prevent them from taking the places of those who choose to strike.

The bulk of the young men who go into our colleges come from families possessed of moderate incomes. To put them through college means a hard financial struggle. It involves sacrifice of many pleasures and rigid self-denial. Many of our young men pay their way through colleges. They are glad, therefore, of the opportunity to find places where they may earn something that will enable them to continue their college course. That they should take the opportunity of a strike to secure remunerative employment, instead of being disgusting and shameful, is in the highest degree creditable to them. It shows that they are willing to work and work hard in order to get ahead in the world.

The American Federation of Labor cannot erect a fence around the jobs in the United States and put up a sign, "No Trespass." There can be no such a thing as monopoly in labor very long in this country, and we believe that the same thing is true of capital.

HON. SETH LOW ARBITRATES THE CLOSED SHOP.

THOROUGH MASTERY OF TECHNICALITIES RESULTS IN AN AWARD WITH WHICH BOTH SIDES EXPRESS SATISFACTION.

ONE objection urged against arbitration generally by employers is the danger of calling in as an umpire some high-minded representative of the public, who, not being able to grasp the technical complications involved in a controversy, may render a decision that will be satisfactory to nobody. Both employers and unions are generally agreed that there are certain questions of principle that are not arbitrable, such as the question of the closed shop. To each of these propositions a conspicuous exception is found in a decision rendered, as an arbitrator, by the Hon. Seth Low. He evinced a remarkable capacity for mastering the most intricate details of the highly skilled printing industry; rendered a decision that proved satisfactory to both parties, while the decision was peculiarly important in that it related to the question, usually excluded from arbitration, of the closed shop.

The fact that this decision was satisfactory led to a subsequent request for Mr. Low's services in another case in the same trade, in which the representatives of the Typothetae and of the Typographical Union joined in this expression:

"Your decisions in the settlement of the strike at Little's, though applying to only one office, have served as a precedent in every similar case that has arisen, and have been so accepted by both parties to the controversy, which can be said of but few arbitrations of individual cases; so that both committees are naturally very desirous that you should accept. We know that you are a very busy man and that we are crowding in on time already fully occupied, but we hope that you will see your way clear to oblige us."

The strike in the job rooms of J. J. Little & Co., in 1896, ordered by the Typographical Union and supported by the Pressmen's and Electrotypers' unions, threatened to involve the entire printing trade of New York. But the men returned to work under an agreement to refer the eight demands to a joint committee of ten, with Mr. Low as arbitrator. Five of these demands were adjusted by the committee. Of the three submitted to Mr. Low for decision, he found in one case in favor of the union and in the other in favor of the Typothetae.

The demand for a "closed shop" was in this form: "That book and job rooms shall be recognized as card offices." Mr. Low's decision, delivered at a time when the "closed shop" was not a subject of such acrimonious discussion as now, follows:

This is a question ordinarily decided by power. If the union is strong enough to carry its point, an office is made a card office. If the employer is strong enough to maintain his position, he declines to have his office made a card office. I have shrunk not a little from attempting to pass, as arbitrator, upon a question of this nature; but, upon reflection, I have thought that a fearless discussion of the question by one in a position to look at it with impartiality might prove of sufficient advantage to justify the attempt. In a word, I think the contention of the union has in it an element of right; but in its entirety it involves two points that I am unable to sustain.

As one detail of this question in its application to the office of J. J. Little & Company, it is urged by the union that Mr. Little at one time became a member of Typographical Union No. 6, and in so doing pledged himself to give preference in securing employment to union men. Mr. Little admits that he did join the union thirty years ago; but claims that the incident has no relation to the present question. As it bears upon the matter in arbitration, I am constrained to treat the incident as having no decisive weight.

A card office, in the meaning of the union, is an office in which only union men are employed, and which is organized into a chapel, so-called, presided over by a chairman on behalf of the union. It is clear that such a condition of affairs may exist in an office as matter of fact, without its being recognized as a matter of policy by the employer. The union claims, for example, that in the office of J. J. Little & Company the press department, the electrotypers' department, and the stereotypers' department are all card offices. J. J. Little & Company aver that they have never been recognized by the firm as such. It appears to be the case throughout the trade at large that more than a few offices are considered card offices by the union which are not so considered by the employers.

In support of its demand, the union alleges that it is unwelcome to union men to work in the same office with men who receive the benefit of the union scale and generally profit by the attitude of the union, but who decline to share with the union the burden of securing and maintaining these advantages; and that it is especially unwelcome to union men to work side by side with men who, having been at one time members of the union, have been expelled therefrom for one cause or another. The union deems, therefore, that for this reason, among others, it is justified in asking that Little's book and job rooms should be recognized as card offices, in view of the fact that most, if not all,

of the employees of the office in those rooms at the present time are union men. It further urges this conclusion in the interest of the compositors, in order that the compositors may be upon the same basis, as it claims, as the stereotypers, electrotypers, and the pressmen in the same employ. The union urges it also because such a condition, in its judgment, is absolutely necessary to the faithful carrying out of the provisions agreed upon in the present settlement, as well as of those to be determined by this arbitration.

The Typothetae object to the claim of the union that the book and job rooms of J. J. Little & Company be recognized as card offices, for a number of reasons, the most fundamental of which are:

1. That J. J. Little & Company have successfully withheld this recognition for many years, "particularly in 1887, when not only that office, but nearly every office in the city of New York successfully resisted such a demand, although enforced by strike;" and that, as matter of fact, the demand is to-day as obnoxious as ever to that firm.

2. Because they claim that "in the office of J. J. Little & Company no distinction is made as to union or non-union, Jew or Gentile, American or foreigner, black or white; qualification being the only test."

3. Because of the character of the control claimed by the Union in an office that is admittedly a card office.

It is apparent from this *resumé* that the questions at issue in this demand are very fundamental.

So far as the Typothetae hesitate to recognize the union as the representative of the union men in their employ, I think they are mistaken. I think they are justified, on the other hand, in objecting to certain incidents that would flow from the recognition of the book and job rooms of J. J. Little & Company as card offices. As I view it, an employer is at liberty, if he pleases, to employ none but union labor. He is at liberty, also, if he pleases, to employ only non-union men. There are, in fact, printing houses of both types in the city of New York, although, as I judge, many more of the former than the latter. In the book and job trade, I understand that most of the offices are what are known as "open offices;" that is to say, employment in them is open to union men and to non-union men alike. I understand the office of J. J. Little & Company, as to its book and job rooms, to be such an office at the present time. It does not follow, it seems to me, because an employer employs both union men and non-union men without discrimination, that he is therefore at liberty to disregard the connection of his union men with their union. When a man employs members of a union, knowing them to be union men, or having good reason to suppose that they are union men, he must take them, it seems to me, with all that their unionism implies. In other words, I think that J. J. Little & Company, having book and job offices which are composed largely, if not altogether, of union men, may reasonably be expected to recognize the union in all negotiations upon which it may enter in behalf of the union men in their employ. To this extent I think the union is right in its present demand.

There are two points involved, however, as matters now stand, in the recognition of an office as a card office, which, it seems to me, cannot be sustained by argument, however they may be enforced by power. No one can compel union men, without their own consent, to work with non-union men. But it is a different thing to demand that an employer shall not be free to employ any but union men, and that I understand to be involved in the demand under consideration. It is no more reasonable, I think, for the union to demand that J. J. Little & Company shall not be free to employ non-union men, than it would be for non-union men to demand that the firm should no longer be free to employ union men; or, than it would be for J. J. Little & Company to demand that the union should be deprived of its freedom to take in new members at its own discretion. Employer and union alike ought to be free to determine what is for their own advantage in such matters. No arbitrators, I think, could find that an employer should be constrained, against his will, to shut his office either to union men or to non-union men. The other point at which I stumble in the consideration of this demand is this. In a card office, under the regulations of the union, a dispute between the employer and his employees is determined by the Executive Committee of the union. The representatives of the union have urged with great force that this tribunal in Typographical Union No. 6 has shown itself in many cases to be an impartial tribunal; that it has, as matter of fact, decided in favor of the employer perhaps as often as in favor of the employee. This may be conceded; but it remains a fact, nevertheless, that it is a one-sided tribunal, and because it is a one-sided tribunal it does not afford such a provision for the settlement of disputes between employer and the employee as would

(Concluded on page 12.)

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HOW THE AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY PROVIDES FOR THE WELFARE OF ITS EMPLOYEES.

(From a Contributor.)

WHEN telephone central stations were first established, the work of attending to the wishes of the subscribers was done exclusively by young men, who stood while at their work, but it soon became evident that the needs of the service could best be fulfilled by women, and their transference to these positions took place rapidly. With these later conditions of help, active measures were initiated for furnishing them with the most beneficial means for their comfort. As it is to-day, so from the very first, every endeavor of the telephone company was concentrated upon methods whose sole purpose was to secure the permanency of the telephone service by housing the central apparatus as far as possible in fireproof buildings, equipped with every desirable safeguard, to make the construction of lines as stable as possible, and also to lay the wires in cities underground. While limiting conditions require varying means for the comfort of the operators, yet every effort has been made from the first to obtain the highest efficiency of the service by the use of the best apparatus at the time being, only to renew it, even if it be in good order, to substitute later improvements, which were rendered necessary by the destructive agency of inventions, and in order to secure the manipulation of this apparatus with the highest degree of efficiency, it was essential that the operators should be selected from intelligent young women, who could be well trained for their duties with environment which would conduce to health and contentment, for it is wholly desirable that good tele-

phone operators should be retained in the service as long as possible, without intermittent breaks in daily attendance.

The care for the welfare of the operators differs in various cities according to the facilities which it is feasible for the company to adopt. These are modified locally



ADJUSTABLE CHAIRS WITH FOOT RESTS, BOSTON.

by the space available for such purposes and by the distances of the operators' homes from the exchange. The amount of travel is minimized by assigning them to central offices as near to their homes as the requirements of the service permit. In snow storms so severe as to stop street car service the company has often provided quarters for the operators for the night at a nearby hotel under the chaperonage of the matron. In other cases the company has sent operators to their railway stations in carriages.

When one visits the telephone offices, which are generally in the top story of fireproof buildings, away from the noise of the city, one is at first struck with the quiet which prevails in the room where a babel might be expected; for an operator need speak but little and that in a low tone of voice in the performance of her duties.

LIGHT.

Such rooms are lighted during the day for the most part by monitor roofs, which divert the glare of the polarized rays which are so trying to the eyesight, and a system of curtains as elaborate as those of a photographer's studio provides for agreeable illumination during the day. At night the face of the switchboard is illuminated by incandescent lights, screened from direct vision by reflectors, which cast rays on the face of the board in such directions that the accuracy of the hand is never impaired by shadows.

VENTILATION.

Although there is necessarily a great concentration of occupancy of such rooms, health and comfort are secured by means of forced ventilation, and the temperature is frequently controlled by thermostatic appliances. The continuous use of an operating room requires far more efficient ventilation than does an office or a workshop occupied less than one-third of the twenty-four hours. Therefore great care is used in the ventilation. The air is drawn from a place either at the rear or on the roof of the building, as far as possible from direct contamination of the streets. Nevertheless, this method of forced ventilation would necessarily bring an excessive amount of dust into the room, were not this air filtered through tubular screens of cloth. An analysis of this dust, thus extracted in large quantities from the air, showed it to contain:

Moisture	20
Magnesia	2.18
Alkalies and other undetermined substances	8.95
Lime	12.82
Alumina	13.70
Silica	22.85
Carbon, organic matter, etc.....	39.30
Total	100.00

This material has also been found to contain a large amount of iron, evidently worn by attrition from horseshoes and wagon tires, although the inlet to the air supply was in the center of a large block. Microscopical examinations show that the material is mainly composed of particles of soot, scales of mineral matter,

spores of mould, shreds of wool and cotton, and bits of hair. The removal of such foreign and unwholesome material must contribute to the hygienic properties of the air as well as render the building cleaner.

In certain western cities, where the use of bituminous coal is universal, the air is actually scoured by sprays of water, and the excess of moisture is removed by subjecting it to a rapid rotary motion, which throws out the water as a centrifugal extractor separates the milk from cream. In winter, the air is humidified to an extent which renders it soft and equable, and has mitigated the throat difficulties which result from excessively dry air, which prevails under the usual conditions of artificial heating in northern temperatures.

These methods of sanitation were devised for the purpose by persons connected with the company, and the result has been so successful that they have been widely adopted elsewhere and also form the subjects of lectures in several medical schools.

SEATS FOR WOMEN.

The chairs provided for the operators are adjustable, both as to the height and the foot rests. Their shape was selected after careful experiments, in which those who were to occupy the chairs took a prominent part; and, before adoption, this type of chair received the approval of physicians whose services were secured for this purpose.

REST AND READING ROOM.

Connected with each telephone office is a retiring room, in which each operator has a ventilated locker, usually of enamelled iron, for outer garments and other paraphernalia. This room is also furnished with easy chairs, lounges and tables, and provided with books and papers. The care and management of reading matter is under a committee of the operators, and the expense is usually divided between the company and a payment by the operators of about 5 cents a week. In some instances books are circulated as in the case of a reading club, the last person receiving the book in alphabetical order of name retaining it as her own. The lounges in this room are of plaited bamboo and of a shape selected by the advice of physicians.

TOILET AND LOCKER ROOMS.

These retiring rooms are under the charge of a matron, who has a few simple remedies for cases of slight indisposition. If illness sufficiently serious occurs an arrangement is made with neighboring physicians to respond to any call for immediate attention.

Connected with the retiring room are toilet and bath rooms, as well as lavatories. There are clothes dryers heated by steam, so that damp garments and umbrellas may be thoroughly dried.

LUNCH ROOMS.

Telephone offices are equipped with lunch rooms, which are provided with steam tables for heating lunches and with refrigerators for cooling them. In many instances the telephone company supplies, without charge, coffee or chocolate to supplement the cold lunches brought by the operators; and in some places, at nominal cost, a light lunch, including soup, one or two cold meats, fruit, bread and butter, and tea, coffee or milk.

PRIZES.

In some cities where there is a large number of switchboards a record is kept in each office of the rate of answering calls, speed of answering, percentage of errors, number of complaints, and regularity of at-



REST AND READING ROOM, NEW YORK.

tendance of the operators. The office making the best record for the month receives as a prize a picture or other gift appropriate for the retiring room.

FIRE PROTECTION.

As in the case of schools or other places, where there is a dense occupancy, the tendency to panics, which otherwise would be inevitable on exposures to fires or smoke from other parts of the building, is reduced by fire drills, which are held at irregular intervals and without warning. There have been numerous instances where an operating room was filled with smoke from fire which threatened no actual physical hazard, yet was naturally alarming; but any destructive results which might have followed a panic among the operators were averted by the discipline of the drill.

CLASSES FOR INSTRUCTION.

The selection of an operator is attended with the utmost care. It involves the usual recommendation as to character, information as to general intelligence, and a medical examination by a woman physician—particularly as to the voice and hearing. Before taking permanent positions at the switchboard, they are under instruction, and also under pay, in a school where the operation of the telephone switchboard is explained and to a great extent its principles illustrated by means of models specially constructed for the purpose. The learners are also given practical experience in the operation of the switchboard.

One company employs a man to give talks to the operators, which are not merely technical, but treat of travel or topics of literary interest. The appreciation of these efforts on the part of telephone companies for the benefit of their operators is indicated by the fact that it is customary for them to come earlier than their duties require or remain later for the sake either of reading in these retiring rooms or attending to sewing or other feminine handiwork.

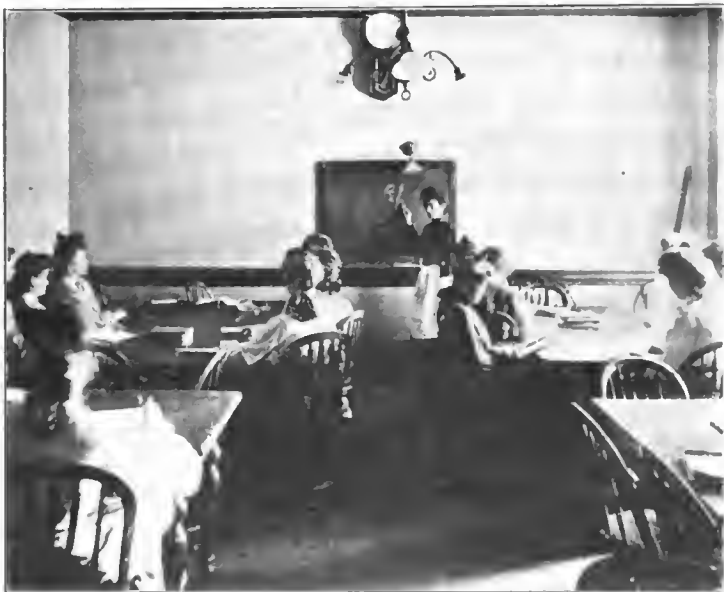
WORKING CONDITIONS.

Hearing is not impaired by the use of the telephone, but on the contrary, as is the case with musicians—particularly those playing the violin, or other instruments requiring tuning by the performer—the auditory sense is developed to a point of great acuteness. Operators use identical receivers and transmitters, and when one leaves her position at the board, after a period of not over three hours, her instrument is hung upon a numbered hook; a substitute in turn uses instruments which are reserved for her own use.

Women operators are directly under a woman supervisor, although in the large offices the whole operating room is under the supervision of a man. The service at the switchboard is broken up by recesses, and an operator can at any time obtain a temporary substitute by telephoning to the lady supervisor in the room.

In addition to the manipulation of the telephone service at the central station, there are in large business houses private branch exchanges in such numbers that, in large cities, such private branch exchange operators exceed the number of central operators. While the conditions surrounding these private branch exchange operators are like those of stenographers or other first-class office help, yet such positions are considered desirable because in most instances the hours are very short and the duties light, although requiring such a high order of experience and intelligence that these operators are usually selected from the most efficient of those in the central telephone offices.

The telephone company exercises especial efforts



SCHOOL FOR BEGINNERS, NEW YORK.

for the welfare of its men employees, who are obliged to face the exposure of weather and various hazards incident to their work. The duties of many linemen

being to a certain extent intermittent, some place or room is always provided for them when not on active outside duty.

There are many methods of insurance, varying in detail. One organization has a fund of \$10,000 accumulated from its annual balls; another insurance association has relatively large reserve funds. Gener-



CLOTHES DRIERS, HEATED BY STEAM, BOSTON.

(This view shows one drier pulled out for the purpose of hanging the damp clothes therein. Frequently in stormy weather employees are obliged to remain in damp clothes all day where they have been obliged to walk long distances to work. This is a very essential provision for health.)

ally a person's membership continues for a year after leaving the service of the company, and in some instances membership is retained as long as the annual dues are paid. These associations include benefits which award a larger amount for death by accident than by disease, as well as a larger weekly stipend in case of disability from accident than from illness. In all cases the telephone company adds large contributions to the monthly assessments paid by the men. Various meetings of a social and improving nature are held in connection with these insurance and benefit associations.

STATE INSURANCE IN GERMANY.

(Reprinted by permission from *Scribner's Magazine* for April.)

[The following is an extract from the fourth of a series of articles by Frank A. Vanderlip, appearing in *Scribner's Magazine*, under the general caption, "Political Problems of Europe." The subject of the April article in *Scribner's* is "Paternalism and Nationalism," and the extract here reproduced deals especially with State Insurance in Germany. The author's treatment of this subject makes a fitting climax to previous articles that have appeared

in THE CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW upon allied topics, namely: by Max Riebnack, Comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, upon "Railway Provident Institutions;" by E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, upon "Why Employees Object to Railroad Relief Departments;" and by Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburg Coal Company, upon "Profit-sharing, Insurance and Pensions."—EDITOR'S NOTE.]

In any examination of European political and economic institutions, the attention of an American would at once be attracted to the subject of workingmen's insurance. He would find it a subject not only of vast importance in European political and social life, but one presenting to him novel considerations, because the institution is practically without parallel of any sort in this country. Nothing that I have seen in Europe has interested me more than the effect of workingmen's insurance. On the Continent one finds it, measured from any point of view, one of the most important subjects that is presented in the whole array of affairs. As a rule, I think Americans have little conception of the extent to which the system has developed, and of the marked effect which

it is producing upon national economy and upon social conditions.

Workingmen's insurance conducted as a government,

or semi-government institution, is confined to the Continent. In Great Britain there is no Government activity in this field, the development there being wholly within the ranks of the friendly societies, or else in the direction of the provisions which are made by the great railway corporations for retiring on part pay their superannuated servants. The weight of political sentiment in Great Britain is violently opposed to the adoption by the Government of any position which might lead to national responsibility for workingmen's pensions. On the other hand, in the ranks of the workingmen, and particularly in organized labor, there is a growing disposition to force the question upon the attention of Parliament.

It is on the Continent that we find the governments intimately related to the subject of workingmen's insurance. There has been an interesting development of semi-public semi-government insurance institutions in Germany, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Sweden, and Denmark, and in all of those countries the movement has assumed proportions of political importance, and the workings of the systems have already produced marked sociological effect.

It is in Germany that there is to be found, by all odds, the highest evolution of workingmen's insurance. In that country a social experiment has been conducted on a vast scale, and I think the movement may fairly be said to mark the most interesting recent social legislation that is to be found anywhere in the world.

The significance of the movement in Germany will be better understood when it is noted that 17,000,000 German workmen are contributing to and enjoying the benefits of the pension system. That significance is emphasized when we learn that since the inception of the system, in 1885, the total receipts have reached \$1,750,000,000. At the present time the annual receipts are in excess of \$130,000,000, an amount sufficient to make us consider with much interest the economic consequences of the plan.

ADMINISTRATION OF INSURANCE FUNDS.

Especially is it noteworthy to find that this vast sum has been administered with absolute integrity. The administration of the insurance funds of Germany offers one of the best indications in the world to-day of the possibility of a successful state control of important institutions, even when enormous sums of money are involved. The demonstration, however, has more than integrity to its credit. The collection and disbursement of these great funds have been carried on with an economy which is admirable. In considering the cost of administration of the German insurance funds it should be remembered that collections are made from 17,000,000 individuals, as well as from the employers of those individuals, and that in making disbursements, particularly of the sick and accident funds, there is a care and intelligent supervision exercised which must make the cost of disbursement quite as great as the cost of collection. There are, therefore, reasons for a much higher ratio of expenses than would be essential in such a system of life insurance as we have in America. But as a matter of fact, the cost of administration of American insurance funds makes sorry comparison with the expense of administration in Germany. It is a monument to the economy of the German administration to find that less than eight and one-half per cent. of the total income is used up in the cost of administration, and that ninety-one and one-half per cent. is paid out in benefits to the insured. A showing like this, so greatly in favor, apparently, of the economy of government administration, would seem to raise the inquiry as to whether Germany has not found a better plan for the administration of insurance funds than we have evolved in this country.

Nothing like a full consideration of the subject of workingmen's insurance is to be given in the course of a magazine article. I believe it is a subject worthy of the deepest consideration. Certainly it is one that offers many difficulties before a clear conclusion can be reached as to its effect and advisability. There are arguments of great weight on both sides of the subject. I believe, however, that it is a subject which in due time will come before us in America for consideration and action.

Any exposition of even the German system of insurance alone is too complicated to be presented in a brief study of the subject. The system in Germany is an evolution, and in its present form probably none of its friends would suggest that it is an ideal system. Anything like a complete understanding of its provisions is complicated by the fact that there are three distinct forms of insurance—insurance against sickness, against accident, and insurance to provide old-age pensions. An explanation of the system is further complicated by the fact that the administration of these three distinct and separate insurance funds is in many different hands, although all are under the supervision of the general Government. The sick insurance fund is administered by more than 23,000 sick clubs. The accident insurance is administered by nearly five hundred managing boards, which represent various state and municipal communities and various trades and industries. The old-age pension system is in the hands of some thirty-one distinct insurance institutions. An understanding of the details of German insurance administration is, therefore, difficult; but some general considerations of its provisions

and effect are easily possible. All the insurance funds are contributed to in about equal proportion by employers and by the insured, and that total is augmented by a subsidy from the empire. Employers pay in about forty-seven per cent. of the total, the workmen less than forty-six per cent., while the subsidy from the Government provides between seven per cent. and eight per cent.

EFFECT OF DEEP SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST.

The effect of the institution, as seen in Germany, is of far wider significance than are merely the admirable efforts in alleviating distress caused by sickness, by accident, or by poverty in old age. The results which have been attained in the accident insurance field, for example, are far broader than the mere indemnification in some measure for the suffering and loss which accidents have entailed, and it is likewise true in the other branches that the provision which has been made for the payment of pensions in lieu of wages lost in case of sickness has been only a part, and one might say almost a minor part, of what has been accomplished in that field.

The results of the German workmen's insurance embrace considerations of the deepest sociological consequences, on the one hand, and of a most significant effect on the national health and physique, on the other. The Germans have gone at the whole subject with their characteristic thoroughness, and the whole world will in time be forced to give attention to what is being accomplished.

ACCIDENT INSURANCE.

The German system of workmen's insurance is founded on a very general belief that the change which has been going on in Germany, transforming that country from an agricultural into an industrial state, and the evolution which has been proceeding in industry, resulting in a great specialization of work and the high development of the factory system, have made necessary an enunciation of some new principles in regard to the duty of the community toward the individual, principles which are fundamental in their character. The intricate and complicated modern system of industry has left the industrial population economically dependent, no matter how free it may be politically, the Germans argue, and the development of that system has brought the industrial population into a position where it is difficult for the individual to extricate himself from his misfortunes should he be overtaken by accident, sickness, or old age. In this new industrial order the liability to accident is greatly increased, and new means for meeting the condition which that fact has brought about are demanded.

Various nations have recognized the increased liability to accident which has come with the present-day development of industry, and have taken diverse means to meet the new condition. Germany offers the most notable example of a development of accident insurance. France, on the other hand, has undertaken to meet the demands which industrial workers make for some adequate provision for indemnity by passing most rigid and far-reaching legislation, fixing upon the employer the liability and making provision so that the injured workman may easily enforce that liability in the courts.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LEGISLATION.

In America there not only has been little legislation passed on this subject, based on broad principles of humanity, such as have actuated the German legislation, but there has been little progress toward more definitely fixing the liability of the employer, and making it easy for the injured person to enforce a claim. Instead of that, there has arisen here a system of so-called employers' liability insurance, which is in effect organizations of strength with which to combat weakness, organizations the object of which is not to indemnify the worker for injuries, but rather to indemnify the employer for the cost of fighting in the courts the claims of the injured persons. The purpose of this system is not to put the insurance company in the position of a fair employer who will make payment of a just indemnity. Its purpose is accomplished rather by fighting each individual case with all the skill which its organization, made up of experienced adjusters and sharp attorneys, enables it to pit against the feeble efforts of an injured workman who is attempting to enforce even the inadequate legal rights that our legislation has thus far accorded him. If statistics were presented dividing the receipts of these insurance organizations so as to show what amount they expended in actually paying indemnity to injured persons, and what amount they used in fighting claims and paying dividends, the comparison which those figures would make with the humane institution of accident insurance as developed in Germany would be anything but to our credit.

Germany has accomplished most admirable results in the way of providing indemnity to persons injured in industrial occupations. The work accomplished by accident insurance however has been of far wider usefulness. Accident insurance as developed in Germany has really been an insurance against accident, not merely the providing of indemnity. There has been evolved there, as a result of the study which employers and employees who have been managing these insurance funds

have given to the subject, a system of laws and of regulations providing for safeguards which have gone far to reduce the number of accidents, and to remove the danger from industrial callings. In the last few years the effect of these safeguards has been to reduce one-half the frequency of accidents. Viewed from an economic standpoint alone the saving which has resulted to the national economy has been a vast sum. In the United States we seem as extravagant of life as of resources. There is no single line in our national statistics that is read in Europe with such startling surprise as the one which shows 60,000 fatalities and injuries on our railroads in a single year. In other industrial fields we are as careless of life. It seems to be regarded as more economical to fight damage suits than to provide safeguards, and dangers that do not interfere with dividends frequently receive little attention.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST ACCIDENT INTRODUCED.

It is noteworthy that German employers have willingly accepted the burden they are charged with on account of workmen's insurance. That it is a very considerable burden there is no denying. The Krupp Steel Works alone, for example, contributed more than \$2,000,000 for the purposes of workmen's insurance within the period from 1885 to 1902. The amount which employers are paying, compared with the total wages paid, is showing increases as the operations are extended in the various fields of insurance. The actual contributions to the insurance fund have, too, been only part of the expenses that the administration of the insurance laws has charged the employers with, because they have been forced to spend great sums of money providing safeguards against accident, and putting their works in the best possible hygienic condition. The general disposition among employers, so far as I have ob-



FRANK A. VANDERLIP,
Vice-President, National City Bank.

served, however, is to regard these expenditures as having been made with good value received, because of the increased efficiency and better health of their workmen, and their contentment and fair attitude toward capital.

DISEASE PREVENTED AND STEADY EMPLOYMENT SECURED.

There have been almost as great indirect benefits connected with the administration of the sick insurance fund as has been the case in the field of accident insurance. Remarkable results have been attained in the prevention of the spread and in the cure of contagious diseases. The sick insurance administration has by no means stopped at the point of giving care and financial aid in cases of sickness. More and more its aim has been to seek, with the utmost energy, every means for avoiding the disturbance in the wage-earning capacity of the workmen which sickness entails. It has sought to ascertain the principal causes of sickness, and to combat with organized and scientific efforts the various enemies of public health. The organs of the workmen's insurance committees have done a great work in educating the people in hygiene, and particularly in reducing the scourge of pulmonary diseases. This has been done through prompt and effective measures of isolation and treatment, and in directing special attention to the question of the hygiene of workmen's dwellings. The administration of the sick insurance, instead of being confined to rendering assistance to the sick and the invalid, has sought to cure them, and make them fully capable again of earning their former livelihood. In the development of that work the Germans have characteristically gone to the very foundation of the question, and are doing as important service in effectively preventing sickness as they are in curing it or relieving the distress which follows from it.

The effect upon the general level of the national health has been enormous. In the field of hygiene, as in the field of education, the German Government seeks to

make of each individual the most effective economic unit it is possible to develop. In doing that, the aid which has been rendered by the direct and indirect results of workmen's insurance in improving the physical condition and increasing the power of resistance to diseases, and in promoting the recovery and full return to health of those who are ill, has been beyond all calculation.

HARMONIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

There is one phase of the benefits which workmen's insurance in Germany has conferred that is not to be measured by statistics nor weighed with exactness by definite evidence, but it is, nevertheless, one of the most noteworthy of all the influences that have grown out of this great social experiment. There has been accomplished a service of the very first importance in the direction of bringing about more harmonious relations between employers and employees. There is growing to be a better and better mutual understanding between capital and labor, and the administration of these insurance funds has furnished a common ground upon which the two interests can meet and discuss those questions which affect both. The committees that have the administration of all the details of the collection and expenditure of these great funds are made up in part of employers and in part of workmen. In serving on these committees, employers are brought to a better understanding of and a closer sympathy with their employees, and workmen have been given a clearer comprehension of economic possibilities in the field of industry, and have come better to understand their employers' point of view. I do not mean to say that Germany has reached a millennium, and that there is complete harmony and understanding between capital and labor there, but I do feel that the labor situation offers some sharp contrasts to conditions in other countries, and that those contrasts are favorable to Germany. I have frequently spoken of the spirit which pervades so many of the institutions of Germany, the spirit of making each individual member of the commonwealth the most efficient of industrial and economic units.

HON. SETH LOW ARBITRATES.

(Concluded from page 9.)

commend it to the approval of disinterested men. A tribunal, to command such approval, ought to be composed of an equal number of representatives of both sides, with provision for arbitration in the event of inability to agree. Section 125 of the General Laws of the International Typographical Union appears to me to recognize this position. This section reads: "When disputes arise between subordinate unions and employers, which cannot be adjusted after conference between the parties at issue, the matter may be settled by arbitration." Indeed, the present proceeding, in my judgment, is a type of what ought to be the uniform method of procedure in cases of dispute between union men and their employers. My observation, founded upon an experience of ten years in business life, leads me to believe that all business arrangements, to be permanent, must involve the element of mutual advantage. A relation that permanently favors one party to a transaction at the expense of the other, is, in the nature of things, short-lived.

Accordingly, if my functions as arbitrator permit me to pass upon this demand only categorically, I am obliged to find that the demand that the book and job rooms of J. J. Little & Company be declared card offices should be denied. If, on the other hand, I am at liberty to say, with hope of its acceptance, what I think is fair in all the circumstances of the case, my finding would be this: That J. J. Little & Company recognize Typographical Union No. 6 as the accredited representative of the union men in their employ in their book and job rooms, and that permanent arrangements be made for the arbitration of all differences between the firm and the union upon the general lines of the present arbitration.

Such an agreement as I have in mind has been recently entered into between the Lithographers' Association of the Metropolitan District and the New York Subordinate Association of the International Lithographers', Artists' and Engravers' Insurance and Protective Association of the United States and Canada. This agreement is spread out at length in the history of the recent lithographers' strike, pages 27-30 inclusive. Another form of permanent arbitration, which has behind it the record of ten years of success, is to be found in the agreement between the Masons and Builders' Association and the Bricklayers' Union of the City of New York. The lithographers' agreement provides for a temporary board of arbitration to dispose of each dispute as it arises. The masons' agreement provides a permanent board of arbitration, and contemplates an agreement to be revised and renewed in all its details each year. It is naturally impossible for me to say which form of agreement is best adapted to the printing trade. In one form or the other, however, I wish to throw whatever authority or influence I have, as the arbitrator in this controversy, in favor of this method of settling all disputes hereafter in the book and job rooms of J. J. Little & Company.

IS COMPULSORY ARBITRATION PRACTICABLE?

(Continued from page 4.)

and I believe that commission would be of incomparably greater value if it were a voluntary commission and not a commission elected or appointed by the Legislature, but a commission representing trained minds like that of our friend, Mr. Carroll D. Wright and others, who have made a life long study of this enormous subject. That is the only word that I should like to leave before we adjourn, that while on the whole we have made during the last quarter of a century enormous progress in the betterment of the condition of the workingman and the betterment of the understanding of his relation to labor and capital, there are yet in that direction much land to be passed, many fogs to be cleared away, much illumination to be furnished, and with a commission of interpretation, if to-day we could create that everywhere to construe the contract, the relation, whatever it is, between the workingman and his employer—that would be of supreme value. (Applause.)

On the day following the above discussion, Mr. Wheeler addressed the following letter to Bishop Potter:

New York, April 5, 1905.

My dear Bishop Potter:

May I answer the question that you put to Mayor Low last night?

My proposition would be that the members of such an arbitration tribunal as I propose should be appointed by the President of the United States, and selected from among the judges and ex-judges of the Federal Courts, and that their jurisdiction should extend to all interstate commerce cases. A similar tribunal in this State I would have appointed by the Governor, and selected from the judges and ex-judges of the Supreme Court of the State.

It does seem to me that Mr. Archibald's objections are very like those that used to be taken a hundred years ago or more, to the giving up of duelling. This was a sort of private war, but experience has shown that we can do very well without it, and that questions, even of a very delicate and even sacred character, can be safely adjusted by the courts. I cannot see that the questions that arise between capital and labor are any more sacred or difficult than those which arise between husband and wife; and yet when all efforts at conciliation in the latter instance have failed, it is better to have a judicial tribunal to give some decision than to leave the decision to the contention of the two parties concerned.

At any rate this is the judgment which I have formed as the result of forty years' experience in court.

Yours faithfully,
EVERETT P. WHEELER.

INTERNATIONAL NON-ARBITRABLE QUESTIONS.

The following letter from the Professor of International Law in Columbia University, who is recognized as the highest authority in this country upon that subject, sheds light upon questions excluded from international arbitration:

Editor National Civic Federation Review:

Sir:—I have your letter of the 7th instant, in which you ask, "What questions, if any, arising between nations, are considered by common consent, or in international law, or usage, as essentially non-arbitrable?"

If we consult the history of international arbitrations during the past hundred years, we find that it is impossible definitely to answer this inquiry. By this I do not mean to convey the opinion that the use of force in the conduct of international affairs is likely soon to be abolished; but I do mean to say that phrases such as "national honor" and "national self-defense," which have been employed in describing supposed exceptions to the principle of arbitration, are of little value as indicating what questions may or may not be arbitrated. Questions of honor and of self-defense are, in international as in private relations, matter partly of circumstances and partly of opinion. When the United States, in 1863, first proposed that the differences that had arisen with Great Britain, as to the fitting out of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers, should be submitted to arbitration, Earl Russell rejected the overture on the ground that the questions in controversy involved the honor of her Majesty's Government, of which that government was, he declared, "the sole guardian." Eight years later there was concluded at Washington the treaty under which the differences between the two governments were submitted to the judgment of the tribunal that met at Geneva. This remarkable example serves to show of how little value are mere descriptive phrases, when we are dealing with practical questions.

The extent to which international arbitration can be carried depends chiefly upon the dispositions of the parties to the dispute. A nation could not be expected to submit to arbitration the naked question of its own independence; and yet a dispute which in one form might appear to involve independence, in

another form might not appear to do so. In other words, the dispute might, by patient negotiation and mutual concession, springing from a desire to reach an amicable settlement, be reduced to a form in which the issues would be clearly arbitrable. I may observe that the project of an arbitration treaty adopted by the Pan-American Conference in 1890 provided that arbitration should be obligatory in all cases except those which, in the judgment of one of the parties to the controversy, might imperil its independence; and even in these cases it was provided that, while arbitration should for such nation be "optional," it should be "obligatory upon the adversary power." This treaty never became effective. Had it been put into operation it is altogether probable that the clauses which have just been quoted would, when they came to be applied, have given rise in some cases to a wide divergence of views; and this divergence would have furnished a proof of the correctness of the opinion that the limitations of arbitration cannot be precisely fixed by general restrictive phrases. Roughly speaking, it might perhaps be agreed that "vital interests" and "national independence" may properly be excepted from an international agreement of arbitration, where such agreement takes the form of a general and positive obligation. But we should still have to determine in each case whether the particular difference fell within or outside those categories.

Very truly yours,

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

April 10, 1905.

SOME QUESTIONABLE ASSUMPTIONS.

(By the Editor.)

The discussion of compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, as thus far developed, proceeds largely upon two assumptions: First, that all questions that may arise between employers and wage earners are arbitrable; second, that neither party to an industrial dispute can win without the support of public opinion, and that public opinion is infallible. It may clarify the further consideration of this subject if we examine these two assumptions and ascertain whether they are wholly warranted.

Disputes between nations arise as do disputes between employers and employed. Voluntary international arbitration has been applied successfully to the settlement of some disputes between nations. But the method of international arbitration provided in The Hague Convention, the most advanced product of the efforts of civilization to secure peace, clearly recognizes that there exist questions that no nation would consent to submit to the decision of an arbitral court. The most casual thought will make it apparent that among the disputes between nations that diplomacy may fail to adjust, there are some that, if they are to be settled at all, can be settled only by the stern arbitrament of arms. It is not conceivable that any question involving, or appearing to involve, the existence of a nation or the continuance of its form of government, or its honor, could be submitted to arbitration. The Hague Convention in express terms provides that "powers who accept arbitration will sign a special act, clearly defining the scope of the arbitrators." Not content with this limitation, the United States Government, in becoming a signatory to the treaty, made this declaration: "Nor shall anything contained in said convention be so construed as to require the relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

Thus we see, in the concrete outcome of the Universal Peace Conference of 1899, the existence of non-arbitrable questions recognized both generally and specifically.

It could not have been possible for the first French Republic to have consented to arbitrate the effort of the Alliance to restore the Bourbon monarchy. Within our own time and in our own country, the impossibility will be recognized at once of arbitrating the issues of the "irrepressible conflict" that were settled by our civil war; or the Cuban question that, despite the most painstaking efforts of diplomacy, made inevitable our war with Spain; or any issue involving the Monroe Doctrine, or the exclusive right of the United States to construct the Panama Canal.

Similarly, in the industrial world there are questions which one side or the other could not consent to submit to arbitration, because they involve principles strikingly parallel to those that debar some issues from international arbitration. The right of a man to belong to a union or the right of an employer to hire a non-union man are questions that neither employee nor employer would consent to arbitrate, because there is involved what each side regards as an intolerable surrender of individual liberty.

When the Chicago Metal Trades Association (employers) proposed to the International Association of Machinists (employees) to arbitrate a dispute involving apprentices and handy-men, the answer was a refusal on the ground that the questions placed in jeopardy the very existence of the union, and a strike ensued.

When a union, through its organized efforts, has secured certain general conditions, such as an eight

hour day, it refuses to arbitrate a demand to return to a nine hour day, on the theory that it will not risk losing what it has already established.

The Building Trades Employers' Association of New York City (the largest organized body of building trades employers in the country), recognizing that the union would not arbitrate questions involving working with non-union men, or the lengthening of hours, excluded these two questions from arbitration in their celebrated compact.

John Mitchell has instanced the eight hour day, which has prevailed in the bituminous mining fields for years, as a subject never to be submitted to arbitration.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, in its contracts with employers, stipulates: "None of the definite agreements of this contract shall be subject to arbitration."

This same idea is put in the most extreme form and made to apply to any use of arbitration in a recent speech by John Kirby, Jr., chairman of the Executive Committee of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance of America:

Arbitration has proven a failure over and over again. If I am held up for my belongings and I refuse to surrender them, why should I submit the question to arbitration and take my chances on having to surrender half of what I have. Then, on the next hold-up, surrender half of what I have left, and so on until everything I ever had is gone.

In fact, people who have had practical experience in arbitration in the industrial world are constantly running against exceptions until, in some cases, it seems that it is hardly possible to find anything that both sides are willing to arbitrate. For instance, in the controversy between the lithographic employers' association and the five allied national unions, representing 95 per cent. of the capital invested and the labor employed in that industry, the employers demanded a trade agreement that should bind the unions to submit all questions that might arise to arbitration. The unions contended that there were certain questions that they could not, with justice to themselves, so submit. These were the three great issues of wages, hours and the closed shop, which they maintained must be definitely established in any trade agreement, and arbitration employed only for any remaining questions. Conversely, the employers, while demanding wholesale arbitration and an absolute abandonment of strike or lock-out, contended that the ratio of apprentices should be made larger and should not be subject to arbitration.

In the operation of a public service corporation, such as an electric street railway, the corporation regards an entire class of subjects as impossible of arbitration, because they involve the safety of the traveling public. For instance, the motormen of the Interborough objected to a medical examination, claiming that what they called a "practical road test" would be just as effective in ensuring safe service. But it was pointed out that the medical examination was necessary to test the heart action, for its susceptibility to electric shock; the hearing and vision, for quick and accurate understanding of signals; and the respiration, to guard against the chance of unconsciousness while running a train at high speed. Questions of discipline in such a service are also regarded as non-arbitrable, because they also relate to the safety of the public; just as in marine transportation, the absolute authority of executive officers at sea is not to be arbitrated.

Sympathetic strikes present issues that are not arbitrable. The last great railway strike in this country, that of 1873, is an illustration. The original trouble was a strike in the manufacturing shops of Pullman Car Company. An effort was made to tie up every railroad in the country that hauled Pullman cars, out of sympathy. The railway companies were under contract with the Pullman Company to haul its cars. To the suggestion of arbitration, they replied: "We have nothing to arbitrate. We have done nothing to cause you to strike. We would be penalized if we broke our contracts with the Pullman Company. Your affair is with them, not with us."

On the other hand, a labor organization does not regard provisions of its constitution or by-laws as arbitrable. Thus the constitution of the American Federation of Musicians forbids its members to play with non-union musicians, fining them for the first and second offenses and expelling them for the third. Accordingly, last winter, the local union of musicians in New York declined to play with a lady harpist until she joined the union. This was not a question of gallantry, to be arbitrated by a commission expert in artistic etiquette; it was a question of the union's constitutional law, that left no ground for arbitration.

These examples might be multiplied indefinitely. They serve to show that there is a considerable range of questions, varying in different industries, that are regarded by either employers or wage-earners as outside the scope of arbitration.

The second assumption of the advocates of compulsory arbitration, that the verdict of the public is necessarily infallible, is not surprising. That assumption is extremely common and ancient, as is indicated by the saying, "Vox populi, vox dei." No one will deny that in a broad sense this is true, even though it is commonly said that all majorities have at

some time been wrong. All progress means emergence from darkness toward light, a growth out of error toward the truth. All progress, in its origin and growth, is a process of conversion of popular belief.

But this long process of historical evolution cannot be applied to the public opinion whose judgment, quickly, almost instantly, formed, may become the basis of action upon present issues.

A little reflection will show that the opinion of the public, even of its most intelligent portion, is subject to the influences of as much bias, prejudice and emotion as is the opinion of the individual, and is as discordant as are the opinions of parties to any dispute. Thus, in the long period of debate, both economic and passionate, that preceded our civil war, the church itself was rent asunder upon the moral aspect of slavery, while the bar was divided upon its legality and the Nation was torn over the constitutional right of secession. The bulk of the most learned opinion in England, after the growth of the factory system, stood aghast at the proposition to restrict the hours of labor, to require sanitary conditions, to regulate the employment of women and children. These, it was asserted, were invasions of individual liberty; while the economists gravely argued that unless the cost of labor were kept to the lowest point consistent with the existence of the laborers, foreign competition would ruin British industry. It required years for the minority demanding these industrial reforms to become the majority.

It is pertinent to recall the state of public opinion during the anthracite strike of 1902. The public was widely divided in opinion as to the right and wrong of the struggle between the mine workers and the operators. Public opinion was unanimous only upon two points: People wanted their coal bins filled, and they protested against the cost. These were points of agreement, because they touched the common need. Had public opinion been of a judicial cast it would have suffered cheerfully the deprivation, discomfort and expense, because these should be endured in the cause of right, either of the strikers or the mine workers.

Political contests afford the most familiar examples of the fallibility, not to say gullibility, of public opinion.

Large results sometimes hinge upon incidents, essentially trivial, but distorted and exaggerated for political effect. The "roorback" is a familiar weapon of the closing days of important campaigns.

The perspective of history illustrates vividly the changing public conception of the characters of men in political life. To-day, the American Nation reveres the name of the Father of His Country. But in his own time, a considerable portion of the citizens of the Thirteen States believed the denunciations of George Washington heaped upon him by his partisan opponents.

Was it not public opinion that forced Galileo to recant, under oath, his discovery that the earth moves around the sun? Andrew D. White answers that question by saying: "The supporters of what was called 'sound learning' declared his discoveries deceptions

and his announcements blasphemy." It was a century before modified opinion permitted the removal of his bones from a dishonored grave. Even nearer our own day, the same authority tells us, the great Cotton Mather published a book "thanking God" for the burning of witches at Salem; "and his book received the approbation of the Governor of the Province and the President of Harvard College." Even Christ was crucified in obedience to an outburst of public opinion.

But granting that public opinion is not infallible, the advocates of compulsory arbitration would provide a method for its education, through a commission of "high-minded, disinterested citizens" to investigate and report upon industrial disputes. The assumption here is that a body of such a character can always be trusted to arrive at the truth in any controversy. But do the conclusions already reached by the expert wisdom of the Bench wholly verify this assumption?

Civilization has evolved elaborate codes of law and systems of jurisprudence. Yet the highest court in the land renders decisions upon which the justices are almost evenly divided; the decisions are themselves subjects of popular debate.

The Dred Scott decision settled nothing and plunged the Nation into violent controversy. Nothing could show a more hopeless tangle of judicial intellects than the decision as to the Philippines; scarcely any two of the justices following similar lines of reasoning. Expediency, rather than conviction, favored its general acceptance.

Industrial disputes are essentially questions for prompt decision. But there exist no formulated principles of industrial ethics such as have been established, through centuries of experience, in legal jurisprudence.

Any tribunal would have to summon to its aid expert testimony relating to a tangle of confusing interests and peculiar conditions. The experts would contradict one another, as handwriting and medical experts do now in the courts. Is there any certainty that a conclusive result, carrying in its terms conviction of its justice, would be reached by such a process? And is there any assurance that subsequent public opinion would sustain the decision?

So strong has grown to be the distrust in the assured justice of the decision of a dispute by any outside judgment, whether of an umpire, a court, or ultimately of the general public, that many trade agreements, especially in England, now provide that disputes shall be referred to a joint committee, composed of an equal number of representatives of each side, and prohibit the employment of any umpire, as well as the rendering of any compromise verdict. The bricklayers and other organizations in this country have a similar provision in their by-laws. A provision for conference, instead of arbitration, with equal representation of each side, is an increasingly frequent feature of trade agreements.

There is a striking parallel to this resort to an evenly balanced conference committee in industrial disputes in preference to arbitration in the method by which the controversy over the Alaskan boundary was settled. In that instance, it was the effort of Great

Britain to make it appear that the boundary dispute was referred to "arbitration." But in fact, the word "arbitrate" was stricken from the treaty at the request of the United States, whose attitude was that its right to the Alaskan coast strip was too well established for arbitration. The treaty accordingly provided that the six members of the tribunal, three appointed by Canada and three by the United States, were to act as "impartial jurors." John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State, thus defined the method of settling this international dispute: "The treaty does not entrust any American territory to the adjudication of arbitration, but creates a commission of three American and three British experts to determine where the line should be drawn between Alaska and British Columbia."

It is urged that the state may exact, as a condition of any corporate franchise, that the company bind itself to arbitrate any difference with its employees. One objection that employers instantly suggest is that such a requirement would amount to a standing invitation to the employees to seek or to invent or to exaggerate grievances, and to demand arbitration in the confidence that the award would not injure them, and might better them. The chance that the arbitrator might be an elective office-holder or other politician would tend to increase this temptation. Even more serious, employers claim, is the objection that this plan would be compulsory upon the corporation, but not upon the employees. No device has yet been contrived that would enforce compliance with an award by the employees. Neither bonding, nor incorporation of the unions seems practicable. But even if they both were, there exists no means to compel men to work effectively against their will. There was a recent impressive illustration of this fact in Italy, where the Kingdom operates the railways. But a dispatch from Rome describes the employees, during a period preceding a strike, as adopting a novel means of pressing their demands upon the authorities:

They observe the regulations in their minutest details, and lose as much time in the process as possible, with the result that the entire railroad system is disorganized, and the official time table has no relation to the running of trains. The method employed by the "obstructionists," as they are termed, instead of strikers, is as follows: When a passenger arrives in a railway station and asks an employee where the ticket office is, the man is as long as he can possibly be in giving the desired information. Arrived at the ticket office, the employee there scrupulously tests every coin handed him by the passenger before accepting it. The porter who handles the baggage saunters along the platform at a snail's pace, and with exaggerated care arranges the hand luggage in the compartment. The trunks are piled with mathematical exactness on the truck and leisurely conveyed to the baggage car. As the train is about to leave the station it is discovered that the engine is short of coal, or water, or that the wheels of the train have not been tested for hot boxes, and so on, until the passengers are exasperated beyond measure. In the beginning the men had the sympathy of the public, but this they have lost by their erratic proceedings.

At Milan some tourists fell upon the employees and beat them with their canes. The large number of English and American tourists who visit Italy at this season are the main sufferers from the present state of affairs, and many are leaving the country for other lands by the waterways.

Even under a monarchy and under state operation here is illustrated the power of recalcitrant employees to nullify the possible regulations established by an arbitral tribunal.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK CIVIC FEDERATION.

INDUSTRIAL DIFFERENCES HARMONIZED THROUGH ITS CONCILIATION COMMITTEE—AUGUST BELMONT REAFFIRMS HIS FAITH IN TRADE AGREEMENTS.

THE second annual meeting of the Civic Federation of New York and vicinity made a special feature of its proceedings a discussion of Compulsory Arbitration as a method of preventing industrial disturbances, particularly in its application to public service corporations and their employees. The discussion of this topic, which was suggested by the recent strike on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, is published in full upon preceding pages of this issue of THE REVIEW. The other business of the meeting, which was held in the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation on April 4, consisted of the receiving of reports and the election of a General Board, which will elect general officers.

In calling the meeting to order, Oscar S. Straus, Second Vice-President of the National Civic Federation, stated that he had been called to take the chair, in the absence of Charles A. Moore, President of the New York Civic Federation. Mr. Straus said:

"A great deal of the work that is done by the Civic Federation is of a confidential nature; often so confidential that even the Secretary's report refrains from touching upon it. However, there is considerable work of which many of you are more or less conversant which will be presented. When the Civic Federation was formed, it was the opinion of a great many that our main work would be arbitration. But it has proved that the Civic Federation, as such, has never arbitrated a single case. There have been here and there members of the Civic Federation who have been called on in their individual capacity as arbitrators; but the Civic Federation, as such, has never acted as an arbitration board. Its function

has been confined almost entirely to conciliation and to a method of adjustment that is even subsidiary—to bring together the disputants. We have often found that troubles have arisen between employers and employees which were not due to any fault on the part of either, but rather due to the lack of understanding among the employers. There were certain concessions which the employees demanded which the employers would have been glad to concede, but the employers, being all competitors, one with the other, and not on the most friendly relations, and by reason of severe competition, never came together; and the result was, while some of the employers would have been very glad to grant some concession, they were unable to grant it because their competitors would not grant the same concession. This happened in several important cases. The mere fact of bringing employers of a certain line together has in several instances contributed to an adjustment of serious differences that would have led to lockouts and to strikes." The Secretary, James P. Archibald, read the report of the Conciliation Committee of the New York Civic Federation for the past year, which was received and placed on file. The report follows:

"Much of the work of the Conciliation Committee of the New York Civic Federation, like that of the similar committee of the National Civic Federation, is of a confidential nature and cannot be disclosed to the public. Not that there is anything in the settlement of these disputes that would not bear the closest scrutiny and the widest publicity, but neither employers nor employees as a rule care to have their disputes or differences between themselves aired in the press. If our conciliation com-

mittee should give to the press every case it takes up, both employers and employees would feel that we were simply running a publicity bureau for the purpose of exploiting our own work. One of the great assets of our organization is the confidence both employers and employees repose in our good faith and disinterestedness in tendering our services. There has not been a week in the past year in which the officers of this body have not been asked by either employer or employee to bring them in touch with the other party.

"There are cases, however, where the parties in interest announce the connection of the Civic Federation with their work. It is only such cases that we feel free to refer to as illustrations of the work done by the committee.

"Just a year ago to-day there began a series of conferences brought about through the efforts of this organization between the employing body of lithographers known as the National Lithographers' Association and the five allied organizations representing the different crafts of employees. These conferences were continued for eight consecutive days, beginning at ten o'clock in the morning and lasting from six to ten at night. These conferences resulted in an agreement covering hours and wages for one year. As this contract is about to expire, the organizations are again in conference looking to the making of a contract for the ensuing year. With this present conference the Civic Federation has no connection, its services being entirely unnecessary. This very fact is a gratifying proof of the efficacy of the trade agreement as a basis for establishing negotiable relations between employing and wage earning organizations.

"This situation was attained in the lithographic industry only through the patient application, to a vexed and

complicated problem, of methods of conciliation. The negotiations between these two forces covered a period lasting from October, 1903, to the middle of April, 1904. They involved the exercise of the utmost tact and patience; a gradual process of education, each side learning much from the other; a constant avoidance of all appearance of interference from an outside source, coupled with persistent efforts to bring the contending parties face to face, and the necessity of creating mutual confidence in the good faith of both parties. Not only did these negotiations cover a long period; they also enlisted the time and energy of disinterested persons, as well as of the representatives of the employers' association and of the organized unions, to such an extent that several of the conferences were prolonged to the point of mental and physical exhaustion.

"A highly interesting and somewhat difficult case, in which the offices of the Civic Federation were enlisted, was that resulting first in the settlement of differences between the Association of Theatre Managers of Greater New York and the Theatrical Protective Union, composed of mechanical and other stage employees, and afterward in the agreement between the Managers' Association and the musicians' union of New York, known as 'Local 310.' This trade agreement, approved by the American Federation of Musicians, is national in effect, extending to every place of public amusement in the United States. The value of conference was signally illustrated in the highly satisfactory result of the very first meeting between the representatives of the managers and of the stage employees' union. Mutual explanations of grievances and demands resulted in an agreement that was subsequently commended by the national convention in Milwaukee of the Theatrical Protective Employees. This initial success led directly to the opening of negotiations between the Managers' Association and the musicians' union. Conference between the representatives of the managers and of the musicians' union extended over a period of several months, frequently resulting in no progress, but finally the members of the Conciliation Committee succeeded in bringing the two sides to an understanding which resulted in the introduction of the trade agreement into the new field of the production of grand opera, other musical entertainments and the drama. Here the value of frank and free discussion was disclosed by the fact that when the parties came together many of their grievances proved fanciful. For instance, the managers complained that at rehearsals and performances green substitutes frequently appeared in place of players familiar with their part. They were surprised to find that the union itself had provided in its by-laws against this evil. As they had never before conferred with the union leaders, the managers did not even know of the existence of these by-laws, which afforded them an instrument to correct the abuse. The special committee of the Civic Federation, which by invitation took part in these conferences, was composed of Messrs. Roland Phillips, chairman, V. Everit Macy, Samuel B. Donnelly, and James P. Archibald. The controversy between the musical union and the Marine and other governmental bands was brought to the attention of this organization by a threatened strike in Brooklyn. A sub-committee, with Roland Phillips as chairman, was appointed to take up the trouble. While the threatened rupture in Brooklyn did not materialize, the committee began an investigation of the whole subject involved in the controversy, which has been breaking out periodically for many years past. This report is not ready to-day, but will soon be presented. Suffice it to say that the committee did not find the subject such a simple one to deal with as had been anticipated. On the contrary, it involved some very serious problems.

"Mutual conferences, arranged through the efforts of the New York Civic Federation, succeeded last May in averting a strike of organized teamsters, that would have brought to a standstill every truck in New York, causing untold mid-summer inconvenience and distress throughout the city. Furthermore, out of these conferences was evolved a satisfactory trade agreement, the first one ever made between the organized New York truck owners and teamsters. At least one of the issues considered at these conferences was so delicate that only the earnest argument and tactful persuasion of the chairman of our special committee, Marcus M. Marks, reinforced by the efforts of Messrs. Donnelly and Archibald, secured their continuance and successful outcome. The month of July witnessed another avoidance of strife and the formation of a trade agreement, through the mediation of this committee, between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the Contractors' Protective Association of New York City.

"Our conciliation committee is frequently called upon in the adjustment of difficulties in towns up the State. It is at present working on a matter which was brought to its attention last December, involving directly not over a thousand men, but indirectly a very much larger number. The controversy had gone to such an extent that a strike vote had been taken and the men had almost unanimously decided to go out unless they could secure a hearing and a modification of certain alleged grievances. On account of the extreme sensitiveness of some of the parties in connection with the matter names cannot be here reported. Suffice it to say that after much effort a conference was finally brought about ten days ago, and two members of this body, one representing the employer and one representing the employee groups, were

invited to use their good offices in effecting a settlement. They have spent two days taking the statements of one side of the case and next week will hear the other side. They are quite confident that they will be entirely able to establish satisfactory relations.

"In February a jurisdictional controversy arose between the engineers and firemen on the New York, New Haven and Hartford R. R. While only the employees on that one line of railroad were directly involved, if a strike had occurred it would doubtless have involved other systems, as the dispute was one of long standing. The Civic Federation was asked to exercise its good offices by the officials of the Brotherhood of Firemen, after their committee had exhausted its own resources with the company, appealing first from the superintendent to the president and from the president to the executive board. Our committee held conferences first with the firemen and then with the engineers. Finally they were brought together and reached an agreement.

"The unfortunate strike of the employees of the Interborough Company, on March 7, 1905, in many ways was a severe disappointment to the friends of trade agreements and conciliation. In fact, some of our members felt on the morning of the strike that the general cause of industrial peace had encountered a serious check. Having been instrumental in bringing about the conference in 1902 that resulted in the first agreement ever made on that line between its officials and employees, and having followed that initial success with the pacific settlement of one or two subsequent controversies, our committee had every hope that it would be able to prevent the recent break. As the details of the work done before and during the strike have been published in our MONTHLY REVIEW, we will not take the time of the meeting in recounting them here. Suffice it to say that, despite the earlier apprehension of the committee, the outcome of the strike was in reality a victory for the principle of trade agreements and a demonstration of the respect for their inviolability which animates national organizations of labor. Many problems arose during the progress of this controversy, some of which will be discussed here this afternoon."

At the conclusion of the report, the chairman said:

Gentlemen, we have with us Mr. August Belmont, the President of the National Civic Federation, and perhaps he may have something to say upon the subject of the report, especially the portion of it referring to the recent strike on the Interborough lines and the inviolability of trade agreements:

Mr. Belmont: I feel somewhat embarrassed in being obliged to address you as President of the National organization. It will be impossible for me to speak upon the subject of the strike without alluding to it in a measure from the point of view of the organization which I represent; but I hope and trust that what I do say—and I will not go into much detail about it—will not be construed in any way as a bid for a decision for or against the position which the company assumed. I will simply refer to it as bearing upon my own position with respect to trade agreements as outlined at the time I had the honor of being elected President of the National Civic Federation and I wish to say that those remarks were prepared before I had any idea of assuming any official position in connection with this organization, and, therefore, they expressed at that time my personal position on that subject; and I have no reason, in the light of what has occurred, to change my views.

I stated then that I believed in the trade agreement but that it should be observed and kept inviolable by both capital and labor, and scrupulously so.

The agreements which were made with the Interborough Company were broken, as is proved by the attitude which the national labor officers assumed with relation to them, and I think it speaks well, as your secretary's report stated, for organized labor, that the position of these national officers was so promptly assumed on the side of what was right. The details of this controversy and the question of hours of labor and wages had no bearing upon the importance of the point at stake, which was the observance of the agreement between the company and its employees.

What has occurred was deplorable. But a public service corporation has no choice about the question of continuing in operation or ceasing in the same way that a manufacturing concern has. It is under contract to give service uninterruptedly. Any manufacturing concern follows its own interests in the matter. So that the Interborough Company was compelled, under its duty to the public, to be prepared for a disagreement, which, unfortunately, it had some reason to foresee, and which it was its duty to provide against. And it could not do it in a manner which would have involved simply a temporary operation of the road. It had to provide for its permanent operation in any case, and, therefore, the company, in turn, entered into an agreement with individual employees, whom it took into its service, that their positions should be secure as long as they should give proper service and satisfaction. So that, when it became possible for the company to take back some of its old employees, it could take only as many as it had vacancies for. It welcomed them. There was no antagonistic attitude on the part of the company toward the freedom of the men to affiliate with trade organizations. There was no question in regard to that. There was no interference with the freedom of labor

affiliation. The men who were taken back are employed on the same terms as they were before.

I state that, because there has been some misapprehension on the part of those who choose to interpret the attitude of the Interborough Company as unfriendly to organized labor. If that had been the case, in taking back any of its old employees it would have discriminated against organized labor, which it did not do.

In the course of a conversation with some of the representatives of the Central Federated Union, I find that it is stated that I expressed myself as in favor of compulsory arbitration. That must be qualified. The statement was based simply upon this: That I was asked the question, and I answered that that could not be possible unless both sides to the controversy could be held to the result of the arbitration. That was all I said, or intended to convey.

The following were elected members of the General Board:

ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC:

Cornelius N. Bliss, Ex-Secretary of the Interior.
Nicholas Murray Butler, President Columbia University.
W. C. Douglas, Attorney at Law.
Ralph M. Easley, Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation.
Charles S. Fairchild, Ex-Secretary of the Treasury.
Rt. Rev. John M. Farley, Archbishop Roman Catholic Church.
Rt. Watson Gilder, Editor *Century Magazine*.
Hamilton Holt, Editor *New York Independent*.
Seth Low, Ex-Mayor of the City of New York.
V. Everit Macy, Capitalist.
Emerson McMillin, Banker.
John A. Schleicher, Editor *Leslie's Weekly*.
Walter H. Page, Editor *World's Work*.
Roland Phillips, Managing Editor *Harper's Weekly*.
Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church.
C. T. Root, Editor *Dry Goods Economist*.
Albert Shaw, Editor *Review of Reviews*.
Oscar S. Straus, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague.
H. C. Watson, Editor *Dun's Review*.
Thomas F. Woodlock, Editor *Wall Street Journal*.

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYERS:

Emil L. Boas, General Manager Hamburg-American Line.
John Cooper, The Cooper-Wigand-Cooke Company.
Otto M. Eidlitz, Ex-Chairman Board of Governors, Building Trades Employers' Association.
William Green, Chairman New York Typothetae.
J. Alexander Hayden, Chairman Association Interior Decorators and Cabinetmakers.
Henry C. Hunter, Commissioner New York Metal Trades Association.
Edgar L. Marston, Blair & Co.
Marcus M. Marks, President National Clothiers' Association.
Thomas F. McCarthy, President New York Truck Owners' Association.
Charles A. Moore, President The Shaw Electric Crane Company.
Hosmer B. Parsons, Vice-President Wells, Fargo & Co.
Walter L. Pierce, Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company.
Herman Ridder, Manager *Staats Zeitung*.
Charles A. Schieren, Charles A. Schieren & Co.
Louis B. Schram, Chairman Labor Committee, Associated Brewers.
A. Beverly Smith, U. S. Lithographers' Association.
C. W. Sweet, Sweet, Orr & Co.
Charles W. Terhune, Edwin C. Burt Co.
Benjamin D. Traitel, Traitel Bros. & Co.
Charles Wilhelm, President United States Lithographers' Association.

ON THE PART OF WAGE EARNERS:

James P. Archibald, Brotherhood Painters and Decorators.
A. J. Boulton, Stereotypers.
William O. Coakley, Lithographic Press Feeders.
James Daly, Dockbuilders.
Charles Delaney, Granite Cutters.
Samuel B. Donnelly, Typographical Union.
J. J. Flynn, Metal Polishers.
William Fyfe, Amalgamated Carpenters.
Edward Gould, Teamsters.
Timothy Healy, Eccentric Firemen.
James P. Holland, Stationary Firemen.
Jesse Larimer, Housecarpenters.
Philip Kelly, Theatrical Protective Union.
Fred Lemon, Elevator Constructors.
William Long, Lithographers.
Edward A. Moffett, Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*.
Robert E. Niedig, Housecarpenters.
John W. Parker, Poster Artists.

A LABOR LECTURE TO LABOR.

Here is what is sometimes found in the labor movement: Selfishness, greed, grafting; jealousy of the leaders, no real co-operation; neglect of the meeting, indifference as to the label, the button and the card, knocking, trivial differences magnified into open quarrels, disputes, cliques, who run the whole thing for personal ends, lack of cohesion, consequent failure of many strikes and generally slow progress toward the ultimate success of the movement. Here is what should prevail: Broad-minded consideration for each other—no selfishness; absolute integrity—no grafting; confidence in well selected leaders—no jealousy; every union to help every other union—no lack of co-operation; large and enthusiastic meetings—no neglect; a vigorous campaign for the label, the button and the card—no indifference; boosting—no knocking; conferences and arbitration—no quarrels; the referendum and action by the whole union—no cliques; concentration of aims and work—no lack of cohesion.—From the *Pattern Makers' Journal*, Official Organ of the Pattern Makers' League of North America.

At best restriction of output by a particular class of workmen is a most selfish principle and therefore cannot truly be a trade union principle. The aim of this restriction is to benefit those who adopt the principle at the expense of their fellow producers in other crafts and callings. So that besides being economically false it is morally bad.—*Labor World*, Pittsburg.

THE NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION ESTABLISHES HEADQUARTERS.

ITS RELATION TO THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND ITS SPECIAL FIELD OF ACTIVITY AND USEFULNESS.

(From Bulletin No. 1 of the Civic Federation of New England.)

HHEADQUARTERS for the newly-organized Civic Federation of New England have been opened on the tenth floor of the Paddock Building, 101 Tremont street, and with the much deliberated question as to who should be secretary settled by the selection of Hayes Robbins, for several years a writer on economics and labor questions, the Boston branch of the organization is now in a position to fulfill its mission of bringing about a better understanding between the wage earners, the employers and the public. The headquarters are not pretentious; they consist of an office for the secretary large enough for ordinary business conferences if desired, and an outer office for a stenographer. But the secretary's room will soon become a virtual library of labor publications, for Mr. Robbins is gathering the labor reports of all the New England States, and already receives most of the economic and labor periodicals of the country at large.

The New England organization can hardly be called a branch of the national body, after all. It is allied with the national organization in purposes and methods, but is independent in action and influence. It has now practically perfected its organization, its lists of officers are substantially complete, its by-laws are in print, and the secretary will issue a series of bulletins which will state the aims and objects of the organization in detail and serve as a medium of communication between the executive committee and the members or others interested in the Federation's work. This is the first bulletin.

The Federation is a voluntary association composed of three general groups, one representing employers, one representing wage earners, and one representing the general public not directly identified with either of the other bodies. These three groups are also represented equally in the executive committee of thirty, which directs the general policies and work of the organization. The condition of membership is acceptance of the general purposes and methods of the Federation as stated in the by-laws, and expressed willingness to support the work by personal influence and, if possible, active co-operation when necessary. There is no membership fee. The work is maintained entirely by voluntary contributions.

It is desired to remove any possible misunderstanding of the objects and practical work of this organization. It is not an "interference committee." It does not attempt to entangle petty shop disputes, nor, for that matter, to intervene in any industrial difficulty except by request or consent of both parties. It does not pretend to know more about the details of a disagreement or the peculiar problems and special point of view of each side than those engaged in it. Its chief work is not with strikes and lockouts, but with the preventable causes thereof. What the Civic Federation has accomplished for good on that line in the national field is well known, but it does not pretend to have any final and complete "solution of the labor problem." Neither is it organized to promote directly or indirectly any eccentric scheme of social or industrial reorganization. It has no political affiliations or interests. It does not concern itself with legislation, nor in any way antagonize or interfere with the work of state boards of arbitration. Being jointly controlled and directed by representatives of employers, wage earners and the general public, in equal numbers, it is not and cannot be at the service of any special interests to gain advantage over any other interests involved in a controversy.

But the Civic Federation does stand for positive ideas, positive principles, positive work. A movement is sometimes assumed to have no principles unless it is "anti" something, or takes sides on special or local issues. That may be principle, or it may be simply short-range partisanship. The Civic Federation is neither "anti" nor partisan. It stands squarely on the proposition that our present industrial system, based on individual enterprise and free labor, is inherently sound and full of promise, in spite of many defects and abuses; that it is not a failure because of industrial strife; on the contrary, that the discord and hardship are survivals, not new growths, and are diminishing instead of increasing; that they are incidents in the slow and painful upward movement of the race, and not the result of any crafty scheme of labor exploitation, supposed to render the lot of the wage earners hopeless except through social revolution.

The whole design of the Civic Federation rests on the principle that there is no "inevitable" conflict between the interests of labor and capital. That the two are not engaged in a hopeless struggle to divide a certain fixed product, but in a common effort to make nature yield a constantly increasing return; so that practically the whole issue between capital and labor is one of fair divi-

sion of a product which, with the progress of invention, skill and intelligence, may become larger for both.

The strife that does occur is not the fault of our industrial system as such; it is due very largely to preventable causes, to misunderstandings, lack of the spirit of fairness, hasty conclusions, poor organization, unwise leadership on one or both sides, lack of self-control in the use of power, arbitrary demands, arbitrary refusals to confer, lack of correct information, failure of one party to appreciate the special problems, view point, difficulties and motives of the other, lack of personal acquaintance and of frank businesslike relations between the representatives of the interests involved on both sides. Realizing these facts, broad-minded and far-seeing men directly concerned in the problem from the standpoint of employers and of wage earners, and indirectly from that of the general public, have sought to provide, in the Civic Federation, a common meeting ground where as much as possible of this needless misunderstanding may be cleared up, and the elements of friction and prejudice taken out of the situation.

Men who have occasion to know of the good results of personal acquaintance and a better understanding between employers and employees have often remarked: "If the Civic Federation did nothing more than promote just that, it would be many times worth while."

Various doctrines of social upheaval are represented throughout the country to-day by active organizations, zealously at work encouraging class antagonism, destroying faith in the general scheme of our institutions, and



HAYES ROBBINS,
Secretary New England Civic Federation.

building up sentiment for this or that radical social experiment, guaranteed to bring in the millennium. The insistent propaganda of these movements works its way into a surprisingly large variety of important groups—social, religious, philanthropic, labor, educational, political. Its results are constantly cropping out in quarters least expected, and supplying the advocates of these doctrines with fresh ammunition. Naturally, the most determined efforts are being made among wage earners; it is a little appreciated fact that the trade union movement, on the whole, is to-day bearing the brunt of the attack. Thus far, it has proved one of the strongest bulwarks of our industrial society at what has been generally thought of as its most exposed point.

One of the most telling arguments made use of in this crusade is the fact of industrial strife—the hardship, loss and suffering that go with it. It should not be necessary to argue the question, therefore, whether it is worth while to develop a practical method of lessening the strife, or to maintain an organized means of rallying, at the danger points, the enormous reserve of public sentiment which is all the time in favor—if only passively—of industrial peace under free democratic institutions, and believes in progress through evolution rather than revolution.

The general educational influence of such an institution is probably its most important service,—more important even than the sum total of specific labor troubles it succeeds in averting or settling. In the nature of the case, the value of the work can never be measured by any tabular record of the number of such disputes adjusted; it must be estimated chiefly by the general preventive influence it steadily exerts in the community, against industrial strife on the one hand and revolutionary movements on the other, and by its practical work in building up, little by little, the habit of resorting to

peaceful rather than violent methods of settling differences.

The general officers of the Civic Federation of New England are as follows: Lucius Tuttle, president; Frank H. McCarthy, first vice-president; Louis D. Brandeis, second vice-president and chairman conciliation committee; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., treasurer; Henry Abrahams, recording secretary; Warren A. Reed, vice-chairman conciliation committee; Hayes Robbins, secretary.

The following compose the executive committee, which directs the general affairs of the Federation in the New England States:

ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC:

W. Murray Crane, United States Senator, Dalton, Mass.
Charles Francis Adams, Publicist, Boston.
Henry L. Higginson, of Lee, Higginson & Co., Boston.
Bishop William Lawrence, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Boston.
Bishop William Stang, of the Roman Catholic Church, Fall River, Mass.
Charles S. Hamlin, Lawyer, Boston.
Louis D. Brandeis, Lawyer, Boston.
John Mason Little, former President Real Estate Exchange and of Associated Board of Trade, Boston.
Horace G. Wadlin, Librarian Public Library, former Chief of Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Boston.
Hayes Robbins, Secretary Civic Federation of New England, Boston.

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYERS:

Lucius Tuttle, President Boston & Maine R. R. Co., Boston.
Frederick P. Fish, President American Telephone and Telegraph Co., Boston.
Amory A. Lawrence, President Merchants' Association, Boston.
Arthur T. Lyman, Treasurer Boston Manufacturing Company, Boston.
Edgar Van Etten, Vice-President N. Y. C. & H. R. R. Co., Boston.
Charles H. Taylor, Jr., of the Boston Globe, Boston.
P. F. Sullivan, President Boston & Northern Street Railway Co., Boston.
W. C. Winslow, of the Metropolitan Coal Co., Boston.
Wallace L. Pierce, President Walworth Manufacturing Co., Boston.
James Logan, Chairman Executive Committee, U. S. Envelope Co., Worcester, Mass.

ON THE PART OF WAGE EARNERS:

Frank H. McCarthy, President Boston Central Labor Union, Boston.
Henry Abrahams, International Cigar Makers' Union, Boston.
Frank K. Foster, International Typographical Union, Boston.
Francis J. Clarke, President State Branch American Federation of Labor, Brockton, Mass.
Dennis D. Driscoll, Secretary-Treasurer State Branch American Federation of Labor, Boston.
Edmund F. Ward, Vice-President Boston Central Labor Union, Boston.
John J. Connolly, State Organizer International Association of Machinists, Boston.
P. F. Sheehan, President Street Railway Employees' Union, Brockton, Mass.
William H. Frazier, Secretary-Treasurer International Seamen's Union, Boston.
Peter W. Collins, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Boston.

The conciliation committee was organized in part on March 13, 1905, with the following membership:

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYERS:

Lucius Tuttle, Boston.
Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Boston.
Simeon B. Chase, Treasurer King Philip Mills, Fall River, Mass.
Herbert T. Drake, Superintendent Douglas Shoe Company, Brockton, Mass.
James L. Bowlby, President Master Teamsters' Association, Boston.
Edward C. Mead, of Mead, Mason & Co., Building Contractors, Boston.

ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC:

Louis D. Brandeis, Boston.
Hayes Robbins, Boston.
Judge Warren A. Reed, Brockton, Mass.
Rev. Denis T. O'Sullivan, Boston College.
Dr. Carroll D. Wright, President Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
Professor John Marshall Barker, Boston University.
Hon. Charles S. Hamlin, Boston.

ON THE PART OF WAGE EARNERS:

Frank H. McCarthy, President Boston Central Labor Union.
Henry Abrahams, International Cigar Makers' Union, Boston.
John F. Tohin, President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Peter H. McNealy, President Joint Council Teamsters' Union, Boston.
James Tansey, President Textile Council, Fall River, Mass.
James Duncan, Secretary-Treasurer Granite Cutters' Union, Quincy, Mass.
William Shields, New England Organizer Brotherhood of Carpenters, Jamaica Plains, Mass.

The National Civic Federation carries on its work through six general departments: Trade agreements, conciliation and arbitration, welfare work, industrial economics, trade sections, and organization, and the New England organization will proceed in the same way. Under the head of industrial economics the educational work in this section will be promoted by public meetings, from time to time. The first of these is planned for April 26, when the organization hopes to get together representative men from all over New England. There will be a dinner, and some addresses by prominent Federation leaders.

Governed as we are by public opinion, the utmost care should be taken to preserve the purity of the public mind. Knowledge is power, and truth is knowledge; whoever, therefore, propagates a prejudice, will fully sap the foundation of his country's strength.

The National Civic Federation Review

VOL. II. No. 2

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TEN CENTS

PEACE WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.

EMPLOYERS, WAGE-EARNERS AND PUBLICISTS DISCUSS RESTRAINTS UPON INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY
CAUSED BY ASSOCIATIONS OF CAPITAL AND OF LABOR.

EMPLOYERS, wage-earners and scholars were the participants in a discussion that marked the first general meeting of the Department of Industrial Economics of the National Civic Federation. The meeting was made the occasion of a dinner at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, on the evening of April 25. This meeting was the beginning of a series of similar gatherings, to be held for the purpose of bringing to bear upon specific topics connected with the relations between capital and labor the experience of men familiar with the interests of employers and of wage-earners, and the convictions of ripe scholars in economic science. The design is that these meetings shall cause a clearer understanding by the participants and by the general public of some of the questions that directly concern the industrial world and that are of general importance.

The question discussed at this first meeting was:

"How far does associated effort in industry involve the curtailment of individual liberty?" This question was the outgrowth of a spirited exchange between Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, at the annual meeting of the National Civic Federation last December. Dr. Eliot then declared that what the country needs is "peace with liberty," which he held could not be attained with combinations of either capital or labor that aim at monopoly; while Mr. Gompers asserted that there could be no liberty for the workingman without his material prosperity, to which union is essential.

Those who took part in the discussion were August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation, who acted as chairman; President Eliot, who opened, and President Gompers, who closed the debate; Edwin

R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University; Frank K. Foster, representing the Typographical Union and other labor organizations in New England; Louis D. Brandeis, lawyer and economic author, of Boston; Francis L. Robbins, President of the Pittsburg Coal Company. A verbatim report of their addresses follows:

SCOPE OF THE NEW DEPARTMENT.

Chairman Belmont:—

Gentlemen: It is with pleasure I perform, this evening, an act of official duty, that of presiding at the first regular meeting of the Department of Industrial Economics. It is a new Department of the National Civic Federation—one that is natural and logical.

At the outset, the National Civic Federation was met by a very general misapprehension of its mission. It



THE FIRST DINNER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS

was commonly and erroneously believed that it was organized to avert or settle strikes and lockouts. Our position is now better understood. We strive for industrial peace and more rightful relations between employer and wage-earners. In doing this, we look beyond the strained relationships to the causes which induce them. Inquiry, discussion, education are important factors in the settlement of vexatious problems, which are sociological as well as industrial; and this new departure in the work of the organization admits of a broader conception of the possibilities and opportunities afforded by intelligent review, research and agitation. It is not my belief that any one man, at any one time, will be able to solve these vexed and ever changing problems; but it is my belief that a step in the right direction can only be taken after the most free, full and thorough discussion.

We must place ourselves in the attitude of students, of earnest seekers after Truth. We must examine the economic laws and understand their application in special localities. We have before us, from time to time, industrial agitations, and it is our duty to discover what sub-surface conditions produce them. Economic laws govern. It is for us to read them in the relations between employers and employees, in the scale of wages,



CHARLES W. ELIOT,
President Harvard University.

in prices, cost of living, in production and consumption, combinations of capital, limitation of apprentices, restriction of output, open and closed shop, piece work, the shorter work-day, regulation of child and woman labor, the requirement of sanitary conditions of work, the restriction or distribution of immigration.

We hear in all directions a cry for economic education. On the one hand, we cannot read the publications of associations of employers without encountering an incessant emphasis upon the necessity of education. The larger employers, in transportation and in the basic industries, have in some instances advanced beyond the preaching of education, and are making systematic efforts for its actual extension among the workers. On the other hand, organized labor perceives that education is essential to its own maintenance and advancement. The American Federation of Labor has undertaken to introduce regular instruction in social, economic and industrial topics throughout its 25,000 local unions. The trade union publications contain an increasing proportion of reading matter devoted to technical subjects, all designed to increase the efficiency and productive capacity of the individual worker.

The very life of democratic institutions will be profoundly affected by the character of the information that is to be disseminated throughout the mass of the body politic. It becomes, therefore, of immediate importance that economic science be presented with convincing force and attractive clearness. To this end is this new department formed, and I cannot conceive a more useful function or a work more patriotic.

The special subject to be discussed to-night was suggested by the short debate at the last meeting. It is one of vast interest: "How Far Does Associated Effort in Industry Involve the Curtailment of Industrial Liberty?" We will this evening hear the question debated; therefore, I will not detain you by further or extended remarks.

Gentlemen, I, being a Harvard man, must be permitted to state that we have here to-night the man who stands at the head of the greatest educational institution in the country (laughter and applause), and I will introduce, therefore, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard College. (Applause.)

INDUSTRIAL PEACE WITH LIBERTY.

President Eliot:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen: Before we enter on the discussion of the precise subject which has just been read by your president, it has seemed to me that it would be useful to make a brief statement concerning

the fundamental importance in industries, and productive industries, of this principle of individual liberty, the curtailment of which is threatened by industrial combinations, whether of capitalists on the one hand, or of laborers on the other.

For brevity's sake I have written out what I wish to say on that subject. It is, of course, a theoretical presentation, but it might be indefinitely illustrated by practical examples.

The foundation of American prosperity and progress is not cheap land, or fresh mines, or flowing oil wells, or virgin forests. The real foundation is the efficiency of the American at work. By different philosophers this efficiency is attributed to various causes—to strong food, to the stimulating climate, to a native alertness and eager energy, to an intense desire to possess, to a readiness to study and try things new, and doubtless these causes all contribute to American efficiency; but there is another cause, which Americans apparently think about but little, and of late often completely ignore—namely, American freedom for the individual, the freedom which feeds hope and ambition. This freedom of many kinds—all fruitful.

When the Pilgrims sought at Plymouth freedom to worship God they planted a great tap-root of American efficiency. Religious liberty not only makes accessible to every thoughtful soul its congenial nurture, but also prevents the wastes and destructions of religious strife, evils which history teaches have been both widespread and intense. Europe still wastes a deal of force on religious contentions.

American political liberty is another source of American efficiency; for it is founded on a broad suffrage which enlists the interest and effort of every citizen capable of making a choice between parties or policies, no matter whether the choice be determined by reasoning, or by inherited or acquired sympathies and feelings. It takes the voter out of the narrow round of his personal or family affairs, and makes him think of the larger interests of the commonwealth. In other words, it develops not only the intelligence but also the co-operative spirit of the masses of the people.

Another very precious source of efficiency is the free access for all competent children to a prolonged education. This is a characteristic American opportunity which has much to do with the efficiency of the population. It secures for the many children, born in humble stations, but endowed by nature with exceptional gifts, access to their most appropriate and productive life-work. In this way free education makes an immense contribution to American efficiency.

The setting free of women for a variety of productive employments has greatly increased the collective efficiency of the nation; and we have much yet to expect from this emancipation which has followed from comparatively recent improvements in the education of women.

The perfect liberty to travel or migrate, without government passport, permission, or even inquiry, also promotes collective efficiency; for it permits both capital and labor to go where they can earn most. Indeed, parts of the laboring population are too migratory; for the nomad makes no home.

Again, American social mobility promotes efficiency; since any improving and growing man or woman readily rises from the social level at which he was born to any higher level which his early education, his trained capacities, and his experience make congenial to him. This rise is a stimulating prize for efficiency—all the more effective because his children may share it.

The very evils which accompany the present day doings of unions and trusts are only abuses of precious liberties not yet two generations old—the liberty of association, and the liberty of incorporation with limited liability. To be sure, the potent agencies created through the exercise of these new liberties have practically become, in the keen pursuit of pecuniary and especially of monopolistic advantages, enemies to the liberty of the individual, the combinations by a fatal or inevitable development always trying to absorb or destroy independent outsiders. Nevertheless, it is great liberties given by legislation which are thus temporarily perverted to the restriction of individual liberty. Undisturbed by the adverse phenomena of the moment, let us ourselves see clearly, and declare as persuasively as we can, that the chief source of American efficiency is the personal liberty of the individual workman.

If I needed any confirmation of this doctrine I should find it in the history of American education, where a new liberty for the individual has been the chief source of progress, ever since Thomas Jefferson began to design the University of Virginia.

Now, in the industries of our country this principle of liberty for the individual ought to be the chief promoter of good-will and content in labor and therefore of efficiency. What prevents this natural felicity? The opposing interests of workmen and employers prevent, and the consequent organization of labor on the one hand and of capital on the other for attack and defense. Whenever large bodies of men organize to fight, individual liberty goes to the wall. For effective fighting implicit obedience to leaders, self-sacrifice, and passionate zeal for the common cause are indispensable, and individual interests must be subordinated. Every workman who joins a fighting union, and every capitalist who joins a fighting employers' association makes a sacrifice

of personal liberty, and both act thus with the same object in view—namely, to win in a fight. These fighting unions and associations all dislike and try to prevent competition. Unions and associations alike seek to establish and maintain controlling monopolies, and some of them succeed. Thus they strike another blow at industrial liberty by destroying free competition.

The only way to prevent these sacrifices of that individual liberty which is the mainspring of industrial efficiency is to stop the fighting and the monopoly-grabbing. This is not a job likely to be finished to-morrow or next year; but it is just what the National Civic Federation, and particularly this new department of the Federation, is trying to do. What are the recognized preventatives of fighting between nations, classes or individuals? Are they not better mutual acquaintance between opponents, frank discussion of differences, publicity for evils and wrongs on either side, and agreements to abide by the decisions of previously accepted tribunals? In all labor and capital contentions the ultimate tribunal is the public opinion of the great body of consumers. Sooner or later that public opinion will regulate these new monopolistic powers, the sudden rise of which has taken courts, legislatures, and consumers by surprise. But legisla-



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

tion follows slowly after public opinion, and judicial interpretation follows legislation. For the enlightening and crystallizing of public opinion concerning the industrial strife which has often seriously embarrassed particular factories or trades and general business, and has even threatened to cut off the supply of absolute necessities of urban life, what better combination of forces can we imagine than that here assembled? This assemblage represents immense and various forces for promoting the better acquaintance of employers and employed, the discussion of industrial contentions, and the publicity which compels attention to evils before they cause war, and forms a public opinion capable of leading to beneficial legislation. The press as a whole is not likely to lose sight of the fact that the most fundamental and characteristic cause of American efficiency has been and still is American individual liberty. Industrial liberty is not to be lost; it is only impaired temporarily. Trades unions and associations of employers or capitalists are natural and useful products of democratic society, and any nation which harbors one of these forms of industrial combinations must harbor the other also. They will endure; but they will create great disturbances and do much harm until they give over the pursuit of monopoly, recognize that competition is indispensable to industrial and social progress, and see in liberty for the individual the mainspring of efficiency.

Therefore, I say again, as I said at the preliminary meeting of this department of the Civic Federation—what we want is industrial peace with liberty. (Applause.)

Chairman Belmont: Gentlemen:—We have with us Prof. E. R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, who has made a special study of the questions which interest us most and part of which are to be discussed to-night, and it affords me much pleasure to now call on him. (Applause.)

AN ANALYSIS OF ECONOMIC LIBERTY.

Professor Seligman:—

Gentlemen: Individual liberty, as an economic concept, is the result of a slow evolution. The ordinary picture of the freedom of the untutored savage is as fanciful as the rest of the fairy tales of our youth. Primitive man lacked freedom in three ways—he was in abject dread of nature, of his stronger comrades, and of the social group. In his ignorance of natural phenomena he was subject to all kinds of fear and superstition, an easy victim of the sorcerer or medicine man. Living in a state based upon brute strength, he was at the mercy of the more stalwart savage. Dependent upon

the group or clan for existence he was hemmed in by social customs that could not be infringed and by group prohibitions which it would be folly to evade. Civilization and not primitive nature is the creator of liberty. Knowledge has emancipated man from superstition. Law and order have protected him from the oppressor. Social progress has evolved in every phase of life a sphere of liberty evermore secure from the encroachments of absolutism. Economic liberty, like political liberty; freedom of thought, like freedom of speech, is the product of a most advanced stage of society.

FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUAL ACTION.

As opposed to the theories of ancient and mediaeval absolutism, with its continual interference in the economic life of the individual, the modern doctrine is that a man can commonly be depended upon for utilizing his opportunities and turning his own energies to the best account; that an adult of sound mind usually knows what is most advantageous for him, and that in making the most effective use of his own abilities, he will ordinarily do the best for the community. It involves the substantial identity of private interest and public welfare, and it is to-day, almost everywhere in the civilized world, either an accomplished fact or a cherished ideal.



FRANCIS L. ROBBINS,
President Pittsburgh Coal Company.

If we look more closely, however, we shall find that liberty is more than the mere absence of restraint from interference. In contrast to this mere negative conception of liberty as adopted by the average man, we must put the positive conception as elaborated by recent thinkers. Economic freedom is not an attribute of primitive man, but has been hammered out by centuries of toilsome effort. Individual liberty is the product of social effort. If it is to be a constructive rather than a destructive force; if it is to minister to social progress rather than to social dissolution, it must be accompanied by two other conditions. Of these the first is equality.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY THREEFOLD.

By equality we do not mean absolute equality. A certain degree of inequality inheres in the nature of things. Men are born with an inequality of physical, mental and moral attributes which no amount of care can eradicate. As soon as private property develops, these natural inequalities inevitably produce their results in inequality of possessions. The real equality that is important for economic purposes is threefold:

First—Legal equality, or the certainty that one man is as good as another before the law, and that his economic rights will be protected.

Second—Equality of opportunity in the sense that no man is shut out by legislation or social prejudice from free access to any vocation or employment for which he deems himself fitted.

Third—Such a relative equality, at least in the conditions of bargaining, as not to put one party to the contract at the virtual mercy of the other.

Without such a threefold equality freedom becomes illusory, for liberty based on gross inequality means the liberty of the stronger and more unscrupulous to impose his force on the weak. Liberty without equality is the power of the one and the subjection of the other. The liberty to invest one's capital in slaves was stoutly defended by the ante-bellum Southerner, but his liberty involved others' slavery.

SOCIAL SOLIDARITY.

In addition to equality, the growth of competition and the complexity of modern economic life have brought into prominence the second condition of liberty. The enormous power exerted to-day by accumulations of capital as well as by combinations of labor is in the present stage of human development peculiarly susceptible of abuse. These abuses may be within the margin of the law and yet none the less socially reprehensible. Unless great power is tempered by responsibility it is apt to run wild. We are beginning to speak of the re-

sponsibilities of the rich, but the adage "Noblesse oblige" applies to all forms of economic power, whether represented by wealth or not. What is needed, and what is gradually being developed is the sense of social solidarity, the conviction that no one can really disassociate himself from his neighbors' welfare, and that his every action must be judged by its influence on society at large. It was this idea that found vague expression in the "fraternity" of the French Revolution. It is the same idea that is again more forcibly advanced to-day under other names. The application in the economic sphere is no less strong than in the others. Liberty without responsibility is license.

LIBERTY AS A POSITIVE CONCEPT.

Real economic liberty, therefore, is constructive. In that it implies not simply restraint, but such a complex of conditions resting on law and custom as to insure to the greatest possible numbers the opportunity of a full development of their faculties. Liberty when based on equality and responsibility means wealth for the individual and progress for society. Liberty without equality and responsibility may mean advance for the few and retrogression for the many. Liberty as a negative concept is disruptive. Liberty as a positive concept harmonizes society and the individual. The one is a menace, the other an aid to lasting economic progress.

Let us now apply these criteria to the various forms of economic freedom:

First:

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

In the middle ages the right of internal migration was often restricted. Under the settlement laws of England, for instance, it was virtually impossible for a workman to leave his native parish. In modern times, the growth of freedom has brought the right not only of internal but of international migration. Restrictions on emigration still existing in Russia are a relic of mediaevalism. On the other hand, the prohibition of immigration which is sometimes found in modern countries must be judged in the right of liberty as a positive concept. Chinese immigration into the United States, for instance, is forbidden. Cheap Chinese labor would undoubtedly help in developing the resources of the Pacific slope, but the vital objection is the lasting inequality between the Chinese and the American workman. Immigration in general is to be welcomed because even though the standard of life of the immigrant may be lower than that of the native, he or his children will soon reach the American level. The Chinese, however, refuses to assimilate and will not adopt the American methods. He retains and perpetuates his lower standard, and will, if present in sufficient numbers, inevitably drag the American standard down to his own level. Freedom of immigration, which in this case means prosperity for the employer and comparative comfort for the immigrant, implies permanent degeneration for the American workman, that is, ultimate economic decay. It is a specious liberty because based on inequality. When, however, there is any prospect of speedy equality, interference with the freedom of immigration is uneconomic.

Second:

FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION.

The right of choosing one's profession was in former times hedged in by all manner of barriers. At its worst, the system of caste and custom prevented progress because it put men into vocations for which they were not fitted. Freedom of competition insures as far as possible the right man for the right place, and thus leads to enhanced production and better distribution. The only restrictions which modern society permits are the evidence of fitness in those occupations where incompetence would imply irresponsibility and involve injury to others as well as to one's self. The certificates required from doctors, dentists, engineers, plumbers, pilots, and the like, are not a hindrance but an aid to true liberty. The apprenticeship regulations of the trades unions, however, are sometimes good, sometimes bad. Where they are designed to secure good work or even to prevent the degradation of wages and the workers' standard of life through the irruption of large numbers of underpaid apprentices, there is much to be said for the practice. But where the object is simply to keep out competent workmen and erect a monopolistic close corporation, as in the older stages of the mediaeval guilds, the limitation is clearly indefensible.

Third:

THE FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION.

The chief forms of association, for economic purposes, are combinations of labor and combinations of capital. In classic Rome as in modern Russia, where both political and economic aims were sought, we find a stern repression of labor associations. Even after the right of political and religious association had been secured, however, combinations of labor were prohibited. Under the modern factory system such combinations have assumed the form of trade unions. The legitimacy of trades unions, as such, is now accepted, because it is recognized that they tend to secure real freedom for the laborer. The individual workman in a large factory is at a clear disadvantage in dealing with the employer. The union restores equality by securing the right of collective bargaining.

In the same way, the right of free association by capital in the form of the corporation and other combina-

tions has been acquired only in the past half century. It is only when liberty of association results in restraint of trade or virtual monopoly inimical to the general interests, or when the enterprise is conducted without any sense of social responsibility, that the community is justified in curbing its excesses. The greatest care, however, must be observed in the analysis before the infringement of the right of association can be conceded. To abandon liberty because of mere apprehended, but imaginary, inequality would be to sacrifice both liberty and equality. A clear case must be made out before the law should be invoked against combinations of either labor or capital.

Fourth:

FREEDOM OF PRODUCTION.

This includes freedom of contract and enterprise.

Here again the emphasis has been shifted in modern times. The world has outgrown the time-worn conception of the citizens as the children of an all-wise and benevolent paternal government. It has been realized that governments are not always benevolent, and never all-wise, and that with the growth of capital and competition better results can be secured by the repeal of conflicting and even contradictory provisions, which thwart



FRANK K. FOSTER,
Member of the Typographical Union.

production and check individual initiative. It was this which the French manufacturers meant when they told the Minister, "*Laissez-nous faire*," and this paved the way for a celebrated phrase. There was indeed the necessary destructive process of pulling down the barriers which impeded progress, because they checked equal opportunity. It has been requisite, however, in recent times to modify both the theory and the practice of "*Laissez faire*" in order to safeguard the interests of the various classes of society. The complex requirements of modern life have necessitated a governmental regulation of many business enterprises in behalf of producers, consumers, investors and the general public. The difference between mediaeval and modern interference is to be found chiefly in the fact that the one sought to prevent competition while the other endeavors to enlarge its domain and to raise its level. Factory laws give the operatives a fair chance, railway regulation attempts to secure equal treatment of shippers, supervision of banks and corporations is intended to enforce financial responsibility. In all these cases, interference is justified only as leading to surer and greater general liberty. We have to deal with the positive, not the negative concept.

Fifth:

FREEDOM OF TRADE.

This is virtually included under the last head, since trade is a species of production; but it forms so important a part of the subject that it is generally treated separately. The modern age has seen the emancipation of internal trade from mediaeval restrictions on the part of governments. The great controversy to-day centers about international trade. Here, again, the general hypothesis must be in favor of freedom. But freedom is not necessarily and always beneficent. When the relative inequality of two countries in the production of a certain commodity is great, free trade may hinder, in the weaker country, the growth of an industry which might become comparatively profitable and even highly necessary. Under such conditions, protection, by building up the industry to the point where there will be a domestic competition, may help in creating that relative equality between the domestic and the foreign producers which will ultimately redound to the interests of the consumer as well. Such a policy is defensible, however, only when protection increases and not diminishes real productive efficiency, and when the undoubted intermediate economic loss does not outweigh the ultimate advantage. Only then is interference with freedom legitimate, because only then is it in the interest of a more real and beneficent ultimate freedom.

We see, then, that modern liberty does not mean absence of restraint. Absence of restraint is license, not liberty. All social progress is a result of a certain repression of liberty of some in the interests of all. These restrictions are imposed by custom, by voluntary association, or by law. Good manners and social usages which prevent men from doing what they like are a mark of civilization. Associations like the church, the club and the business union, lay down rules to which each member must conform. The government enacts many laws the wisdom of which is unquestioned, and obedience to which is compulsory. In every case there is necessarily an infraction of liberty in the crude sense.

Moreover, especially in industrial matters, the cry of individual liberty often becomes a mere shibboleth, invoked by individuals against others instead of themselves. The railway magnate restricts his own liberty by pooling arrangements, but objects to interference by the shipper. The manufacturer demands protection against his foreign competitor, but objects to factory laws. The cotton grower acclaims the rise of prices brought about by manipulation on the exchange, while the spinner decries the liberty of speculation. The employer joins the selling bureau which restricts output



EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN,
Professor in Columbia University.

or fixes prices, but objects to the "tyranny" of the labor union. The labor union adopts provisions relating to apprenticeship, the open shop, and the boycott, but opposes lockouts and trusts. The lawyer refuses to consort with the "shyster," and the doctor with the "quack," because they wish to maintain the standard of their professions; but they sternly reprobate the effort of the trade unionist to prevent the "scab" from similarly reducing the level of his occupation.

Liberty, then, must be looked at from the social as well as from the individual point of view. The individual has become what he is largely through associated effort. This, however, implies a certain subjection of the individual to the group. The liberty that is compatible with social progress involves the readiness of the individual to work for a common end. If this readiness is not voluntary, it must be developed by persuasion or by force.

THE USE OF ASSOCIATION.

All association involves a certain sacrifice of independent action. The question, therefore, whether the sacrifice of independent action, which is involved in the idea of association, means a curtailment of that liberty which is really advantageous for society, depends on the use that is made of the association. If the association has for its object or incidental result the general welfare, we applaud it; if it has for its object only the advantage of the particular group at the expense of the rest of the community, we decry it. If capital is combined so as to save expenses and reduce costs, and if the advantages incidentally accrue to the community, in the shape of lower prices or better service, we cannot reasonably object to it. If the combination, on the other hand, becomes a monopoly and secures its high profits only through higher prices, we seek to restrict it. If a labor union endeavors to maintain monopoly advantages by shutting out intending members, if it unduly restricts output or unreasonably interferes within the shop, it inevitably increases cost, curtails production and raises prices. But if a labor union uses its power to prevent starvation wages, to raise by reasonable regulation the standard of life and to promote the real efficiency of the workman, the laborer may ultimately become, and has often in the past actually become, so much more efficient a workman that his higher money wages represent a lower real cost and therefore lead to lower prices for the community. In both cases, we have a sacrifice of one kind of independence to secure the economic liberty which rests on the possession of wealth; but in the one case it involves a disadvantage, and in

the other case an advantage, to society as a whole. In the one case, the enlarged opportunity of the group is purchased at the cost of the community; in the other, it goes hand in hand with the general interests of the community.

REAL ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

All liberty then is a balancing between the forces of anarchy and tyranny. The individual freedom that is oblivious of the rights of others, or of the best interests of the majority, leads to the destruction of real liberty. Group restriction that is forgetful of the possibilities of the individual leads to a tyranny that is equally destructive of real liberty. But associated action, which in helping the group also subserves the interests of general social progress, is none the less defensible because it implies a certain curtailment of the freedom to do as one likes. In a socially complex society, one must learn to like that which is best for society as a whole. From the economic point of view, only that is real freedom that is calculated to reconcile the greatest possible production in the group with the greatest possible consumption of every individual within or without the group. The liberty of one, therefore, must not endanger the economic progress of the others. Economic liberty implies at least economic opportunity, and economic opportunity depends on a certain degree of equality and responsibility. Economic liberty, in the last analysis, is the result of action, not of inaction. It is a social, not an individual, product.

Chairman Belmont: I have the pleasure of introducing as the next speaker the editor and proprietor of one of the leading labor organs and authorities, Mr. Frank K. Foster.

A LABOR VIEW OF LIBERTY.

Mr. Foster:—
Gentlemen: Those of us who speak for the philosophy of the shop are somewhat peculiarly placed in a discussion like this. Our argument springs not from an elastic and tenuous abstraction, but from the concrete fact. The work-a-day world, moved by instinct, guided by experience and driven by necessity, has sought liberty along the lines it has found good. In doing this it has disproven former economic postulates and disarranged old economic philosophies. The why and the wherefore has therefore been subordinated to the imperative *Is*.

The manual laborer has always possessed liberty to starve. His ambition, expressed through his craft association, is for liberty to live. Without this, nothing.

That the application of the principle of association, even upon voluntary lines, involves the surrender of more or less personal liberty, is conceded by all of those who have contributed to this discussion. But even the opponents of unionism have not the hardihood to assert that the social relationship itself could exist if this principle were eliminated. The real question in the industrial world is to find that happy medium which shall produce a maximum of good with a minimum of ill effects.

RESTRICTION OF COMPETITION.

There is no single, separate fact in the world of industry affecting prices and wages, whether on the side of capital or on the side of labor, that does not imply some degree, and often a large degree, of the surrender of individual liberty. That is the general principle to which the analysis of any such fact must surely lead. Let us take, for example, one such fact in the labor world—the demand for the limitation of apprentices, with which is involved the union objection to the trade school as a substitute for the training through apprenticeship. It will not profit us to observe exclusively this isolated fact. We must discover its cause, its motive. This restriction of apprentices and the associated opposition to trade schools spring from the underlying fear, warranted or not, that a craft may be overcrowded. In other words, these are efforts to prevent destructive competition between its wage earners in a given trade.

Thus we have advanced from the limitation of apprentices to the large question of excessive competition. Any of the other measures taken by organized labor to meet and overcome whatever retards or prevents their aims of higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions of work will be found to involve efforts to restrict competition. Thus the unions procure the aid of legislation to prevent wage reduction by woman or child labor. They seek by organizing the immigrant to prevent his becoming a wage reducer. The fight for the union shop is a fight to erect a barrier against nonunion labor or to force all labor in a given craft to become unionized so as to maintain a wage scale.

All of these efforts to restrict competition are efforts of association, and every one of them implies some sacrifice of individual liberty of action for a common purpose. But in competition, we have reached the cause of a vast range of phenomena, extending throughout the world of industry and manifested by capital as well as by labor.

EVILS OF EXCESSIVE COMPETITION.

Competition, it is said, is the life of trade. Yet every one recognizes, almost instinctively, that excessive competition in his own occupation spells ruin. Capitalists, farmers, professional men, all feel its danger, as well as wage earners. "Destructive," "ruinous," "unfair," "cut-

throat" are adjectives applied to excessive competition by all whom it affects. The rebate-giver, the discount shaver, the under-seller, the doctor who accepts fees below a standard, are as offensive in their roles as is the "scab," or the working wage reducer, to the trade union man. Excessive competition in the world of capital works the havoc of reduced dividends, depression of trade, long and risky credits, the vanishing of confidence, business demoralization, bankruptcy and panic. Excessive competition in the field of labor brings the dire evils of the sweat-shop, starvation wages, unsanitary factories, unprotected dangerous machinery, wretched homes, ignorance, poverty, despair and crime. These consequences are reciprocal; for the ruin of the employer means an increase in the unemployed, and the ruthless cutting of earnings following wage rivalry means the driving out of business of all but unscrupulous employers.

PARALLEL RESTRICTIVE DEVICES.

The devices to prevent excessive competition between organized capital and between organized wage earners are almost numberless, and are impressively similar in that they all restrict individual freedom. All of them involve agreement between the members of an organi-



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS,
Lawyer and Publicist, Boston.

zation not to sell transportation or manufactured articles or labor or the use of money, or any other commodity, below a minimum price. The arrangement between capitalists may be called an "association," a "gentlemen's agreement," a "pool," an "exchange," a professional society, a "corporation," or a "trust;" the arrangement between wage earners is known as a "brotherhood," an "amalgamated association," or a "union." Upon both sides these associations of capital and labor vary widely in their methods. But they all have the object of preventing ruinous competition; and they are all subject to the danger of carrying the regulation of competition to the extreme of monopoly, of exploiting the consumer of exacting unreasonable demands from the employer, of conspiracy against the public interest. Many are the attempts to regulate these combinations by legislation. Many and contradictory are the decisions of state and federal courts affecting them. With their moral aspect, this department need not concern itself. Its interest lies in the economic causes of their evolution and in the principles that should guide efforts to restrict competition, based upon the instinct of self-preservation, along lines that shall not run counter to industrial prosperity and the welfare of employers, wage earners and all consumers.

Throughout the commercial and manufacturing world we encounter these combinations, everywhere seeking to regulate prices, from the raw material to the finished product. The most familiar of these, the pool, affords a notable example of the surrender of individual liberty. The pool is an unincorporated association of manufacturers, who agree to maintain a schedule of prices and to limit production for that purpose. Each manufacturer is allowed to produce only a certain percentage of the whole output, proportioned to the capacity of his plant. To prevent violation of the agreement a money deposit is often required from each, forfeitable to the association. If one manufacturer sells more than his allotment, a fine is imposed, while members selling less than their share receive a bonus from the common fund.

EXAMPLES OF COMBINATIONS.

These pooling associations are most familiar in the iron and steel industry. Prices of ores are regulated as soon as they are dug. Price agreements among associated furnace men regulate the price of pig iron, of steel rails, and of all the immense variety of products resulting from successive treatments of the original raw material. As to competition in the larger of these prod-

(Continued on page 15.)

THE TRADE AGREEMENT ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED.

DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS ADVOCATE COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS AS A METHOD OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE BEFORE THE NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

THE first general meeting of the Civic Federation of New England, held at the Quincy House, Boston, on the evening of April 26, was devoted to a discussion of "Trade Agreements." A reception and banquet, attended by about 150 prominent business, professional and labor men and students of political and industrial economy, preceded the discussion. Among the speakers were Lucius Tuttle, President of the Civic Federation of New England, Boston; August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation, New York; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington; Wm. H. Pfahler, former President of the National Founders' Association, Philadelphia, and John F. Tobin, General President of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston. All of the speakers advocated the trade agreement as a practicable method of advancing toward industrial peace, but emphasized the importance of adherence to collective contracts between employers and employed by both parties.

The Boston *Globe* published the following report:

PRESIDENT TUTTLE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Tuttle, in opening the discussion, said:

Gentlemen: I think we may all congratulate ourselves and each other and the Secretary of the New England Civic Federation upon the successful gathering of so many people to-night interested in the great subject which the National Civic Federation began to discuss and to educate itself upon some years since, and which the New England branch has recently undertaken to study and to help work out in this section of the country.

We have no panacea for what is called the labor problem, and I doubt very much if there is any labor problem as such. What is known commonly as the labor problem is a great economic question confined more or less to this social problem, which has been working itself out from the earliest dawn of written history down to the present day.

It has had in ancient and in modern times fluctuations upward and downward, and in acute stages there has been great excitement, many difficulties to overcome, and probably many people have looked upon the ques-

tion as insoluble and as presenting difficulties which were in the end perhaps to lead to a general break-up of society.

There are, it is true, many discouraging and troublesome questions in connection with this matter, as there are in connection with every other great economic problem; but I think those who have given the most thought to the subject have never at any time felt that there were any other dangers in it than those that might be overcome by a careful consideration of the whole problem as one having various conflicting elements in its nature.

BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

The Civic Federation has undertaken mainly, as I understand it, to get those who are called employers and those who are called employed to understand each other better.

I doubt if there has ever been a serious labor problem so called, or a serious outbreak of labor difficulties, unless there was a great lack of intelligence or understanding of the subject matter, either on one side or on both sides; and I think it is the purpose of the Civic Federation and all of its branches to endeavor as rapidly as possible (and with a full understanding that the movement must go slowly) to get each to understand the other side of the problem.

It is just as important from my point of view that the man who is called the employer should reason with the men who are called the employed and give them a complete and thorough knowledge of his side of the case as it is that those who are called the employed should be asked to develop the other side of the case.

I have studied somewhat this subject, and I feel that my knowledge of it is still very limited, and yet I have discovered this—that with practically all classes of the employed, or on the part of all classes of the employed, collectively and individually, there is a desire to be trusted; and I believe that one of the things which the Civic Federation is endeavoring to bring about is a willingness on the part of the employer to trust his employe with the facts of his business and to endeavor to procure a fair and satisfactory

division of the results produced by the joint effort of the employer and the employed.

There can be no prosperity in this world anywhere unless there is a fair division of results between all of those who produce the results; and it is my belief that whenever from the efforts of the Civic Federation or in any other way the men who work—and I think we all work—can get together over the problem, reason it all out, show all sides of it, show in the end that the division which the employer is willing to make with the employed is a fair and reasonable division of the results of both, I think you have gone a long way on the road toward the settlement of any difficulty that may arise.

CONFERENCE PRODUCES AGREEMENT.

If, on one hand, the employer says, "that is your part and this is mine, and there is a wall between us, and nothing can be done on either side of that wall except that I will do what I please on my side, and you may do what you please on yours," so long as that plan of dealing with the question lasts so long there will be trouble.

But when it can be understood that there is a common interest taken in every man who works, and that the employer may come up collectively, or through his committee, state his case and have it heard, and the employe can come to his committee and state his case and have it heard, I think you have begun to solve the labor trouble in that particular instance, and there will be little difficulty in reaching ultimately an agreement which will be reasonably satisfactory to both sides. (Applause.)

Now in a word that is the purpose of the Civic Federation everywhere. It does not intend or attempt to lay down for the employer any rules or for the employe any rules, but it undertakes to put in the hands of each the olive branch of peace and to say that peace is more valuable than strife. When that shall have been accomplished, there may not be anything more for the Civic Federation to do, but it can certainly retire with honor then and rest securely upon its laurels. (Applause.)



THE FIRST DINNER OF THE NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

I now take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation, in the first place, and incidentally of the little corporation known in New York as the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT BELMONT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Belmont spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Civic Federation of New England: Your topic this evening is "Trade Agreements." I am requested to address you in my capacity as an employer, and that I will cheerfully undertake to do.

At the threshold of our inquiry I desire to impress upon you: First, that corporations face problems in relation to labor peculiar to their own special classification as industries; and, secondly, that public service corporations in their relation to labor widely differ from private corporations engaged in mining and manufacture. A public service corporation deals in a daily necessity. Its activity must be constant. It creates and supplies in the same instant. It has no reserve, no accumulation to draw upon.

In many industries, as mining and manufacture,



AUGUST BELMONT,
President National Civic Federation.

employers may decide to stop or continue as their judgment guides them; but no corporation chartered to render public service has such freedom of choice. The corporation derives its life from the state. Failure to perform its chartered duty or service works its forfeiture.

Referring to the distressing conditions attending the strike on the Interborough Company's lines, I want to say publicly to the honor of the men who went out, that among the twenty odd individuals now under indictment and facing conviction and imprisonment for forcibly interfering with the operation of the elevated and underground roads, not one was a striker; they were all outsiders, either sympathizers or hoodlums.

MR. CARNEGIE'S ADVICE.

Our respected and admired friend, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, to whom, in many things, we are willing to concede much, has recently given some advice, the wisdom of which I am compelled to question.

Mr. Carnegie advises when the employees "go out," to wait patiently for the old men to return to work, and not to fill the places with new men. This course of action may, to a limited extent, go beyond the manufacturing and iron industries, even to the steam railways, as freight trains may be delayed for a reasonable time without serious loss and inconvenience. But in a great city where the demand is for the transportation of human beings, I assert the advice would spell ruin.

The question of the open or closed shop which is involved in some trade agreements does not present itself in the operation of steam railroads. I have not encountered it in the railroad world as an employer. In the steam railroad industry what are virtually trade agreements with the brotherhoods exist. They permit members of the brotherhoods to work with non-union men, provided only all are accorded alike the conditions specified in the agreements with the brotherhoods. This question—that of the open or closed shop—did not enter at all into the former contract between the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and the Amalgamated Association of Electric Railway Employees.

The only difference before and after the strike, so far as the open shop was or is concerned, related to the proportion of union and non-union employees. At no time has the Interborough Company taken an antagonistic attitude toward the freedom of the men to affiliate with labor organizations. This I recently

stated at the meeting of the New York Civic Federation. I now desire to say that since the strike the men who have been taken back were re-employed without discrimination as to their membership in labor organizations.

At a time when I had no expectation of being honored as the President of the National Civic Federation I expressed myself, solely as an employer, in favor of trade agreement. I again declare for it. I maintain that trade agreements afford a practical method toward the establishment of industrial peace, whether in transportation, manufacturing, mining or other industries.

TRADE AGREEMENTS SHOULD BE INVIOLEABLE.

But such trade agreements must be held inviolable by both contracting parties. They are equally obligatory on the signers, both employer and employee. In all such contracts the officers of the corporation in behalf of an association of employers sign for one side, and the officers of the union in behalf of an association of employees sign for the other side. Such an agreement, cautiously and deliberately entered upon, becomes binding upon the honor of every individual affected, as well as upon each body, whether company or union, as a whole. The national organization, affected by the strike on the Interborough, by its officers gave convincing proof that such is its belief and its practice. Its action must be considered to the credit of organized labor.

We must bear in mind that the union labor movement is an evolution. Progress has been made slowly, but not with the assistance or sympathy of employers. Have we a right to demur because self-government in all of the 150 organized crafts has not become a perfected system? On the contrary, I claim that it is to the credit of organized labor that its faults are not more numerous.

In the matter of trade agreements every contest may develop new problems for our department to consider. For example, the recent deplorable strike on the Interborough lines in New York stimulated general discussion of such topics as compulsory arbitration; the incorporation of unions; the licensing of railway employees and other propositions more or less suggested by experiments in New Zealand and elsewhere, amid conditions vastly different from those in the United States, and which, even there, have yielded no conclusive results.

THE DISCIPLINE OF LABOR.

From the union standpoint there has developed the question involving the power of officers of national organizations to enforce contracts in the face of a rebellious and defiant local organization. What practical means can be devised to enforce the discipline of labor by labor? If the government of Italy cannot force its employees to work upon the railways, we should not expect the national officers of a labor organization to be able to compel several thousands of its local members to work against their will. Possibly the contract between the International Typographical Union and the American Publishers' Association may point the way to answer this question. That contract, I understand, is underwritten by the national officers of both those organizations. If it is violated by a local union, the national union at once fills the places of the strikers with other union men, expelling the offending local. The longshoremen, I understand, have such a proviso in their contract with the Great Lakes shipping interests, and they have exercised this discipline, going as far on one occasion as to fill the strikers' places with non-union men. I am glad to say that not only the national leaders, but the most representative local leaders of organized labor, are in favor of similarly drastic methods of compelling adherence to contracts.

I am not one of those who would cite an occasional broken contract, either by employers or by labor, as an argument against the Trade Agreement. Rather would I point to the encouraging record of honorable observances and successful operations as a vindication of the good faith and common sense of both employers and wage earners.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' ADDRESS.

President Tuttle then introduced Samuel Gompers, who spoke as follows:

I am very much impressed with not only the work which the National Civic Federation has performed for, after all, the actual achievements are of less consequence than the lessons which it has inculcated upon the minds of all our people.

We may look the whole world over and fail to find anywhere an effort of this character. It is true that in Germany about half a century ago Mr. Schulz-Delitsch undertook to bring about what he declared to be harmony between capitalists and laborers. It was in another way, what we understood to be the Manchester school of concrete or perhaps speculative political economy.

AGREEMENT AND HARMONY.

I do not know that there is any considerable number of men in our country and our time who believe that it is possible in our day or even in the near future to bring about harmony between the employers and the employed. I am not satisfied that such a condition would be either right or even natural.

There has not been entire harmony in this world between the buyers and sellers of a given thing; and, after all, in the cold blooded consideration of the relations between the buyer and the seller of labor, it is a business proposition, when stripped, of course, of any element of humane feeling. And there has not always been, there is not now, and I doubt that the future will develop entire harmony between the buyers and the sellers of any particular thing.

There may be mutuality, there may be a common understanding that for the sake of convenience during a specified time there shall be agreement, there shall be understanding, there shall be a common effort to continue industry, transportation, the distribution of wealth, under the term commerce.

With the increased ability to produce the wealth of the world, due to all the pent-up genius of all the ages that have gone before; with the possibilities of the improvements in our day upon the conditions of the past the world of workers asks this question: Are we to be constantly in the condition of our forefathers or of the present day? Are we not entitled to be sharers in the great industrial advancement and development of our time?



LUCIUS TUTTLE,
President New England Civic Federation.

We ask whether it is fair, whether it is just, whether it is wise that the hours of daily toil which have prevailed in the past shall continue despite the fact that wealth is produced in our day a hundred fold to what it was half a century ago?

We ask that with the great material progress and mental advancement of all others in society, larger opportunities should be opened up to our children that they may be the better prepared to meet the problems and to bear the burden of modern industrial conditions.

THE DEMAND OF LABOR.

Labor makes a demand upon modern society for better conditions. It asks for more leisure, a shorter work-day that shall give men leisure to live, leisure to love, leisure to enjoy their freedom, leisure to develop the best that is in them and in their wives and in their children.

Of course those who take a position antagonistic to this demand that labor makes may fancy themselves in a security by that opposition. There have been instances in the history of the world where the possessors of wealth have lulled themselves into a fancied security against such demands, but they have never enjoyed either the safety of the security supposed to come from the effort to maintain that position. For, no matter whether the organizations of labor continue to exist, or whether they by any possible effort could be swept out of existence to-morrow, you could not destroy the yearnings in the human heart, or these aspirations in the human mind.

If the workingmen had continued in slavery as in bygone ages, if they had not been taught the alphabet and the three R's and something beyond them, you employers of labor might have continued to be masters of the situation. But owing to certain conditions that are not necessary to enumerate now, the workingmen have tasted freedom. They have learned the importance of the A, B and C, and the other letters of the alphabet. They have learned to conjure with those letters. They have learned that certain of the letters spell "liberty," and having learned that, it is neither wise, nor sane, nor economic to try to dispel that understanding and conception. (Applause.)

THE INTEREST OF EMPLOYERS.

I have every reason to believe, judging from the history of the people of our country, that there is not any problem which may confront us that we cannot solve. We have our organizations of labor; we have grown immensely in numbers; we have grown even in greater proportion in the feeling of fraternity among those who

are organized and even among the unorganized workmen there is the general concession that the hegemony and the progress and the interests of labor are represented by the organization of the labor movement.

Yet this growth that has taken place in numbers, in intelligence and in feeling has not been confined to our own ranks. It has aroused the intelligent consideration of the employers of our country to a very large extent.

And I say to you, gentlemen, that up to this year of grace it has not been possible until now to bring about an association such as exists in our country where the employers of labor can meet with the representatives of organized labor to discuss the relative interests and try to find a way out where the mutual interests of both may best be conserved. (Applause.)

What do we find as the result of the much vaunted individual agreement between individual workmen and employers? An agreement entered into between them is reached, where? Usually at the entrance of the factory, the workshop, the store, the mill or the mine or an office established for that purpose by some public service corporation. And what are the consequences? If there are fifty men who may be required, if there be ten men who may be required, what is the basis upon which wages and hours and other



WILLIAM H. PFAHLER,
Former President National Founders' Association.

conditions of labor shall be fixed? The man or the men in the group of applicants for that employment compete with each other for the positions. Those whose poverty is direst, whose needs are most immediate, are those who not only secure the employment, but by reason of their immediate necessities and their impoverished condition, set the wages, hours and other conditions of labor for themselves, and for others not so immediately driven.

The trade agreement transfers the employment and the determination of the conditions of the employment from the mouth of the mine, the door of the factory or shop, to where the conditions are to be determined, not by the direct necessity, but where, after discussion, the average intellect obtains and a committee stand between the employer and the employed to determine what is just and equitable under the conditions.

MR. PFAHLER'S ADDRESS.

William H. Pfahler, of Philadelphia, former President of the National Founders' Association, was introduced as the man who, with the late Mark Hanna, had been largely instrumental in founding the National Civic Federation.

He first commented on the progress which is being made from year to year in the settlement of labor problems, through a better and clearer understanding of their causes, and especially because of the fact that employers and employees were more and more willing to discuss their differences.

He then cited three examples of associations of employers which had been formed, in each of which the trade agreement had been found of distinct advantage for a time at least. One of these associations had each year for thirteen years made agreements with employees which had been respected and which had prevented strikes, while wages had been fixed each year according to the conditions of the trade. These agreements were successful, he thought, because in the case of this particular association the agreements dealt solely with wages.

The other two organizations had not been as successful as this first one, largely because they attempted to deal with too many problems. In the case of the National Founders Association the question of apprentices had for years been laid one side as a problem upon which agreement could not be had until within a few months when it was deemed expedient to take the matter up and settle it.

Mr. Pfahler felt that this was the spirit in which agreements should be made—go slowly and settle the

problems as they arise one at a time. He felt that the National Civic Federation and the subordinate bodies like the Civic Federation of New England, would do a great deal toward furthering the trade agreement idea and toward settling all disputes in a deliberate and at the same time effective manner.

MR. TOBIN'S ADDRESS.

John F. Tobin spoke of the best means of reaching trade agreements and making them effective. He said there was no doubt but there had been many violations of agreements by employers as well as by employees—the wonder, when all things were considered, was that there had not been more of the latter, but he thought the tendency was more and more every day to live up to these agreements.

In his own experience he had seen conferences for agreements broken up on trivial grounds too often, but he was glad to testify there was a growing disposition on both sides to forget bygones and act from the present necessities.

His observation had led him to believe that there was as large a percentage of employers unreasonable in their demands as of workmen or trade unions that were unreasonable. It would be the work of the Civic Federation to aid and further trade agreements and to point out the best ways of making and continuing such agreements.

In his own experience with trade agreements in the shoe trade these had been the means of practically abolishing strikes in an industry in which strikes had been of frequent occurrence.

It was the policy of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union to impress on the unions the necessity of adhering to agreements and of living up to obligations or suffer the consequences. His organization was pledged to that principle. The result was that peace had been established through trade agreements. And as a necessary consequence this peace meant the union or closed shop which he pointed out was necessary in order to enforce the agreement. If agreements are broken in a shop the union fills the places of strikers regardless of consequences. Mr. Tobin felt that the trades union was necessary for the preservation of liberty.

LIST OF ACCEPTANCES.

Following is the list of those who accepted invitations to the banquet of the Civic Federation of New England:

EMPLOYERS.

Adams, Charles E., President Massachusetts State Board of Trade, Lowell.
Ackerman, J. E., Ackerman & Brummel, Manufacturers of Cut Soles, Boston.
Alexander, M. W., General Electric Company, Lynn.
Aldrich, John G., General Manager New England Butt Company, Providence, R. I.
Belmont, August, President Interborough Rapid Transit Company, and of the National Civic Federation, New York.
Brummel, Max, Ackerman & Brummel, Manufacturers of Cut Soles, Boston.
Bowley, James L., President Master Teamsters' Association, Boston.
Bowker, William H., President Bowker Fertilizer Company, Boston.
Balls, J. Arthur, Barber Asphalt Paving Company, Boston.
Billings, L. C., James Wilkinson & Co., Electrical Contractors, Boston.
Berry, W. F., Second Vice-President Boston & Maine R. R., Boston.
Burrowes, E. T., Manufacturer of Burrowes' Screens, Portland, Me.
Barnes, Frank L., Barnes Electric Company, Boston.
Chapin, H. B., Traffic Manager N. Y. C. & H. R. R. Co., Boston.
Capen, Samuel B., Torrey, Bright & Capen, Merchants, Boston.
Chandler, F. Alexander, Secretary N. E. Hardware Dealers' Association, Boston.
Cordingley, William R., Wilcock & Cordingley, Wool Merchants, Boston.
Covel, A. S., Treasurer Tremont & Suffolk Mills (Cotton), Lowell.
Crapo, Hon. William W., President Wamautts Mills (Cotton), New Bedford.
Cummock, A. G., Treasurer Appleton Company (Cotton Mills), Lowell.
Chase, Simeon B., Treasurer King Philip Mills (Cotton), Fall River.
Clemence, M. B., Hyde Manufacturing Company (Shoe Knives, etc.), Southbridge.
Daniels, George F., President New England Shoe and Leather Association, Boston.
Drake, Herbert T., Superintendent Douglas Shoe Company, Brockton.
Ellis, George H., Printer and Publisher, Boston.
Eaton, Charles A., Shoe Manufacturer, Brockton.
Fox, Charles K., Shoe Manufacturer, Haverhill.
Filene, Edward A., William Filene's Sons Company, Merchants, Boston.
Filene, A. Lincoln, William Filene's Sons Company, Merchants, Boston.
Frank, Philip, Boots and Shoes, Boston.
Fosdick, Frederick, President Pittsburg Steam Engine Company, Fitchburg.
Fish, W. C., Manager General Electric Company, Lynn.
Fuller, J. E., George A. Fuller Company, Building Construction, Boston.
Field, J. Howard, Charles A. Eaton Co., Shoe Manufacturers, Brockton.
Gleason, W. H., Secretary Revere Rubber Company, Boston.
Hugo, George B., President Employers' Association, Boston.
Hutchinson, George, Treasurer Clark-Hutchinson Company, Shoe Manufacturers, Boston.
Houlihan, M. J., Master Builders' Association, Providence, R. I.
Hills, George H., Treasurer Davol Mills (Cotton), Fall River.
Houghton, George C., Secretary New England Shoe and Leather Association, Boston.
Howe, Louis P., Vice-President S. H. Howe Shoe Company, Marlborough.
Harriman, Henry I., Cotton Machinery Manufacturer, Readville.
Jones, G. C., General Manager Central Vermont Railway, St. Albans, Vt.

Knight, Arthur O., Secretary and Treasurer Troy White Granite Company, Worcester.
Kunhardt, George E., Woolen Manufacturer, Lawrence.
Logan, James, Chairman Executive Committee United States Envelope Company, Worcester.
Lawrence, John S., A. A. Lawrence & Co., Commission Merchants, Boston.
Logue, Charles, Building Contractor, Boston.
Lee, Charles E., Assistant General Manager Boston & Maine R. R., Boston.
Lyman, Arthur T., Treasurer Boston Manufacturing Company (Cotton), Boston.
Miller, John L., President Granite Manufacturers' Association, Quincy.
MacColl, J. R., Lorraine Manufacturing Company (Woolens), Pawtucket, R. I.
Milne, Andrew, Milne & Chalmers, Granite Manufacturers, Boston.
Myers, S. A., Myers & Andrews, Clothing Manufacturers, Boston.
Mead, Edward C., Mead, Mason & Co., Building Contractors, Boston.
Marsh, E. A., American Waltham Watch Company, Waltham.
Proctor, Henry H., Proctor-Ellison Company, Leather Manufacturers, Boston.
Pillshury, R. W., W. S. & R. W. Pillshury, Shoe Manufacturers, West Derry, N. H.
Perry, O. H., Treasurer Middlesex Company (Woolen Mills), Boston.
Plunkett, W. C., Manager W. C. Plunkett & Sons (Cotton Manufacturers), Adams.
Plunkett, C. T., Secretary Berkshire Cotton Manufacturing Company, Adams.



JOHN F. TOBIN,
General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

Pierce, Wallace L., President Walworth Manufacturing Company, Boston.
Pfahler, William H., former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia, Pa.
Penniman, Edwin G., Master Builders' Association, Providence, R. I.
Rust, Nathaniel J., President Boston Storage Warehouse Company, Boston.
Robinson, H. C., Superintendent Southern Division Boston & Maine R. R., Boston.
Richards, James L., Boston Consolidated Gas Companies, Boston.
Smith, H. G., Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Quincy.
Stott, Charles A., Belvidere Woolen Manufacturing Company, Lowell.
Shepard, Frank R., Treasurer Employers' Association, Boston.
Shove, W. F., Treasurer Pocasset Manufacturing Company (Cotton), Fall River.
Sumner, Charles P., Agent Cunard Steamship Company, Boston.
Sherwin, Thomas, President New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, Boston.
Taylor, Charles H., Jr., The Boston Globe, Treasurer Civic Federation of New England.
Tapley, Henry F., Amos P. Tapley & Co., Shoe Manufacturers, Boston.
Tuttle, Lucius, President Boston & Maine R. R. Co., and of the Civic Federation of New England, Boston.
Winslow, W. C., Vice-President Metropolitan Coal Company, Boston.
Walcott, E. H., Secretary Boston Merchants' Association, Boston.
Wyman, Charles D., Stone & Webster (Street Railway Interests), Boston.
Washburn, Charles G. (Steel and Iron), Worcester.
Wright, John G., Wool Merchant, Boston.

REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR.

Abrahams, Henry, International Cigar Makers' Union, Boston.
Agnew, Philip, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' Union, Providence, R. I.
Baine, Charles L., General Secretary-Treasurer Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Bradford, R. H., Brotherhood Electrical Workers, Boston.
Birmingham, M. J., Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Boston.
Cain, George L., International Association of Machinists, Lynn.
Cameron, Colin W., Agent Carpenters' District Council, Boston.
Colgan, Hugh J., International Cigar Makers' Union, Boston.
Cohen, Edward, Third Vice-President Massachusetts State Branch American Federation of Labor, Lynn.
Crosman, W. L., Typographical Union, Boston.
Cooke, Herbert W., Typographical Union, Boston.
Cunningham, William J., International Association of Tube-workers, Somerville.
Collins, Peter W., President Central Labor Union, Boston.
Connolly, John J., International Association of Machinists, Boston.
Davis, Arthur G., Typographical Union, Boston.
Dyer, W. R., Metal Trades Council, Boston.

(Concluded on page 15.)

THE LAW AND THE CLOSED SHOP CONTRACT.

THE ATTORNEY FOR A CITIZENS' ALLIANCE REVIEWS JUDICIAL DECISIONS AND REACHES A CONCLUSION FAVORABLE TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

[The following are extracts from a pamphlet entitled, "The Law Relating to the Closed Shop Contract," by Walter Drew, of Grand Rapids, Mich. The fact that Mr. Drew is the attorney for the Citizens' Alliance of that city makes his narrative, analysis and conclusion in favor of the legality of the closed shop and of the desirability of complete combination of labor and of collective bargaining especially noteworthy.—Editor's Note.]

A closed shop for the purposes of this article may be defined as a "shop" in which none but members of a certain union or unions can secure employment. "Shop" is a general term for any business requiring the employment of labor. A closed shop in itself is a mere condition, and cannot properly be spoken of as lawful or unlawful. The law, however, will look to the active forces by which the condition known as the closed shop is brought about or maintained and will determine if those forces in their purposes or workings be lawful or unlawful.

A closed shop contract is a contract the immediate purpose of which is to secure or maintain the condition known as a closed shop.

Such contracts are susceptible of division into several classes according to the parties to them.

(1.) Contracts among the several members of a union in which they agree not to work in a shop where non-union men are employed. These contracts are usually in the form of by-laws.

(2.) Contracts between a union and an employer by which none but members of the union are to be employed in the employer's shop.

(3.) Contracts between a proprietor and a contractor by which the contractor is to employ none but union labor upon work to be done for the proprietor.

Such contracts may also be classified as public and private. A public closed shop contract is one which a public corporation, such as a city, county, or Board of Education is a party. A private contract is one all of the parties to which are private persons or corporations.

The courts have unequivocally condemned public closed shop contracts as unlawful and void upon constitutional and other grounds, and with no diversity of opinion.

The legal history of trades unions, their conduct, incidents and agreements, is in large measure a history of the application to labor combinations of the common law of conspiracy. It seems to have been true under early English common law that workmen had no right to combine for any purpose connected with labor conditions and that their mere combination was a criminal conspiracy. The restrictions upon the right of workmen to act in combination have been more and more removed, until, at the present time, there is no substantial difference from a legal standpoint between a labor combination and any other combination. The old common law restrictions upon combinations of workmen in general also applied to combinations of masters, the courts viewing with distrust any combined effort to influence or control trade conditions. This removal of restrictions or grant of greater freedom to act in combination may be called the development of the "right to combine."

All the different legal questions connected with trades union activities are directly or indirectly connected with this so-called right to combine. The right to strike is the right of men to combine to quit work in a body. The right to boycott is the right of men to combine to refuse to deal with another. So too the closed shop contract is related to the right to combine, for it is the act of men in combination, and expresses the terms upon which they have combined. The right to make such a contract necessarily presumes the right to combine.

Besides the greater recognition by the courts of the workmen's rights to act in combination, there are two other doctrines associated with recent judicial views upon labor questions. One is the comparatively recent doctrine that labor is a commodity to be bought and sold in the market in like manner as any other article of trade. The other is the right of individual contract, which, by the development of the view of labor as a commodity, has gained a new meaning or application in labor matters. The workman like the merchant has something to sell, and has the right of individual contract in regard to the terms of sale. The fact that his commodity is labor, and not goods, has ceased to make any difference in the methods he may use in his bargaining. Undoubtedly these views have influenced the attitude of the courts toward labor combinations and have had much to do with the judicial recognition of the workmen's right to combine.

The development of the right to combine, or rather, the greater recognition by the courts of the right to combine, from the time when a combination of workmen for any purpose connected with labor matters was held

to be a conspiracy, to the present, is summed up and expressed in the modern definition of a conspiracy. A conspiracy at common law has now come to be generally defined as a combination to do an unlawful act, or to do any act by unlawful means. In other words, mere combining is no longer criminal. It must be further shown that the combination has an unlawful purpose in view, or contemplates the employment of unlawful means.

With the former restrictions upon the right of workmen to act in combination in mind it becomes clear that the question of the validity of a closed shop contract must be a comparatively recent one. Under the early doctrines such a contract would have been not only void, but also evidence of a criminal conspiracy. Does the right to act in combination as now recognized justify or legalize the closed shop contract?—is the question to be answered.

In this country the right to combine on the part of workmen has been fully established and recognized by the courts without the coercion of any statute. This right to combine was not recognized by the common law at the time our country was separated from England, and English common law became American common



WALTER DREW,
Attorney Grand Rapids Citizens' Alliance.

law. The action of the American courts, therefore, in recognizing this right on the part of workmen, though not so stated, has been in the nature of a departure from the early English common law and has amounted to a grant or creation of a right not before enjoyed. Of course there are cases to be found where our American courts have followed to a greater or less extent English precedents. These cases, however, have been more and more discredited until it may be considered as firmly established in this country that there are no restrictions whatever upon the laborer's right to combine, other than that the combination shall not be for an unlawful purpose or employ an unlawful means.

We come now to the discussion of the closed shop contract as affected by the recognition by the courts of the right to combine within the limits of the law of conspiracy.

Every contract starts with a presumption of validity. It may be said, therefore, that a closed shop contract is valid unless its purposes be unlawful or it be secured or enforced by unlawful means. But no closed shop contract which has ever come before the courts has stood this test. There is no case at law or in equity holding such a contract valid; there are many and some most recent holding such contracts void.

A closed shop contract, the purpose of which is to establish or foster a monopoly of the labor market, is contrary to public policy and void.

The rule that a contract, the purpose of which is to secure a monopoly, is void, is a familiar one. In its application to closed shop contracts two classes of cases arise: (1) Where the court hold that it is apparent on the face of such a contract that its manifest purpose and inevitable tendency is to establish a monopoly, and, therefore, that such a contract is per se void. (2) Where the courts do not hold such a contract void per se, but inquire whether under the facts of each case the purpose of the particular contract is to secure a monopoly. In the first class of cases no outside or extrinsic evidence is necessary. In the second, outside evidence

is considered in order to make clear the purpose of the particular contract in question.

The purpose of compelling non-members to join the union against their will is unlawful. Closed shop contracts having such a purpose, are, therefore, unlawful, and the attempt to enforce such a contract to the injury of persons, not parties to it, is an actionable wrong.

This is practically the same rule as the one preceding, except that it is stated from the standpoint of the non-union man. Evidently the ultimate purpose of compelling non-union men to join the union is to create a monopoly of the labor market. From the standpoint of the public, as we have seen under the previous rule, this purpose is contrary to public policy. From the standpoint of the non-union man sought to be coerced, this purpose is not only unlawful, but if attempted to be carried out to his injury, it gives him a right of action.

The agreements or conduct of combinations must have a legitimate and proper motive. The injury of third persons from mere malice, or without any justification, is an actionable wrong.

Under this head come chiefly cases involving attempts to enforce or perform closed shop contracts and the rights of third parties affected thereby.

Ordinarily, the act of an individual done with malice involves no greater legal liability than one done without malice. So long as the individual stays within his strict legal rights his motive is immaterial. Many judicial utterances may be found to the effect that the same rule applies to combinations, and the question has been much debated. It may be said, however, that the later authorities, and the present weight of authority, is to the effect that malice or other improper oppressive purpose on the part of a combination resulting in injury to a third party, confers a right of action upon the one injured. In other words, malicious conduct on the part of a combination is unlawful when it would not be so on the part of an individual.

A closed shop contract must be the voluntary act of all the parties to it, both in its inception and in its performance.

This is a most important limitation upon closed shop contracts. It means that closed shop by-laws or closed shop agreements with an employer, adopted by a majority vote of the union, do not bind the minority. It means that the vote of a majority ordering a strike or boycott to enforce a closed shop by-law or contract, does not bind the minority. It further means that if the assent or co-operation of the minority is secured by means of any coercive measures such as fines, forfeitures or other penalties, the contract becomes unlawful, and its enforcement to the injury of others becomes an actionable wrong.

If this article shall have made it clear that the closed shop in and of itself is not an unlawful thing, and has further clearly defined the limits set by the courts upon efforts to secure or maintain the closed shop, it has accomplished its purpose. The question of the closed shop contract, and the other labor questions now of such acute interest, are but different phases of an epoch in industrial history through which we are passing. The epoch started with the entry into the labor world of the spirit of combination. The epoch may be called "The Epoch of Incomplete Combination."

The very fact that combination on the part of labor is partial and incomplete, makes inevitable strife and war and legal questions. If there were 1,000 carvers in the United States, all of whom belonged to a union, it could not be said that such a union was trying to gain a monopoly, or to injure non-union men in any agreements it might make. Such a union could carry on its "collective bargaining" with the employer unhampered. It could name any wage or other conditions it saw fit, and the employer would have no option but to accede or go without the services of its members. Unreasonable demands would thwart their own purpose, for the public would arrange to do without services for which a wage not warranted by trade conditions was insisted upon. In other words, complete combination of labor secured and maintained would do away with the present epoch of strife, with its attendant bitterness and legal questions. It would bring an era of "collective bargaining" when the different questions at issue between labor and capital would be settled more than ever before by the laws of trade and not by the laws of the courts.

It is the belief of the writer, and his justification for introducing economic considerations into a legal article, that the courts are more and more recognizing the above fact; that they look upon complete combination of labor as a good and not as an evil; and that within the limitations already set they will put no unnecessary obstacle in the way, but that their attitude toward labor in combination will be broad and liberal.

THE GREAT CONFLICT IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY ENDED.

EXPERIENCE EVOLVES A NEW ARBITRATION PLAN COMMANDING THE CONFIDENCE OF BOTH EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS AND UNIONS.

AN event of the highest importance in the building industry was the adoption, on April 22, of a new joint arbitration plan, between the Building Trades Employers' Association and the unions of the Building Trades of New York City. While this plan is local, yet it is of national consequence, since disturbances in the building trades in New York City have affected the execution of contracts from Maine to California. The plan is expected to maintain peace between about 1,000 employers and nearly 100,000 wage-earners, organized in thirty-two trades. The New York plan, moreover, may serve as a guide in bringing about peaceful conditions in the building industry in other large and growing cities.

This plan was brought about through a convention composed of three representatives of each employers' association and of each union, which was held in March. At this convention, Otto M. Eidlitz, of the Mason Builders' Association, was Chairman, and James Hatch, of the Upholsterers' Union, was Vice-Chairman. A committee of ten, five representing employers and five representing unions, was appointed to draft the plan. The members of this committee, to whose assiduous work, extending through four weeks, the unanimous adoption of the plan at the second meeting of the convention on April 22 was largely due, were:

Employers—J. R. Strong, Electrical Contractors' Association; Otto M. Eidlitz, Mason Builders' Association; Benjamin D. Traitel, Grate and Mantel Association; Lewis Harding, Master Carpenters' Association; George A. Suter, Master Steam and Hot Water Fitters' Association.

Labor—James H. Hatch, Upholsterers; Daniel J. O'Mahoney, Steam Fitters; Jess P. Larimer, House-

(Section 1 defines this territory as "all the territory known as Greater New York, unless otherwise specified in trade agreements.")

This is far more definite than the corresponding provision in the old plan, which permitted the employment of non-union men, in case a union "is unable to provide sufficient workmen, who shall become members of the



OTTO M. EIDLITZ,
Chairman General Arbitration Board.

union, if competent." Under the new provision, a non-union workman must join the union of his craft, before he can find employment; and the unions, by their own rules, are obliged to admit any competent workman of good character, thus removing an arbitrary restriction that some unions had before imposed.

Sections 4 and 5, relating to the General Arbitration Board, are entirely new, and follow:

There shall be a General Arbitration Board, consisting of two representatives from each employers' association affiliated with the Building Trades Employers' Association and two representatives from each union recognized as a party to this plan.

The General Arbitration Board shall exercise the powers delegated to it by the several provisions of this plan; shall determine the manner of adjustment of any dispute which is not specifically covered by this plan; shall adopt and amend a code of procedure, and shall determine the manner in which and by whom the expenses of special arbitration boards shall be paid.

Under the old plan, the employers' associations and the unions each elected two representatives to the General Arbitration Board, to serve six months; but there was no provision for substitutes in case of absence. The new plan provides for two alternates, and, in case

The officers of the General Arbitration Board are a Chairman and Vice-Chairman, elected by and from its members semi-annually, one to be an employer and the other an employee; and a General Secretary, to be elected by the Board for a term of one year. These officers, who serve until their successors are elected, are: Chairman, Otto M. Eidlitz, employer; Vice-Chairman, Daniel J. Mahoney, employee; Secretary, Samuel B. Donnelly, former President of the International Typographical Union. There are regular monthly meetings of the Board. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or Executive Committee, and shall be called upon the filing with the Secretary of a written request from five of the organizations represented. A majority vote carries any question in the Board; except a member call for a division, when a majority vote of each side present and voting is required. In case of inability to agree upon a motion, a conference committee shall be appointed, which shall report a motion or motions to the meeting. All these detailed provisions are new and replace what proved to be troublesome indefiniteness in the old plan.

Important new provisions are these:

The cost of maintaining the headquarters of the General Arbitration Board, including the salaries of the Secretary and his assistants, shall be divided equally between the Building Trades Employers' Association and the unions collectively.

The headquarters of the General Arbitration Board shall not be the meeting room nor the club rooms of any association of employers or employees.

Under the old plan all the expenses of the General Board were paid by the associated employers, and its officers were in the Building Trades Employers' Club. This arrangement proved repellant to members of the



DANIEL O'MAHONEY,
Vice-Chairman General Arbitration Board.

smiths; Julius Gerber, Sheet Metal Workers; William Keating, Marble Workers.

This new plan replaces the arbitration plan adopted on July 3, 1903, which had proved in many respects a failure in practical operation, as was shown by the number of strikes and lockouts occurring during 1904. The important changes from the old plan are the result of experience, and for that reason, it is hoped, will prove effective. In the convention that adopted the plan, the representatives of all but four of the thirty-two trades were empowered to act. These four trades were the stonecutters, the cement masons, tile layers and bricklayers. But the representatives of these trades voted as individuals with the others in favor of the new agreement. Their action was afterward ratified by their four local unions.

The prominent features of the new plan will be indicated by an explanation of the important changes from the old. The plan is based upon an unqualified surrender on each side of the right to strike and the right to lock out. That is, it provides for the peace of disarmament, all disputes between employer and wage-earner to be settled through the machinery provided for arbitration. The old plan provides that no unions should strike and that no member of the Employers' Association should lock out "before the matter in dispute has been brought before the General Arbitration Board and settled."

The important section providing for the "closed shop" reads as follows:

The employers, parties to this arbitration plan, agree to employ members of the trade unions only, directly or indirectly, through sub-contractors or otherwise, on the work and within the territory described in Section 1 of this plan.



SAMUEL B. DONNELLY,
Secretary General Arbitration Board.

of necessity, the association or the union may appoint a temporary substitute. The old agreement specified that "the arbitrators from the unions shall not be business agents." These words are stricken out of the new plan, but, nevertheless, business agents cannot act as arbitrators, for it is provided that "all representatives of the unions shall be working at their trade."



JAMES H. HATCH,
Vice-Chairman of Convention Upon New Plan.

unions, who felt that the General Board was thus, at least in appearance, unduly subject to the influence of the employers, and who also felt a certain embarrassment and hesitancy in bringing their business affairs to the headquarters of the employers. This difficulty is eliminated by the establishment of the arbitration offices in a neutral place. No difficulty or objection is anticipated on the part of the unions in bearing their half of the necessary expenses.

The old agreement provided simply for an Executive Committee of the General Board, with power to appoint special arbitration boards. But the new plan is specific and elaborate in its provisions regarding the Executive Committee. This is to consist of twelve members, elected equally by the employers' and unions' representatives in the General Board, to serve six months. These are divided at the outset into six classes, serving one, two, three, four, five and six months, respectively, so that hereafter this Executive Committee will be a continuous but gradually changing body. The Committee, which meets once a week, or upon call of the Secretary, has control of all receipts and expenditures; acts as a Board of Conciliation and exercises all the powers of the General Board between its meetings, except the power to amend the Code of Procedure and fix the expenses of the Special Boards. All its decisions are to be final and binding, subject to review by the General Board at the written request of an employers' association or a union, endorsed by a majority vote of the representatives of either side present and voting.

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AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY.

The new plan for arbitration between the associated employers and the unions in the building trades in Greater New York commands confidence in its successful operation chiefly because its provisions are the fruit of experience with the former unsatisfactory plan. There is a wider interest, however, in the practical outcome of this elaborate device of arbitration. Under it, the members of some thirty-two unions have obtained three leading demands of organized labor: The eight hour day; the highest average wages paid to craftsmen in the world, and the closed shop.

Here is an unprecedented opportunity for organized labor to exhibit to its critics a broad and high-minded standard of conduct. Having won these substantial gains, it would be the height of folly for the local leaders of these unions to allow trivial or limited subjects of dispute to become sources of rupture. The unions now have equal representation throughout the machinery of arbitration. Their rank and file should be careful to select representatives capable of meeting in a spirit of fairness the representatives of the employers, and of cultivating a mutual desire to maintain peace with justice in the great building industry. Thus will they set an example inspiring to organized labor throughout the country, not alone in the building trades, but in all industries. Moreover, they have now an opportunity to disprove the assertion frequently made by enemies of organized labor, that the granting of any of its demands will only whet its appetite into insatiable greed.

Great credit is given to all those leaders, among both employers and craftsmen, whose joint efforts have culminated in this latest device for industrial peace. Without invidious discrimination, it is but fair to say that no employer in the country has worked more earnestly, patiently and devotedly for the establishment in practice of the principle of trade agreements than has Otto M. Eidlitz, the Chairman of the New General Arbitration Board, and a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. The Secretary of this organization, Samuel B. Donnelly, while Secretary of the former Arbitration Board, whose expenses were wholly paid by the associated employers, although a loyal veteran in the trade union movement, was subject during two years to the angry criticism of every union disappointed in obtaining all of its demands. His unanimous re-election as Secretary of the new Board is a merited tribute to clear-headed fairness and indefatigable industry.

RESTRICTED INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.

The verbatim report of the papers and addresses at the first general meeting of the Department of Industrial Economics, presented in this issue of THE REVIEW, is a body of literature of such interest and value to economic students, that it has been decided to republish the matter, with supplementary comments, in book form. A single meeting of this department will thus result in placing in every economic library in this country and abroad a volume that will go far to dissipate the confusion about "personal liberty" and "constitutional rights" that some opponents of organized labor have injected into the discussion of trade agreements and of the open and closed shop. Convincing evidence is here accumulated that any associated effort in industry must and does involve the curtailment of individual freedom. The welfare of society, as a whole, is pronounced the general measure of the extent to which this surrender of freedom ought to be carried. Further discussion may discover a more specific and immediate test.

THE NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

Notable for its representative character and for its atmosphere of serious earnestness was the first general meeting of the New England Civic Federation, of which an account appears elsewhere in this issue of THE REVIEW. The gathering will extend a wider understanding of the purposes and methods of the national organization and of the associated local organizations, which will in time be formed in the industrial centers of large divisions of the entire country. The speakers,

both employers and wage-earners, were unanimously in favor of the trade agreement as a method of industrial peace, while they did not fail to emphasize the equal responsibility upon both parties, for the inviolability of the collective contract.

AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION.

It is too bad that the National Civic Federation has degenerated into an apologist for the Standard Oil Company. The high character of the gentlemen connected with that organization has led us to expect that its energies would be directed to better ends.—*Wyoming Sentinel*.

Several Western papers have published similar comments. They evidently confuse the Civic Federation with a new organization, recently launched by Francis B. Thurber, President, styling itself the Civic Association of New York. The National Civic Federation has absolutely no relation to the latter organization.

THE C. F. U. ATTACK.

It has been pointed out in a former issue of THE REVIEW that the work of the National Civic Federation is opposed by two foes, whose enmity is natural and logical. These two foes are the militant socialists and those employers' associations which, under the false cry that the rights of American citizens are in peril, would destroy every union.

The Civic Federation would promote better relations between employers and employed by methods which both its foes oppose, some employers because they wish the peace of subjugation, and the Socialists because they wish revolution. It is especially disconcerting to the Socialist programme of the seizure of all industries by the State to behold employers, labor leaders and publicists coming together around a table in social intercourse and search after Truth, the solvent of the most difficult problems. Such association, some of the Socialist publications protest, counteracts the radicalism of organized labor. They mean that such commingling is fatal to the class hatred which they openly and insidiously ferment; that it makes more and more impossible their "self-imposed task of undermining society."

Outside of their partisan publications, the Socialists can express their hatred of the Civic Federation only by making speeches and offering resolutions in a few unions, or in some central bodies, where the radical element, including both Socialists and anarchists, is in a majority. In only two or three such bodies in the United States is this the situation, but the radicals never miss an opportunity to push forward a resolution condemning the Civic Federation. For example, one local branch of the United Mine Workers of America adopted a resolution demanding that John Mitchell, their President, withdraw from membership in the Civic Federation. When this resolution came before the national convention of the Mine Workers, it was hooted out of hearing. Once the radicals passed a resolution in the national convention of the Iron Moulders' Union, taking advantage of a slim attendance in the closing hours, requiring its President to withdraw from the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation. The President called for a referendum vote of the union throughout the country, which resulted in the overwhelming repudiation of the resolution.

A more recent attack of this nature was made in the Central Federated Union of New York City. The radicals, although really in a minority in the New York Central Federated Union, sometimes are in temporary control, because of a light attendance of conservative delegates. It was such a meeting that passed a resolution, some weeks ago, calling for the withdrawal of all its members from the New York Civic Federation. Those labor representatives in the New York Civic Federation who belong to unions not affiliated with the Central Federated Union of course paid no attention to this resolution. Members of unions that are affiliated ignored the order to resign and demanded that a committee be appointed to investigate the charges, made when the resolution was adopted, that the labor membership in the Civic Federation was detrimental to the cause of organized labor.

This committee, consisting of Delegates Lorimer, of the House Smiths' Union; Richter, of the Musical Union; Morton, of the Amalgamated Woodworkers; Green, of

the Rock Drillers and Tool Sharpeners' Union, and Hand, of the Eccentric Engineers' Union, none of whom are members of the Civic Federation, spent two weeks in an investigation, which included a visit to the Civic Federation headquarters, where all records were placed at its disposal, and which also included fruitless efforts to extract any testimony whatever from the delegates who had made the charges, or, more properly speaking, the innuendoes. The committee finally reported unanimously that the work of the Civic Federation was altogether beneficial to the movement of organized labor and that not a single delegate who had alleged to the contrary, could be found with the courage to come into the light in support of the assertion. Among the witnesses who did testify were Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America; William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; F. J. McNulty, Grand President Electrical Workers of the United States; Joseph Weber, President of the American Federation of Musicians; Frank Buchanan, President International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and others.

Mr. Gompers addressed the following letter to the committee:

New York, April 28, 1905.

To the Committee of the New York Central Federated Union:

Dear Sirs and Brothers—

It is not a question with me to praise either the National Civic Federation or the work it has done or can do; in my judgment as an association it is and can be made an instrument of good. What it has accomplished is history, and regardless of carping criticism or malicious misrepresentation, those organizations of labor which have been brought into contact with its representatives, those who have been benefited by its aid, must of necessity be the best witnesses to the good that it has done.

With other representative trade unionists, I have held, that the National Civic Federation, *without a well-organized, thoroughly alert trade union movement, would be absolutely futile*, and perhaps its very existence unnecessary; but with the growth in our movement, the greater intelligence our membership manifests, the higher and deeper the interests of our fellow-workers in the success of the cause of labor, in that same degree will the National Civic Federation be helpful to us in attaining the purposes for which we are organized, and to attain them with the least possible friction or contest.

After all, what is the National Civic Federation? It is not an arbitration body, it does not foist itself either upon organized labor or upon employers. It undertakes to bring workmen and employers into a full, fair, free and fearless discussion of the views or interests that each represents, and by that brings a more intelligent understanding on both sides of the real industrial situation. It undertakes to bring representatives of organized labor in conference with employers with whom there is a dispute as to wages, hours of labor, or other conditions of employment, and by such conferences to come to an agreement by which a strike or a lockout may be avoided and averted.

When a strike or lockout has occurred, it not only holds itself in readiness, but by reason of the desire to further the interests of both, has brought and does bring the representatives of both sides together in conference, with a view of arriving at an adjustment of a conflict; and since the formation of that organization, in not one instance has any such conference resulted in anything but to the advantage of the labor interests.

Of course, when the Civic Federation undertook to be helpful to maintain industrial peace, or to bring about peace when strife had occurred, some over-zealous friends and more opponents undertook to say that all differences would be settled, that all strikes would be avoided, that organized labor would lose its power and potency to defend and promote the interests of the workers; but this was neither in the minds of those who organized it, nor of those who are still participants therein. Each man strongly and stoutly defends his convictions, the interests of his class, everywhere and under all circumstances. Discussion in its broadest sense, the bringing of men to argue and defend their convictions and the faith that is in them, must of necessity tend to bring a better and a higher conception of the rights to which labor is entitled. This has been a marked result of the conferences of all sorts which have been thus far held, and has helped to place the demands which organized labor makes upon modern society upon a decidedly higher plane.

It is impossible in the brief time I have to note the individual cases in which the Civic Federation has been of practical advantage to our movement, but it may not be amiss to mention a few cases which are typical of others too numerous to mention now. Conferences were held between the representatives of the United Mine Workers and others of organized labor with the mine

operators of the anthracite region, and though the strike occurred, the efforts were continued throughout to bring about an honorable adjustment of that controversy. These efforts, which contributed in the final termination of the strike and the advantages which were secured for the miners, have not been written and cannot yet be written. Ask the representatives of the House-smiths' Union of New York, the Lithographers' Union, the Textile Workers of Fall River, the Street Railway men of San Francisco, and other centers throughout the country; the building trades of New York, Chicago and elsewhere, the printing trades unions, the Structural Iron Workers, the Paper Makers, and many others, and they will surely and gladly acknowledge the valuable assistance rendered, both in the avoidance of conflicts and others brought to an honorable conclusion, and all of them with advantage to labor.

It is neither my desire nor duty to pronounce an eulogy upon the Civic Federation. It is an association made up of representative men in the ranks of labor, and a great number of large employers of labor, with some representatives of the general public. It discusses economic problems affecting the workers and people, and it aims to be helpful in bringing about more rightful relations between workmen and their employers with the least possible amount of friction, strife and conflict. No decisions are rendered binding any one to surrender his judgment or convictions or independence of his position. It aims to bring representative men in all ranks of life together to be helpful to their fellows. It has made conferences possible when, without it, many of them would have been impossible. It has been helpful in preventing strikes and paving the way for the adjustment of difficulties, and in no instance have either strikes or conflicts been avoided or adjusted when they have been other than helpful to labor.

Without more ado and simply based upon this statement, it must convince the most skeptical that the Civic Federation has not been detrimental, but on the contrary, has been of advantage to labor and the cause of labor, the great cause with which we have the honor to be associated. Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

THE USES OF ADVERSITY.

There have always been much unhappiness and suffering in this world. Every effort to lighten the burdens of the race is humanitarian. But the Socialists, who would aggravate discontent, and their close allies, the sentimental exaggerators, would make it appear that all travail is unalloyed evil and a symptom of progressive social degeneracy. The apostles of despair are incessantly presenting the admitted evils of the tenebrous sweatshop, the horrors of child labor, the wretchedness of the slums and every kind of distress incident to crowded centers of population, with sensational distortion, as if they were warnings of approaching cataclysm. To those whose minds may thus be turned toward pessimism, we commend a perusal of the following article, by Prof. E. E. Slosson, of the University of Wyoming, published in the *Independent*:

When modern science began to examine critically the ladder by which man has climbed to his present position, it was found that every step was stained with blood; that life was war and suffering the common lot of all; that animals preyed upon plants and man upon animals and bacteria upon man, a cycle of suffering; that every species was an Ishmael; that birds and butterflies were not the careless, joyous things the poet thought them, living only for beauty and pleasure, but were engaged in a terrible struggle for existence; that the song of the birds was a war-cry and the adornment of the butterfly was merely war-paint. It was found that there was an awful waste in nature, waste of time, waste of work, waste of life. Of a million seeds sown by the wind only one lived. A thousand eggs were cast upon the waters to produce one fish. A hundred men labored and sweat that one might rise. It was an awful revelation, that of science fifty years ago. No wonder that it drove men insane; made them pessimists, atheists. If science had stopped here it would have been a gospel of despair.

But it did not stop; another step changed it to a gospel of hope. It was discovered that this suffering, that looked to a casual glance like an impediment to progress, was really its cause; that pain was the molder of the universe; that war was the mother of all things, as the Greek had said long ago; that the rod of affliction was the modeling tool by which God created all living things; that there could have been no happiness now if there had been no suffering in the past; that joy is the offspring of sorrow, out of war comes peace, and through death comes life. This changed the whole view. It put optimism in the place of pessimism. Man could see the uses of adversity. There was a time when there was no suffering in the world. But that was when there was no life; when the earth was without form and void and darkness

was upon the face of the deep. With life came suffering, and increase with it. Progress may be defined as increase in the capacity for suffering. A stone does not feel pain, probably a plant does. Ancient animals suffered less than their descendants. The gigantic saurians that used to creep across the Rocky Mountain plains were as big as a house, but their brains could have been put into a tea-cup. Not much chance for pain there. And finally man came, a creature built upon a new and improved plan; but his chief endowment was that he was able to suffer more. Several new kinds of suffering were invented expressly for him. He alone of all the animals suffers in anticipation of coming perils, and grieves over the errors of the past. It is the greater capacity for suffering that has made men what they are. These are they who have come up out of great tribulation.

The earliest animals were built to avoid suffering. They were as big as an animal could be, and walk. The sensitive parts were protected, as in our modern iron-clads, by defensive armor as thick as could be carried; hide and scales almost impenetrable. Now these animals are all extinct. They were beaten in the struggle for existence, and by what? *By little animals with the nerves on the outside.* The animals that were easiest hurt conquered those that were most protected. Now our museums are filled with the relics of these obsolete forms, models of inventions that did not work well, and on the walls are hanging the armor of the knights of the Middle Ages, who were beaten by men without armor. The best protected animal now in existence is the clam; the least protected is the man. To try to escape suffering is not a good plan. It has been tried on a large scale, and it does not work.

There was a time when there was no death in the world. This was long after the creation of living beings; if by death we mean a definite and certain period of life. The infusoria, the simplest organisms, are immortal. They do not die a natural death, although they can be killed. These tiny specs of protoplasm grow and divide, but we cannot say that one part is the parent of the other. It is the same individual, only separated into two parts for convenience. It lives and grows as long as the proper conditions prevail; not merely for three score years and ten, but for thousands of years. In fact, the first created speck of protoplasm is living yet, divided into innumerable parts. Later there came beings that died—spontaneously, at the end of a given time. It was apparently a great disadvantage that an animal should die when it had acquired the strength and skill of maturity, and that a new individual should have to pass through the period of helpless infancy. But the animals that died progressed and developed, while those that did not die remained stationary. Death came into the world that we might have a fuller and complete life.

Now we see more clearly what is meant by the many mysterious sayings in the Bible, that benefits arise from afflictions, that good comes out of evil, and life comes from death. People used to believe these statements; yes, they were doubtless true, but in some hazy mystical sense, nobody knew how. Now we know that they are not imaginative, but plain statements of fact; they are not figurative, but literally true.

We now know something of the benefits of suffering in the past, but why do we have to suffer? We hear that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain till now, because it has brought forth US—but why does the labor continue? Here is man; intelligent man, who knows some things and thinks he knows it all; civilized man, except for occasional lapses into barbarism; man who stands erect, except when he crawls into some meanness; man with the moral law written in his heart, which he follows whenever he thinks it is good policy; man who knows God and prays to him whenever he gets into trouble; man, proud man, looks up to his Creator and says, "Here am I, the end and aim of all, Thy creation. I am worth all the pain and suffering that I have cost other beings, but do not carry this any further. Let us have peace."

This is no caricature. You will find substantially this view of the position of man in dozens of theological and scientific works. Of all created beings man is certainly endowed with the greatest capacity for conceit.

PRESIDENT MAHON'S GOOD SHOWING.

The report of 1904 of William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, shows that over 10,000 members, in 23 out of 137 divisions, have received increased wages of from one to three cents per hour. Nowhere have wages been reduced. Hours have been shortened in fourteen divisions, and nowhere lengthened. The organization paid a total of \$43,207 for sick and death benefits during the year and but \$13,130 for strike benefits; while \$17,488 were contributed to other unions. Sixty-nine divisions are working under written agreements, an increase of four, and there is a growing disposition among companies in favor of written rather than verbal contracts with the Amalgamated Association.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT
OF
The National Civic Federation

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Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary.

CHAIRMAN VREELAND TELLS PHILADELPHIA EMPLOYERS ABOUT WELFARE WORK.

He Narrates His Experience and Emphasizes the Importance of Selecting Judicious Foremen.

The Hardware Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia recently evinced its interest in "welfare work" by extending, through its President, Thomas Devlin, an invitation to H. H. Vreeland, Chairman of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, and President of the New York City Railway Company, to address its members upon that subject. Mr. Vreeland's address is here presented, both because of its inherent value and as an example of the widening circles of interest in "welfare work" among employers:

I understand that I am invited to address you in a dual capacity—as Chairman of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, of which the President of your Association, Mr. Thomas Devlin, is a member; and as an employer having experience in the practical operation of "welfare work" among some 15,000 employees. I shall begin, therefore, with a brief statement of the scope and methods of the Welfare Department.

The very first meeting to organize this Department was attended by representative employers from various parts of the country. This was the first time that employers giving especial consideration to the welfare of their employees had been brought together. The extraordinary interest in their exchange of experiences at the outset indicated the educational possibilities of the

Welfare Department, which have been more fully demonstrated by the literature resulting from the several conferences between employers, and between welfare managers, that have been held during the past year. There are now over one hundred and fifty members in the Department, and the enthusiasm and membership are growing, while the practical results are multiplying. The educational work of this Department relates to the meaning and value of "welfare work."

The great value of our conferences lies in the fact that those who participate in the discussions are practical, successful, business men, who frankly state their failures as well as their successes in the work; or the welfare workers, specially employed to supervise welfare work. We maintain a central bureau at the headquarters of the National Civic Federation to furnish information relative to the success or failure of experiments in "welfare work." Upon request, a consulting agent is furnished to study the peculiar needs of employees in a given plant, to advise the best way of introducing such methods of "welfare work" as may be deemed essential. When desired, a permanent agent or welfare manager is recommended.

RESULTS OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE.

Let me turn now to my own experience, and the way in which I became acquainted with the need of "welfare work" with some of its applications and its results.

At eighteen years of age I went to work in a railroad shop. In the course of time I became foreman, and step by step have filled every grade of position from foreman up to president of a street railway. In those years I did a good deal of thinking about the condition of employees.

Every man who becomes financially successful has an inclination to help his fellow men. As I became successful, I determined that my money and my personal efforts should go to aid the men engaged in the work that had been my profession.

Thousands of young men work in and about railway terminals, many of them having homes in other cities. When I was young I was in that position, and I did not know what to do with my evenings. Many of my fellows spent their leisure time in the saloons, simply because they had no other place to go.

As a result of that early experience, we have in New York a large club room, equipped with billiard tables, gymnasium, library, cigar stand and numerous other facilities; while at the power stations and terminals there are shower baths, toilet rooms and lunch rooms. At our club there are seldom less than five hundred men each night, and at the special monthly meetings, which the officers of the company attend, and at which they freely discuss every topic which may interest the wage earner, between one and two thousand workmen are present.

THE PERSONAL EQUATION.

In nine years I have been absent from only two of these meetings. I believe the attendance of the President and other officials at these meetings to be the keynote of success in this work. I keenly appreciate that it is this personal equation between officials and workmen that influences the latter, and I am careful that nothing shall disturb that friendly feeling.

There cannot be any want or serious trouble among our men or their families without our knowledge. It is the duty of every foreman to report to the head of his division every morning any case of emergency, such as might be caused by a fire, or by sudden illness. Any need for money to buy medicine, or to procure shelter, or for the care of a physician, is thus promptly met. It is especially gratifying to me to be able to state that not a single name among the employees of the company I represent has ever appeared upon the list of beneficiaries of any public charity, while so employed.

THE SELECTION OF FOREMEN.

Half of the labor troubles in all large industrial establishments are caused originally by foremen who do not know how to handle men. There is a vast difference between the small employer of half a century ago and the head of a great industrial enterprise of the present day, with its thousands of employees, where the directing heads may rarely come into personal contact with the men who perform the details of physical labor. In inspiring and creating good will, no single factor is of such consequence as the judicious selection of those who are put over and have immediate direction of the employees.

The selection of properly trained foremen is, then, a most important factor in the conduct of an industry. The old method, which still too often survives, was to select a foreman chiefly or alone because of his ability to get the most work out of the force, and with little or no regard to the question, "What are his qualifications for handling men?"

We test a foreman as to his ability and methods of discipline, but we also carefully investigate his attitude toward the employee. If he is a man calculated to antagonize the labor, we do not want him. Every foreman makes a report to me at the end of the month, telling me how many men he has discharged and his reason for doing so in every case. If foreman A discharges fifty men in a month and foreman B discharges five, we start an investigation in A's department to ascertain the cause of the trouble. If the foreman is at fault, he speedily modifies his conduct, or else we dispense with

his services. By means of a table of percentages, the manager can tell at a glance what each foreman is doing in this direction.

The effect of this good treatment of employees is apparent. Several years ago, when I established a rate of pay based upon the length of time men had been in our employ, I found that only five per cent. of them were on the payrolls for five years or more. That was the effect of the old regime. To-day eighty per cent. of our employees have been with us five years or more. Every business man will appreciate the effectiveness of the latter force as compared with the former.

THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT TO WIDEN ITS OPERATIONS.

The Executive Committee Approves the Secretary's Report and Listens to Papers and Addresses Upon Welfare Work by Prominent Employers.

The Executive Committee of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, at a luncheon at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, April 25, Chairman Vreeland presiding, listened to the report of the secretary upon the work of the past year and upon plans for the future. The Committee unanimously approved the report and adopted its recommendations, looking to the enlargement and extension of the operations of the Department. The papers read and addresses delivered at this meeting are published in this issue of THE REVIEW.

The report of the secretary included the following summaries:

CONFERENCES HELD.

1. Of Welfare Workers, March, 1904. Provided general view of the Welfare Work of twenty companies in the United States. Report widely distributed.
2. Of Members, November 15, 1904. Subjects discussed by experts: Relief Associations. Banks for Employees. Labor Department. Lunch Rooms.
3. First Local Conference, in Boston, February 27, 1905. Attended by seventy-five prominent New England employers. Subjects discussed: How to Make Good Foremen—The Labor Department. Men's Clubs. Welfare Work in a Mill Town. The Welfare Work of The American Telephone and Telegraph Company throughout the United States. Stereopticon views of practical features in Welfare Work were shown.

RESULTS OF CONFERENCES.

A gratifying demand for further information including plans for sanitary appliances; photographs and special advice on club houses, employees' homes, etc. Also the recommending of Welfare Managers upon request, and the provision of special agents to install such features as lunch rooms, smoking rooms and rest rooms.

FUTURE CONFERENCES.

Sectional conferences of employers are being arranged for Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Chicago.

An annual conference of Welfare Managers will be held in June, upon request from a number who feel that such exchanges of experiences are invaluable to them.

LECTURES.

By request of Thomas A. Devlin, President of the Hardware Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, Chairman Vreeland spoke on the work of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, at Philadelphia.

T. H. McInnerney, of the Siegel-Cooper Company, described its Welfare Work before the Monday Club of New York. The Secretary of the Welfare Department also gave stereopticon illustrations of Welfare Work in different industries throughout the United States.

Among others, lectures were given before the: Baltimore Club of Social Workers. School of Philanthropy, two lectures. Y. M. C. A.—Business Economy Class. And the C. W. Club of New York.

FUTURE LECTURES.

Foundrymen's Association, Philadelphia, June 7—Stereopticon Talk, showing special features for the benefit of molders.

Jewish Chautauqua Society at Atlantic City, N. J. School of Philanthropy, New York. Shoe Manufacturers' Association, Lynn, Mass., and others.

EDUCATIONAL WORK.

In addition to the publication of Reports of the Conferences, articles on different phases of Welfare Work have been widely distributed through the NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW each month.

The Department has undertaken to stimulate various State Bureaus of Labor to investigate and report upon Welfare Work, with very gratifying results.

PLANS FOR FUTURE EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Further articles are to be published in the REVIEW, with illustrations, on the following subjects:

Provision for Physical Comfort of Workers.
Recreation.
Education.
Housing.

Picture pamphlets will be published, with short descriptions of views of Welfare appliances in special trades, to show by example what may be done for the employes of railroads and street railways, in the line of terminal facilities, as well as for the employes in:

Paper Mills.
Theatres.
The Rubber Industry.
Foundries; and for
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

BUREAU OF EXCHANGE.

Much valuable data have been collected, including literature, architects' plans, photographs and stereopticon slides. The policy of building up this Bureau will be pursued. Many employers, planning to put in certain features of Welfare Work, have obtained the experience of other employers through this Bureau of Exchange.

Among the subjects covered for inquiring employers have been:

Relief Associations and Pensions.
Savings Plans.
Money Lending.
Profit Sharing.
Wash Rooms and Toilet Rooms.
Changing House for Miners.
Rest Rooms.
Lunch Houses and Lunch Rooms.
Laundries.
Fire Protection.
Club Houses and Recreation Halls.
Libraries.
Schools for Employes.
Housing.
Reorganization of Welfare Departments.
The Labor Department.

WELFARE MANAGERS.

The following workers have been placed:

Samuel T. Stewart, General Electric Co., Lynn, Mass.
Mrs. J. J. Spencer, Siegel-Cooper Co., New York.
Miss Anna D. Mitchell, National Cash Register Co., Dayton, O.
Miss Laura Mitchell, National Cash Register Co., Dayton, O.

Several employers have since requested our assistance in securing such workers for their institutions, and recommendations have been made.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

Very much general information has been given, both through personal interviews at headquarters and through correspondence, to employers, prominent foreigners, prospective welfare managers, factory inspectors and others, who are interested in promoting the work.

WELFARE WORK OF THE SIEGEL-COOPER COMPANY.

By B. J. GREENHUT, Treasurer; read before the Executive Committee.

Ever since the firm of Siegel-Cooper Company, New York, started, we have made a special feature of doing something for our employes; but it is only within the last few years that the subject has been given especial attention. Ours was the first among the large department stores in this country, we believe, to adopt Welfare Work systematically.

To begin with, we have an Employees' Association, the directors being employes; but naturally, they are among some of our most important men and women, as we impress upon our employes the importance of having their affairs managed by those most capable.

We do not make it compulsory upon employes to join, but I do not recall the case of a single employe not a member; for the association gives such advantages at so small a cost that, as soon as its plan and purpose are explained, no employe hesitates to join. The dues are nominal, ranging from ten to forty cents per month. In addition, the firm gives the association all fines imposed upon employes for whatever cause, and these fines average about \$225 per month.

The employes derive financial benefits from the association. In case of sickness they receive half pay, and a doctor's services and medicines without charge. The death benefit is \$100. Sometimes, in case of a death in the family of an employe, when circumstances warrant, the association sends the employe from \$25 to \$50. The association makes loans to its members ranging from \$25 to \$200. A committee investigates each application, both as to the worthiness of the applicant and the object of the loan. No interest is charged and repayment is made in weekly or monthly instalments.

A sum of from \$100 to \$200 has several times been given to employes whose health required a permanent change of climate, usually because of consumption, to

pay for their transportation and care until they could find suitable work in their new homes. When our physician reports that an employe's condition is so depleted as to make a complete rest and change of surroundings necessary, we send the patient to a farm to enjoy out-door life in the country. Only those are sent who do not need medical attendance, but simply to get away from the city; and their expenses are paid for as many weeks as the doctor recommends.

The summer cottage at Long Branch for girls is one of the most attractive and valuable features of our welfare work. About four years ago, the firm bought this cottage, with its surrounding grounds, which it had previously rented each year, and presented it to the Employees' Association, with the statement that the association should conduct the establishment, all expenses being paid by the firm. The instructions were to spare no expense in procuring the best comforts and food, and the committees in charge of the cottage carry out their instructions literally. Not a penny of expense to the girls is involved, from the time they leave the store on Saturday afternoon, until they return the following week. Transportation is provided. Each week's party is personally conducted and is met on arrival by our welfare secretary, who acts as hostess throughout the summer.

The cottage accommodates about 55 girls per week. All the rooms are light and airy, well and neatly furnished, each having a single bed, so that the guests of the association feel independent. A corps of servants leaves nothing for the girls to do but enjoy themselves thoroughly. Something is provided for their amusement and recreation nearly every moment, including sea bathing, trolley rides, coaching and sailing parties, clam hakes, and theatre and lawn parties. The large grounds are well shaded with trees, beneath which are ham-



B. J. GREENHUT,
Treasurer Siegel-Cooper Company, New York.

mocks, swings, croquet grounds, and tennis courts. Thus each girl in our employ has in the summer one week of continual wholesome pleasure. At the outset of this experiment there was some natural hesitancy among the girls in accepting this hospitality, but the initial experience caused every one to express enthusiastic appreciation. We have yet to hear a single complaint from any of these guests.

I have often found it advisable in reprimanding employes to point out to them the right course to pursue in order to succeed in their work. Invariably this advice was appreciated. But my time was so taken up that I could not devote this attention to our people individually. The necessity therefore impressed itself upon me of having a tactful representative who could gain the confidence of our employes and do for them that which I could not find time to do myself. I think that we have such a person in Mrs. Spencer, our welfare secretary, who does not make the employes feel that she is there to help them, unless they wish her help. Experience has shown that the mere knowledge that there is such a person causes our people to seek her counsel voluntarily. Her effort is to help our employes to help themselves. As our business employs so many people, it has been impossible for our managers and heads of departments to bestow much attention upon the individual person. When the work was not performed satisfactorily, it was the custom simply to dismiss such an employe and engage another. This continual change proved often to our disadvantage, as we found the new person often not as capable as the one discharged. I believe that when work is unsatisfactory, there is some reason for it. It is the function of the welfare secretary to examine carefully into each case, giving the delinquent good advice and encouragement. It is often a lack of encouragement that causes lack of success. In a rapid age and surrounded by others who enjoy luxuries and occupy more enviable stations in life, it is easy for employes to become discouraged when they

do not meet with quick success in their work. But all mercantile business has repeatedly illustrated the fact that there is always room at the top. With a few exceptions, those occupying the best positions and even members of firms are those who started in the lowest grade, and who exercised energy and perseverance. The possibilities of advancement are as great to-day, if not greater, than ever before. It is impossible for people with energy, ability and a desire to work for the best interests of their employer not to receive recognition sooner or later. But the employe may not receive this recognition as soon as expected. It is possible that discouragement at such a time may cause an employe to give up trying, with the result of utter failure. Our welfare secretary tries to instill in each employe the feeling that all have equal opportunities and that recognition will surely follow individual effort, application, energy and perseverance.

Many of our employes who now occupy positions of high pay and of trust started at the very bottom. This is true of both girls and men. I believe the best people are the cheapest. The firm is willing to pay liberally for value received. Nothing should be done to give the employes the impression that they are dependent upon the firm. Try to make them independent and exercise their own judgment. If this is properly done a large percentage of the employes will work loyally for the best interests of the employer, almost unconsciously.

Sometimes the welfare secretary discovers interesting reasons underlying apparent shortcomings in work. We have found instances where an employe, because of sickness at home and inability to employ proper attendance, was obliged to spend the greater part of the night in housework and in helping the sick. Such a person, because of loss of rest and because of worry, could not put the mind upon the work at the store during the day. This state of mind was aggravated by the fear of losing the position which was sorely needed for the payment of rent and supplies. By relieving such a person from worry, through proper help at home, she is able to apply herself to the work. But this must be done delicately as often such a person will make any sacrifice rather than accept charity.

Within a few months a branch of the New York Public Library has been established for the convenience of our employes. Their appreciation is shown by its rapid growth.

In one corner of the employes' reading room is a manicure parlor. The woman employed there is paid by the association; in addition to which she receives a small charge of ten or fifteen cents from those availing themselves of her services, thus making them independent in taking advantage of this opportunity for personal neatness.

Recently my attention was called to a school of salesmanship. Investigation showed that this school would materially help those who could take the course; but it appeared that its cost might be beyond the reach of many. The managers of the school, however, were induced to make a special price for a large class of our employes. The firm assumed part of this payment, and thus was able to present to our salespeople the opportunity of taking a course at a cost of \$20. The firm advanced to the employes any part of this sum desired, allowing its repayment in weekly instalments, in some cases as low as 25 cents per week. It is yet too early to know the results that will accrue from this experiment, but I feel confident that they will be most beneficial.

More recently our attention was brought, by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, to the excellent work of a lady in giving instructions in physical culture in factories where girls were employed. She showed the girls how they could, during their regular duties, by proper breathing, standing, sitting and walking, exercise the different muscles of the body. This conduces greatly to their good health. We were so favorably impressed with the demonstration given by Mrs. Rouland, that the association has employed her to give our girls the benefit of her instruction. They are enthusiastic over the innovation.

IMPORTANCE OF STEADY EMPLOYMENT.

A Member:—

I am very glad to endorse the sentiments of Mr. Greenhut as to the gradual development of the employe, rather than his discharge for minor offenses. While it is necessary to discharge at times and for serious offenses, I believe that this practice is indulged altogether too commonly. In many instances if the employe is given a little help and encouragement he will overcome the fault for which otherwise he might be discharged. In this way, two good purposes are accomplished: (1) The employer secures a better employe and (2) the employe is moved a step further on in his proper development. All inexperienced people have much to learn and are at first of little value to an employer. They will make many mistakes but the better and more intelligent, as a rule, do not make the same mistakes twice. To discharge for a given mistake only means that another inexperienced employe will take the place of the first, and probably make just the same mistakes. Hence, so long as the disposition of the employe is right and his intentions good, it is likely to result much more satisfactorily if the employer will exercise a reasonable amount of patience, and either

personally or through his assistants endeavor to give such instruction and encouragement as will in time qualify the employe to perform all of his duties satisfactorily. I believe that the authority to discharge should be vested only in heads of departments and other high-class superintendents, who should possess patience and be free from prejudice and the inclination to act upon quick impulse.

It may be well to speak here also of the responsibility which rests upon the employer to make the employment regular and constant. A man who has a regular income, even though it be a small one, say of \$10 per week, can adjust his expenditures accordingly. But, if a man is employed at \$15 a week, naturally with the expectation of regular employment, he will calculate his living expenses on that basis; and, if he is then put on short time of four or five days a week and his income perhaps reduced to \$9 for several weeks instead of \$15, he will begin to run behind and his condition will soon be worse than if employed at \$9 in the first place. Short time not only disarranges the workman's plans, but I regret to say it may also disarrange his habits. Idleness may beget dissipation. Factories producing perishable goods or seasonal goods are frequently obliged to adjust their output to a varying demand. But, certain industries should have no difficulty whatever in arranging for a continuous output proportionate to the requirements. During the season when sales are light, a reserve supply can be accumulated which can in turn be drawn upon when the demand is larger than the output, and in this way the total annual output can easily be made equivalent to the total demand. It seems to me that there are many employers in such lines of business who, if their attention were called to it, would appreciate the benefits which would accrue to their employes from regular and constant employment and who doubtless could be persuaded to arrange their work accordingly.

Would it not be well for our National Committee to consider this question?

WELFARE WORK IN A COTTON MILL.

Remarks made by G. GUNBY JORDAN, *President Eagle & Phenix Mills, Columbus, Ga., before the Executive Committee*

At the Eagle & Phenix Mills we manufacture colored cotton and woolen goods. Our employes number about 1,850. That you may correctly understand our location, I will explain, that these mills are in Columbus, Georgia, a city of about 25,000 inhabitants. The Chattahoochee River is the boundary line between Georgia and Alabama at this point. Immediately West of Columbus, and located in Alabama, are two villages, incorporated; one known as Phenix City, the other as Girard.

So far as I am advised, ours is the first cotton mill which undertook to do absolutely free welfare work for its help. Since I became president, we have taken up a few improvements, believing it would result in good for both the millowners and the operatives. Primarily, our intention was solely to help the operatives; and incidentally, if we made better people of them and made them more comfortable, we would indirectly receive some advantage, and certainly the consciousness of a duty well performed.

Beginning with the children of our operatives, we have established free kindergartens.

Columbus has the distinction of being the first city in the South to establish graded public schools. It also was the first, if I remember correctly, to establish a manual training school, and certainly was the first to establish a primary industrial school.

I am one of the trustees of the Public Schools of Columbus. It is the intention of the Board of Education soon to establish a secondary industrial school at this point, which will be largely self-sustaining. Our population being mainly a manufacturing one, this will, with a splendid system of free kindergartens inaugurated and sustained by the free-will offerings of the noble women of Columbus, the Primary Industrial School, Manual Training School, and graded Public Schools, give all the children—both white and black—of that community exceptional privileges to become independent bread-winners.

The Alabama side of the river is not so well situated because the incorporating act of these two villages limits the taxation to one-half of one per cent. As very many of our operatives reside in those villages we have established free kindergartens for our operatives' children. These we have tried to make as good as the best. The buildings are specially constructed and all that could be done in the way of simple ornamentation, perfect heating, good ventilation, large and roomy yards with plenty of flower and vegetable gardens, gymnasiums and mechanical devices for diversion have been supplied. The best teachers that we could procure are surely and certainly directing the minds of these children in the right channel.

It is our intention to follow the plan adopted by the Board of Education in Columbus and establish a Secondary Industrial School, on the Alabama side, where these kindergarten children will receive further training which will thoroughly fit them for their duties in life.

We have found the children educated in these kinder-

gartens and the Primary Industrial School more alert and bright than others; and as they become old enough to begin work in the mills they show an aptitude and a discernment for colors and designs and other things incident to the manufacture of high-grade colored goods, which is valuable to the mills themselves and must be comforting and satisfying to the children.

Our corporation established the first club in the South, and I believe the first in the United States established by any cotton mill, which was exclusively for the use of its work people. It embraced a lyceum, gymnasium, free circulating library, bowling alleys, free baths with an attendant, and all innocent games which this character of people would be liable to desire to amuse themselves with. Certain nights in the week are devoted to dances and receptions of the members' friends. This club is based on the plan of the Hollywood Inn, at Yonkers.

Several of the teachers in Columbus cross the river five or six nights each week to give lessons to women employes in domestic science, basket weaving and other useful household arts. These classes meet in a house recently fitted for the use of the Young Women's Christian Association, with the aid of some of the good ladies interested in that work.

We hope that our success in welfare work may encourage other corporations to improve upon what we have done.

THE NEW DEPARTMENT GREETED.

Labor World, Pittsburg.

That the new industrial department of the Federation can be utilized in accomplishing a grand work no person who has thought the question over will dispute. Of



G. GUNBY JORDAN,
President Eagle & Phenix Mills, Columbus, Ga.

course it has its opponents and objectors, just as the Civic Federation itself has. Some people contend that a department made up of a membership entertaining the most conflicting opinions regarding the claims of capital and labor cannot be a success, and it will fall of its own weight. We do not think that there is any force in an argument of this kind, indeed, it seems to us a most powerful reason for the existence of such an organization. These opposite and contrary opinions can be put against each other and there will then be a better chance of the false disappearing. One error will rub against another until truth is evolved. As Buckle says, it is not discussion that we should dread; it is that inertia that keeps us going along in the ruts and grooves of our forefathers. If intelligent representatives of capital and labor can be brought together, as members of one organization, to discuss methods of harmony and betterment, depend upon it good is sure to result in some way.

There is a growing desire among employers of labor to assist in putting methods of industrial peace into operation. This means organization both on the part of capital and of labor. This desire is growing despite the statements of men like Parry and the Socialists. It is a most hopeful sign and by all means none should be more anxious to encourage this growth than the wage workers. So that it can be deemed to a great extent a matter of duty for trade unionists to help in the developing of the Industrial Economic Department of the Civic Federation.

There is no reason whatever to doubt the sincerity and honesty of purpose of the leading employers of labor who are actively identified with the Civic Federation. No men can be more in earnest in their work and desire to do good than are such men as Francis L. Robbins, of the Pittsburg Coal Company, Marcus M. Marks and Oscar S. Straus, of New York. Whatever detractors of the Federation may say regarding it, the fact remains that it is a power for good. It has proven

itself such, and every additional year of its existence is finding it better qualified to fulfil its mission.

There is nothing dogmatic about the Federation and this is one of its best recommendations. It is educational and is founded on the idea that costly strife between capital and labor is not necessarily inevitable. Education will lead to a broader, a truer and more humane conception of each other's interests. This is the education that the Civic Federation is spreading, and with the aid of friends of industrial progress, hopes to spread more than ever. It aims at friendly methods of adjusting disputes and is always prepared to suggest methods that are fair and practical.

A PLEASED UNIONIST DINER.

Bulletin of the Clothing Trades.

The dinner of the Civic Federation at the Park Avenue Hotel last week was a disappointment. It disappointed those outside chronic critics who, after a previous dinner meeting mistakenly but loudly lamented the non-union things eaten and done on the occasion. It disappointed those timorous caretakers of union sensibilities who expected the lordly capitalists present to manifest their displeasure by listening to expressions of union sentiment with black frowns. It disappointed those bold soldiers of the union ranks who suspiciously expected that the unionist orators would be mealy-mouthed. It disappointed the virtuous absent extremists who foresaw that the labor men present were to be led captive into the capitalist camp. Above all, it disappointed the waiting crowds of various sociological complexions throughout America who anticipated their joy of soul on reading again that President Eliot had roared defiantly, "The scab is a hero and a saint on earth!"

None of these lucky happenings for the get-it-all-quick revolutionists or the to-sheol-with-every-union Parryites came to pass. Cigars, coffee-rolls-and waiters were properly decorated with union labels and buttons. Samuel Gompers and Frank K. Foster gallantly sent the union eagle soaring. Professor E. R. L. Seligman, of Columbia University, boosted it yet higher. Louis D. Brandeis, employers' association attorney of Boston, mounted to a lofty height in a grand strain of union praise. Francis L. Robbins, the greatest of coal barons, wrote a letter that would have done credit to a walking delegate bent on leaving his competitors out of sight. President Eliot—well, that most illustrious professor of Harvard, surpassed the others by going clear up into the clouds and staying there.

Before the evening was half over the union crowd present had caught on to the chain of events that was occurring in their favor. The orators who were to have devoted their innings against them were batting the ball high and slow their way, every hit an easy catch. The union auditors felt sure of their own spokesmen who were to follow. The feature of the evening having the greatest significance was the hearty applause given all along the lines of tables for sound union talk, and it grew tumultuous when Frank Foster sat down after a peroration in which he re-established his reputation as a brilliant speaker. The hearty manifestations of approval for much that was said eulogistic of unionism by all the speakers was balm upon all the sore spots in the hearts of the battered business agents present.

At the close of the speaking a dozen well known union representatives talked with President Eliot, and tried to argue him into being entirely good. He didn't come over in all respects to the domains of progressive unionism, but his opening words to the group after he had shaken hands with them went far toward satisfying their appetite for his conversion. He said: "Gentlemen, there has been a misunderstanding as to my attitude. I want you to know at once that I am in favor of trade unions."

There wasn't a labor man present who didn't go home with the feeling that labor had lost nothing that night through the Civic Federation.

UTILITY AND COMMON SENSE.

Dayton (O.) Journal.

The National Civic Federation has issued a tiny compact pamphlet which can be carried in the pocket and yet gives all the necessary details as to the purpose, scope and work of the organization. A study of the fifty or so small pages will convince the most skeptical of the utility and common sense of all the aims of the Federation. It has rarely, if ever, meddled in any labor controversy without quickly bringing peace. The active work of averting or settling strikes and lockouts is conducted by the department of conciliation. This body refuses to act without the consent of both sides to a controversy and its whole business is to bring the two parties together. Sometimes this can be done easily, but often it is the result of endless effort and consultation. But the one hundred and fifty-six cases already handled by the conciliating department prove how much better prevention is than cure. When the strike has not yet been declared, there are many chances for obviating trouble which disappear when the affair has come to an open rupture. A new department of the Federation is that of industrial economics, in which thoughtful men of all professions, especially editors, are associated for the study of industrial topics.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED.

(Concluded from page 7.)

Driscoll, J. F., Bricklayers' Union, Boston.
 Driscoll, Dennis D., Secretary-Treasurer State Branch American Federation of Labor, Boston.
 Evans, Alfred J., Journeymen Barbers' Union, Providence, R. I.
 Foster, Frank K., Typographical Union, Boston.
 Frazier, William H., Secretary-Treasurer International Seamen's Union, Boston.
 Golden, John, General President United Textile Workers of America, Fall River.
 Gompers, Samuel, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C., and First Vice-President National Civic Federation.
 Huddell, A. M., Steam Engineers' Union, Boston.
 Haverly, M. W., Typographical Union, Boston.
 Isaacs, Harry, United Garment Workers' Union, Boston.
 Isaacs, Samuel, Cigarmakers' Union, Boston.
 Kimball, L. W. E., Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Boston.
 Kneeland, Fred J., Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, Boston.
 Lovely, Collis, General Vice-President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, St. Louis, Mo.
 McNulty, F. J., National President Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.
 McDonough, F. C., Agent Waiters' Union, Boston.
 Morris, Charles, Secretary Hatters' Union, Boston.
 McLaughlin, John J., Brotherhood Electrical Workers, Boston.
 Maloney, Robert S., Central Labor Union, Lawrence.
 Myers, S., Cigarmakers' Union, Boston.
 McNealy, Peter H., President Teamsters' Joint Council, Boston.
 McCarthy, Frank H., Ex-President Central Labor Union, Boston.
 Nolan, T. M., Typographical Union, Boston.
 Olin, Carl, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Charlestown.
 Potts, J. E., Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Boston.
 Pratt, Thomas L., Boston.
 Reed, Stewart, Field Organizer American Federation of Labor.
 Sheehan, P. F., President Street Railway Employees' Union, Brockton.
 Shields, William J., New England Organizer Brotherhood of Carpenters, Boston.
 Sweet, Philip H., Fourth Vice-President State Branch American Federation of Labor, Boston.
 Stirling, Charles R., International Association of Machinists, Boston.
 Standcumbe, William, President New England Label Conference (Cigarmakers), Boston.
 Skeffington, H. J., Ex-Secretary Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union, Revere.
 Tagen, George F., Upholsterers' Union, Boston.
 Taylor, Thomas, Secretary Loom-Fixers' Association, Fall River.
 Thayer, P. B. S., Typographical Union, Boston.
 Thorner, Max B., Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, Boston.
 Tansy, James, President Textile Council, Fall River.
 Tobin, John F., General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
 Ward, Edmond F., Secretary United Brewery Workmen, Boston.

REPRESENTING PUBLIC INTERESTS.

Barker, John Marshall, Professor of Sociology, Boston University, Boston.
 Bell, A. D. S., Real Estate, Boston.
 Brandeis, Louis D., Lawyer, Chairman Conciliation Committee Civic Federation of New England, Boston.
 Crocker, Hon. George G., Chairman Boston Transit Commission, Boston.
 Commons, John R., Department of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Cushman, S. H., City Editor Evening Record, Boston.
 Dubuque, Hugo A., Lawyer, Fall River.
 Elder, Samuel J., Lawyer, Boston.
 Fahey, John H., Editor and Publisher Boston Traveler, Boston.
 Farley, William H., Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Providence, R. I.
 Goldstein, David, Economic Writer, Boston.
 Gardiner, Robert H., Lawyer, Boston.
 Hallowell, N. P., President National Bank of Commerce, Boston.
 Harrington, John H., Proprietor The Lowell Sun, Lowell.
 Hamlin, Hon. Charles S., Lawyer, Boston.
 Kimball, Rev. Thatcher R., President Church Association for the Advancement of the Interest of Labor, Boston.
 Long, Hon. John D., Ex-Governor of Massachusetts, Hingham.
 Lawrence, Rt. Rev. William, Bishop of Massachusetts, Boston.
 Metcalf, Henry C., Professor of Economics, Tufts College.
 O'Sullivan, Rev. Denis T., S. J., Boston College.
 Pritchett, Dr. Henry S., President Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.
 Robbins, Hayes, Secretary Civic Federation of New England, Boston.
 Rich, Edgar J., Lawyer, Boston.
 Reed, Hon. Warren A., Judge Police Court, Brockton, Mass.; Vice-Chairman Conciliation Committee Civic Federation of New England.
 Stang, Rt. Rev. William, Bishop Roman Catholic Church, Fall River.
 Storrow, James J., Lee, Higginson & Co., Boston.
 Taussig, F. W., Department of Economics, Harvard University, Cambridge.
 Thomson, Professor Elihu, Swampscott.
 Tracy, Frank B., Editorial Department Boston Transcript.
 Taft, H. J., City Editor Boston Journal.
 Webb, George H., Commissioner Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Providence, R. I.
 Wadlin, Horace G., Librarian Public Library, Boston.
 Walker, Hon. Joseph H., Worcester.

THE GREAT CONFLICT IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY ENDED.

(Concluded from page 9.)

If a decision of the Executive Committee be disapproved, the General Board must dispose of the question.

The first members of the Executive Committee are:

For the employers: James R. Strong, electrical contractors; D. W. O'Neill, manufacturing woodworkers; Frederick Usher, mason builders; R. F. Tucker, cement masters; C. G. Norman, metal covered door and window manufacturers, and Charles Kelly, mosaic employers.

For the unions: D. J. O'Mahoney, steamfitters; William Nason, marble cutters; John Issing, modellers;

Charles Dinsmore, cement masons; G. H. Reed, metal lathers, and William A. Parsons, journeymen plasterers.

The busy, as well as delicate, nature of the Secretary's office is indicated by the provision that "all complaints shall be addressed to the Secretary, who shall endeavor to adjust them, and report them to the Executive Committee."

When a trade agreement exists in a given trade, all disputes are to be settled by a Trade Board of Arbitration, with an umpire, if necessary. Should there be failure to agree upon an umpire, or should either side fail to abide by the decision of the Trade Board or the umpire, the General Arbitration Board is to act within twenty-four hours. Disputes in trades where there is no trade agreement are referred to the General Board.

The old plan referred all questions as to jurisdiction of trades to the General Board, it being understood that such kinds of work already recognized as in possession of a trade were not subjects of arbitration. The new plan deals far more elaborately with this subject, providing for a conference, called by the General Secretary, between the unions and employers' associations interested, to settle the dispute by conciliation or arbitration.

Refusal or failure to adjust brings the subject before the General Board or Executive Committee, which may refer it to a special board, if conciliation still fails. Work heretofore recognized as in possession of a trade is not arbitrable.

The new plan defines the unskilled trades and provides that any difficulty arising in them shall be adjusted through the mechanics of the trade in which the unskilled are working. If the mechanics of a trade repeatedly refuse to file a complaint, it may be presented upon the written request of five organizations.

The new plan provides for Special Arbitration Boards of not less than four members, selected from members of the General Board, to meet within twenty-four hours, when notified by the General Secretary.

The representatives of any union or employers' association in the General Board may select the members of a special board to act for them, but no general arbitrator can act when the dispute is in the trade which he represents. If there is failure for two weeks to select special arbitrators by any party, the Executive Committee shall select the special arbitrators.

The old provisions as to arbitration papers are made much more detailed. They must be drawn by the General Secretary, specifically state the issue, and provide that all parties agree to abide by the decision of the Special Board or umpire, who must be selected before the case is opened. If any party refuses to sign the papers, the Executive Committee is to determine, from the papers in the case, the specific question to be arbitrated. Hearings are stenographically reported, each party receiving a copy. A majority vote must include at least one representative from each party. A verdict so reached, or by decision of an umpire, shall be final and binding. No decision by the General Board, Executive Committee or a Special Board can be amended by an organization of employers or employees. Members of Special Boards are guaranteed re-employment when their duties as such cease.

The new plan excludes lawyers from all proceedings. The reason for this is that experience with legal counsel in trade arbitrations has not proved satisfactory, it being the duty of counsel to gain every advantage through legal subtleties, while those familiar with the trade itself are more likely to reach a just conclusion through the knowledge gained by experience and the exercise of practical common sense.

A MESSAGE OF PEACE.

Edward J. Wheeler in *Homiletic Review*.

The best two Christmas messages which the year has brought to the United States, come to us, one by way of the office of the Secretary of State at Washington, the other by way of the National Civic Federation. The former message consists of the successive announcements of the signing of arbitration treaties. The second Christmas message to which we refer is also an announcement of provisions to avert war, but in this case industrial war. If "war is hell," industrial war is at least purgatory. The number of strikes chronicled in the annual report of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, for the year ending September 30, is 1,806. The direct cost of these strikes to the men in the Union is given as \$2,864,642.13. Of these strikes, 1,193 were won by the employees, 194 were lost, 233 compromised, 178 pending. Such statistics tell us something, but they cannot tell us of the suffering, the violence, the passions unchained, the waste of time and destruction of property, the moral deterioration, the privations of women and children—all the deplorable adjuncts that go to make up so many of the strikes. There is not a great labor leader in the country, there has not been one for many years, who does not regard a strike as a deplorable, even if necessary, method of settling labor difficulties. Now comes the National Civic Federation with its Christmas message. In a little pamphlet dated "1905," it tells what the organization has done, is doing, and hopes to do, to secure "Education, Conciliation, Industrial Peace." Last year a conference was held in New York City under the auspices of the Federation, which elicited an unanimous expression of opinion that trade agreements afford the most practical method yet devised for securing harmonious relations between employers and wage-earners. In consequence of this conference, a Department of Trade Agreements was formed by the Federation, the object of which is not to arbitrate but to avert labor difficulties. . . . According to the pamphlet from which we take the above instances, there are fifty other examples of trade agreements or collective contracts in operation to-day through as many industries, including the highly important agreements between the railway corporations and railway brotherhoods. If there is to be heard anywhere in America any better echo of the angels' song of "peace to men of good will" just at this time, we have missed hearing it.

PEACE WITH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.

(Continued from page 4.)

ucts, the past few months have witnessed the effort to bring together companies classed as outside the pool or as independent, through the so-called Southern Iron Merger.

The hardware trade affords interesting examples of these pools, which are characterized by nearly all the general features that have been enumerated. Some of the lines of hardware industry, however, are not included in the pools, but in what are called "gentlemen's agreements." These pools and agreements as a rule take in all the manufacturers in a given line. Their whole purpose is to prevent hardware merchants from selling goods to their local customers as they please. So elaborate is the machinery of combination necessary for this end that there now exist eighteen state organizations of retail hardware dealers, extending from Connecticut to Colorado, that fix the price of every article on the shelves.

Ninety per cent. of the drug trade in the United States, from manufacturer to the corner store, is controlled by a combination whose whole object is to restrain the man behind the counter from selling at as low a profit as he pleases. This control of the trade begins with the mammoth Wholesale Druggists' Association and extends to local associations of retailers that reach every town in the country. New York City was the last of the greater centers of population to be brought into this combination, through a mass-meeting that organized practically all the retail druggists in the metropolis. The union between wholesalers and retailers is made more complete by the organized manufacturers who have a system of distributing their products to retailers by direct contract and by serial numbers, so that the most petty transaction can be traced.

The freedom of the press is one of the vaunted accompaniments of constitutional government. But free as may be the thoughts expressed, the price at which they must be read in book form is severely regulated. Probably every buyer of a book has seen within its covers a printed slip bearing the terse statement:

"In accordance with the agreement of the American Publishers' Association * * * this book must be sold at retail at the published price without discount."

That printed slip means that there is a combination between 95 per cent. of the publishers of all kinds of books in the United States and about 90 per cent. of the wholesale and retail booksellers. The publishers made an ironclad agreement to sell no books to booksellers who cut prices. All this was to prevent the freedom to sell literature at less than a fixed price; thus placing an embargo upon thought itself.

How much individual liberty now remains to the railway president? How far is he permitted to run his road to suit himself? In the case of railroads restriction of competition has come to be recognized as so necessary that government regulation is demanded. "No competition," says the Interstate Commerce Commission, "is so destructive as that between railways." Hence that commission has recommended that railway pooling should be legalized. It is a general contention on the part of railway managers, however they may differ as to method, that something must be done to put the railroads on a basis of equality to prevent ruinous rate competition, which, it is claimed, is the root of rebates, drawbacks, underbidding and all the other practices that are not only inimical to corporation earnings, but are detrimental to the interests of unfavored shippers. The development of the "community of interest" idea is an evidence of the gradual working of the natural law of self-preservation, without, thus far, the artificial aid of legislation. Yet whole communities are demanding strict government regulation of railway rates, fearing the effect of free competition (or individual liberty) upon their industries and population.

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM.

Thus we see to what a large problem the tracing to its cause of a single phenomenon in the field of labor leads. Any other such phenomenon as the centralization of banking, the merging of railway systems, the reduction of the acreage or the burning of cotton, the opposition to labor-saving machinery, the closed or open shop, the boycott, piece work and day work, the shorter workday, the regulation of immigration, or child labor—any of these we shall find, when analyzed, to be associated in some way with this instinctive effort to restrict or remove ruinous competition through the voluntary abdication of individual action. How, then, shall that effort be made to yield the largest good, instead of the greatest evil, to all society? Shall the answer be found in forbidding all combinations and in unbridled competition between individuals? Or in abandonment of all individuality through the control of all industry by the State? Or in some ground between these extremes, where there shall be found neither excessive competition, ruinous alike to employer and wage earner, nor monopoly of capital or of labor, grinding the face of the consuming public?

Just one word as to the nature of liberty. The question presents itself to my mind as a question of results. It was not until the associations of labor

learned the lesson taught them by the captains of industry and discovered the power of association that this extreme solicitude for the preservation of liberty as an abstraction arose and in such large degree possessed the public mind and the minds of our teachers during the past few years. We take exception to the classification of the associations of labor with the trusts; the motive is not the same. The contention of the seller of labor is for larger liberty and larger life; for a higher standard of living; for a wider education. And we point to the handwriting on the wall, that where the trade union is there comes the broader education, the more comfortable home and the higher standard of living. The man who protects himself through the association of labor does not water his stock; he does not defraud by legalized preferment any portion of the community. Those who are bound down by the iron bands of circumstance in the work-a-day world have been for generations and centuries struggling and struggling and struggling for liberty, and the whole inspiration of the labor movement of the world is for liberty, not as I said at the outset, that abstraction which can be defined and interpreted in various phases, but that real liberty which means better sustenance, more care for those dependent upon the wage earner and those things which make life better worth the living.

The work of our American Federation of Labor, with its vast host of affiliated organizations, speaks for itself. It has taken from the child the liberty to work in the factory and placed it in the school room; it has protected the breaker boy in the mines; it has safeguarded the life and limb of the worker in dangerous occupations; it has raised the school age, even against the protests of our State Board of Education in my own commonwealth; it has in every way given larger opportunity for the seller of labor to develop those faculties which God has given him, by giving him that greater equality which is the equality above all most desired in the association of labor, that equality of opportunity, either in bargaining for the sale of the commodity of labor, or in laying hold of those things in life which make for higher civilization.

Chairman Belmont: Gentlemen:—Whatever be our theories, when we put them in practice, if that practice involves something new, ultimately the law will have to pass upon them, and it is therefore fitting that we should hear from the law, and I introduce to you one of the leading members of the Bar, the Hon. Louis D. Brandeis, who will address you.

THE DESIRABLE INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

Mr. Brandeis:—

Gentlemen: We do want industrial "peace with liberty," but in this country, at least, material well-being is an essential condition of liberty. In most trades some form of union of employes is required for the attainment or preservation of this liberty. The single workman, standing alone, is in the power—at the mercy, of his employer. The union, while it works for liberty in curbing the power of the employer, necessarily restricts in some measure the freedom of its members. This is an inevitable incident of organization. To secure the benefits of society, including political and civil liberty, we surrender to society a large part of the rights and privileges man would be free to exercise in a state of nature. The trade union exacts from its members no more.

It is not true that the "success of a labor union" necessarily means a "perfect monopoly." The union, in order to attain or preserve for its members industrial liberty, must be strong and stable. It need not include every member of the trade. Indeed, it is desirable for both the employer and the union that it should not. Absolute power leads to excesses and to weakness. Neither our character nor our intelligence can long bear the strain of unrestricted power. The union attains success when it reaches the ideal condition, and the ideal condition for a union is to be strong and stable, and yet to have in the trade outside its own ranks an appreciable number of men who are non-unionists. In any free community the diversity of character, of beliefs, of taste—indeed mere selfishness—will insure such a supply, if the enjoyment of this privilege of individualism is protected by law. Such a nucleus of unorganized labor will check oppression by the union as the union checks oppression by the employer.

THE UNION SHOP AND LIBERTY.

The cause of industrial liberty will ordinarily be best subserved by an open shop in which a strong union has a predominating influence. But it is not true that the closed shop—that is, the shop open to all willing to become union men, and to such only—will never give us peace with liberty. The union shop is not necessarily prejudicial to industrial liberty; its adoption may, at times, be indispensable to the attainment or preservation of liberty. The conditions in a trade may be such that the union must, temporarily, endeavor to enforce the union shop by every legal means in its power.

Such a condition arises, for instance, where the employer, while pretending to run an open shop, is actually and insidiously discriminating against union men. It

may arise even if the employer's attack be an open one. In such cases, adoption of the union shop becomes a proper war measure. It may possibly, even in the absence of direct attack by the employer, be at times an instrument which it is desirable to use temporarily in order to secure for the union the strength necessary to enable it to exert a predominating influence in the trade. The analogy to the tariff protection of infant industries suggests itself.

NON-UNION COMPETITION.

Again, if the conditions of a trade are such that non-union labor can find a fair field for employment, the existence within that trade of shops which are open only to union men may be most conducive to the general welfare. The union then works out its regulations and demands under the spur of the competition of non-union shops. The non-union employer works out his relations to labor under the spur of unionism, the knowledge that only very enlightened self-interest can prevent the union from finding lodgment in his establishment, or the loss of his best employes attracted elsewhere by conditions secured in union shops.

If then, the union shop may be at times an effective measure for securing the existence or the efficiency of the union, which is in itself essential to the industrial liberty of the employes, its introduction should not be condemned absolutely and without qualification, unless it be that the union shop is necessarily illegal as infringing some fundamental inalienable right of the employer or of non-union workmen. There are indeed a few cases in some of our inferior courts which seem to declare that agreements with employers to establish the union shops are illegal as interfering with the employer's "right of contract", as unjustly discriminating in favor of one class, and thereby interfering with the workman's "right to work", and as tending to create a monopoly. None of these positions seem tenable.

THE RIGHT OF CONTRACT.

It does not interfere with the employer's right of contract to induce him to enter into a certain contract. Every contract which any person enters into interferes in some way with his future freedom of contract or other action. That is the very purpose of entering into a contract. The "right of contract" is the right to restrict one's freedom of action. This sacred right of contract is limited only by the requirements of public policy as expressed either in rules of the common law or of statutory prohibition. The privilege for which employers have most strenuously contended in the past is the right to employ, that is to contract with, whom they please—union or non-union men. The employer exercises this privilege when he elects from day to day to employ union men. No sufficient reason suggests itself why he should not be permitted to agree in advance for a limited time, or until further notice, that he will employ only union men.

It is not an unjust discrimination against certain workmen, or an interference with their right to work, for a private employer to employ only persons of a certain class. Nor does an agreement to make his selection on such lines, however capricious or unreasonable, interfere with any one's rights. A discrimination between two classes of workmen cannot be unjust unless there is a right not to be discriminated against, in other words, a right to equality of treatment. So far as relates to private employment, there is no such right. The right to work for a private employer is merely the right to be allowed to work if one can find a willing employer.

An agreement to employ union men only undoubtedly tends in some degree to a monopoly, but the tendency ordinarily would be very slight and remote. It certainly is not the law that every contract which tends however slightly towards the creation of a monopoly is unlawful. If it were, no large manufacturer could contract to increase his plant, for such a course tends inevitably towards securing a larger share of the market, thereby driving out competition and to that extent tending towards a monopoly.

In the case of strikes, employers usually assert with much vehemence that in the absence of intimidation, violence, or coercion, the places left vacant by union strikers could be readily filled by non-union men. It is conceivable that the union control in one or all branches of trade might become so great, or be exercised in such a manner as to present the evils attendant upon monopoly and call for intervention by law. But if that time should come there would be no occasion for agreements to employ exclusively union men.

EXPERIENCE MUST TEACH.

Experience—the natural law in the industrial world—will alone teach us the best course to be pursued, and that course, when laid out, will doubtless follow eventually the lines of liberty:

In the first place, liberty on the part of the employer to agree with the union for a closed shop whenever the inducements offered are sufficient to lead him to voluntarily renounce for a time his absolute freedom to choose such workmen as he pleases. Then, a recognition by the unions that their interests will be best subserved by omitting all attempts to restrict the choice of the employes, and devoting their efforts to increasing the

attractions of unionism for the workmen, and to removing the incidents of unionism most objectionable to the employer. The wisest labor leaders have already taken this position, and have among other things declared the policy that the union label must be regarded as a valuable privilege to be acquired through assent to the closed shop, but that where such assent and hence the union label are withheld, the union workman may still work side by side with his non-union brother.

The union label means to-day—goods made in a union shop. It may come to mean goods made under union conditions, whether produced in a closed or an open shop. Whichever its meaning in a given case, the label is the most appropriate means of conveying information to which every citizen in a free country who is interested is entitled. It is an instrument of persuasion, not essentially differing from the manufacturer's trade mark, under which he seeks to induce customers to buy only a certain brand—"None genuine without our label." The Consumers' League adopts the same method of informing the public what articles are made under conditions it regards as fair and wholesome, and urging special favor for such goods by the consumer. To prohibit the use of such means of conveying information would appear to be an appreciable abridgement of the right of free speech. To prohibit American citizens from acting upon such information would be a serious infringement of their liberty.

We want industrial peace with honor—not the honor of the combatant, but that honor which "is the finest sense of justice that the human mind can frame" and which in a democracy must include something of fraternity as well as liberty.

In such a peace—with liberty, justice and fraternity—and hence with honor, the public is profoundly interested; because it involves the whole future, the success or the failure, of democracy. And the public which is so interested is not "three quarters of the American people" but the whole.

Chairman Belmont: It will interest us, gentlemen, now, to hear from one to whom the subject is more a question of practice than of theory; a man standing at the head of large industrial interests and who makes it a part of his daily life to adjust in that industry, which is one of great importance, the different questions which divide the laborer and the employer. I call upon Mr. Francis L. Robbins.

I have just been informed that for reasons Mr. Robbins cannot be present, but has sent a paper to be read, and I will ask Mr. Easley to read it to you.

TRADE AGREEMENTS AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

By FRANCIS L. ROBBINS, *President Pittsburg Coal Company.*

In considering the query presented to us this evening, "How far does associated effort in industry involve the curtailment of individual liberty?" I have been led to the general reply that no associated effort in any field of human activity is at all possible without the voluntary surrender or modification of some measure of individual freedom of action. This proposition is supported by all human experience in attaining progress in any direction. Whether it be in the formation of governments, from the family to the clan, the tribe, the township, the county, the state; whether it be in the promotion of a religion, through missions, parishes, dioceses, national and international ecclesiastical bodies or federations of denominations; whether it be the sustaining of national autonomy and rights against other powers, through the ramifications of diplomacy or by war, with all its sacrifice, discipline and many branches of organization; whether it be the advancement of morality, the prevention of crime, the reformation of the depraved, the rescue of the oppressed—whatever the effort, from the elimination of the "white plague" to the creation of a new republic, both history and current activities show the instinctive resort of all humanity to the union of many units for a common purpose.

INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATION REQUIRES SACRIFICE.

Our topic is confined to the restraint upon individual liberty involved in association in industry; and to my mind, observation and experience both show that industrial association involves, for its success, a considerable degree of willing sacrifice of the theoretical right to do as one pleases, so long as one does not infringe upon the rights of others. This is true, whether the association be one of employers or of wage earners; and it becomes conspicuously true in the collective contract between organized employers and organized wage earners in any industry, or group of allied industries, known as the trade agreement. Any such contract involves a series of acceptances of restraint of individual freedom, beginning with the individual employer or the individual shareholder in an employing corporation on the one side, and with the individual wage earner and his local union on the other. This series of successive waiving of individual freedom proceeds in the case of an employing industry, from the formation of a simple partnership to the organization of a corporation and to the merging of several constituent

corporations. It proceeds in a parallel way in the case of the employed in an industry, from the acceptance of mutual obligations by individual wage earners in a local union to the combination of such unions in city, state, national and international federations. At every step, on either side, there must be some acceptance of restriction of individual liberty for the sake of concerted action for the common benefit.

TRADE AGREEMENTS DEFENDED.

There undoubtedly exists a good deal of misunderstanding as to this necessity of the curtailment of personal rights through trade agreements. There are some employers who still protest that the signing of a trade agreement regulating hours, wages and conditions of work infringes on his personal right to conduct his business as he sees fit. Such an employer forgets that he is continually making contracts, other than with labor, and entering combinations, that restrain and modify his conduct of business.

An example of this adverse attitude to the trade agreement is found in the following quotation from a recent issue of the *Industrial Independent*, the official organ of the national organization, that practically opposes all dealings with organized labor:

"The trade agreement would form a monopoly of employers, form a monopoly of labor, and induce them to make terms with each other to the advantage of both monopolies. It would deprive the individual of his constitutional right to work for whom and what he pleases, compelling him to surrender his allegiance as a free American citizen before he could work and live. The right to do with one's labor as one pleases is guaranteed by this free government of ours, but under trade agreements this guarantee would not be sufficient. It would have to receive the stamp of organized employers and employees before it would be considered good."

This is an exaggerated and perverted statement. The trade agreement involves no "surrender of allegiance as a free American citizen," and deprives the individual of no constitutional rights. The individual exercises his constitutional right, whether an employer or a wage-earner, when he enters voluntarily into association with others for the attainment of advantages which he could not secure by individual effort. When two such associations deal with each other, it is for the purpose of increasing the efficiency and productivity of an industry, which necessarily implies that their agreement is for the good of all the community.

It is indeed the benefit of society at large that inspires and justifies sacrifice of individual liberty. I regard the trade agreement, involving as it does a voluntary adjustment of personal freedom to the common weal, to be of the highest importance to the future of the country as a method of reaching harmonious relations between capital and labor.

THE BITUMINOUS AGREEMENTS.

In no great field of industrial activity, enlisting billions of capital and employing a vast army of men, is there a more signal example of benefit to the general social welfare than in the operation of the trade agreements between the Bituminous Operators' Associations of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and the wage earners organized as the United States Mine Workers of America. These agreements would be impossible did not each of the parties to the contracts recognize that the exercise of individual liberty must be made to accord with the interests of society as a whole.

These agreements are formed biennially at a convention composed of representatives of the operators' associations and of the organized mine workers. The agreements are worked out in detail and by localities. Upon them rests the stability of the production, transportation and marketing of fuel. Only their existence and the fidelity to their obligations of the wage earners themselves prevented the immeasurable disaster of a strike of the bituminous workers in 1902, simultaneously with the anthracite strike. Only the recognition of the mutual advantages of these agreements led the operators to propose a compromise scale at the convention of 1904, and led the miners to accept, by a referendum vote that compromise, although it involved a reduction of wages. The appreciation of the value of these agreements could have no more convincing evidence than their withstanding this dual test—that the associated employers should propose a reduction far less than they believed to be warranted by the conditions of trade then existing, and that the mine workers should accept a share of the burden of decreased profits due to adverse market conditions.

Now, who are the parties to these agreements, whose value I have but cursorily indicated? On the one side, they are the organized operators of four states, on the other, the organized mine workers. But they are individual operators, whether in business as persons, firms or corporations. They cannot form themselves into the four state associations without some sacrifice of their individual liberty to do as they please with their own properties. The owner of one mine, producing coal of a peculiar quality, or enjoying special facilities of transportation, or having measures worked with particular economy of labor, might find temporary advantage in refusing to enter into an association with other operators that would destroy or lessen these fortuitous advantages in competition. But looking beyond his immediate, temporary personal advantage, he surveys the whole range of the industry and extends his prospect over a period of a year or two years. He takes

into consideration the superior advantage in the long run of being assured a steady market, of the absorption of a reasonably continuous output, and of the opportunity to enter a joint agreement that will enable him to calculate with some assurance of certainty the great factor of labor cost entering into his production and sales.

In case the operator is a corporation, its officers carry into this joint agreement the waiving also of the individual liberty of its shareholders. This statement applies, indeed, to the business transacted by all corporations. The confusion that would arise, should every individual shareholder demand the exercise of individual liberty of judgment as to every act by and on behalf of a corporation, is indescribable. Indeed, it is plain that in the modern business world no transactions between corporations or between corporations and persons would be possible unless shareholders waived their individual liberties of action and entrusted them in block to directors and executives.

MUTUAL CONCESSIONS AND RISKS.

But to return to the interstate bituminous agreements. The other party to them is the union of mine workers, as represented in the interstate convention. According to the theory of individual liberty, every mine worker in the bituminous field of the four states concerned has the right to sell his labor to the owner of the mine where he works, upon such terms of wages, hours and conditions as he pleases. He surrenders that right when he joins the union, in order that he may share in the advantages of a collective contract, even at the risk that errors may be made in that contract that will work during its term to his disadvantage. The employer makes a similar surrender and takes a corresponding risk. It is conceivable that in some cases local conditions may make the union scale less than the individual mine worker might be able to exact from an individual employer. It is equally conceivable that in some cases other local conditions might make it possible for an individual operator to impose the acceptance of a lower scale than that agreed upon between the association operators and the miners for that district. But both the miner and the operator have learned by experience that there is a larger and a more permanent advantage in the subordination of individual liberty to joint agreement through the chosen representatives of their two organizations.

STABLE TRANSPORTATION ASSURED.

All that I have said applies also to trade agreements between shippers and the wage earners organized under the title of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, with whose representatives we meet yearly and make contracts covering the terms and conditions of hauling and transporting coal from every port in the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi. These contracts mean the stability and prosperity of transportation, throughout a territory imperial in extent, of fuel, ores, lime, lumber, stone and grain. It is these contracts, taken together, that make the capitalists and the wage earners interested in the production, transportation and marketing of bituminous coal the leaders, during the past seven years, in the actual accomplishment of peace in their own industry throughout an immense area of this country, and affecting favorably in turn all the other industries of transportation by land and water, and of manufacture, that consume fuel. The mine operators realize that this result, with its benefits to invested capital, could not be attained without restraint of their individual freedom of action. The mine workers realize that in their corresponding individual sacrifice labor is concerned all along the line—the labor of the man who delves, the labor of the mine worker above the ground, the labor of those who load and unload vessels and cars, the labor of the vessel crews and trainmen, the labor of the men who deliver the fuel to the consumer.

Thus, with all their faults of detail, trade agreements in principle and in practice are the very embodiment of far-reaching benefits to employers, wage earners and the general public, through the voluntary surrender of individual liberty. (Applause.)

Chairman Belmont: The next speaker, gentlemen, and the last on this subject, needs no introduction to you. He is Vice-President of the National Civic Federation and President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers. (Applause.)

"LIBERTY IS BREAD."

Mr. Gompers:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I feel that I have deep cause for regret that I have not had time and opportunity to write down carefully what I would like to say to you to-night. With a large number of others, I am engaged in the fight; and it is not often that one who is fighting has much opportunity to write, without interruption, in calm moments, thoughts that occupy his mind. I had even little opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of the letter from Chairman Easley asking me to speak at this meeting to-night.

The work in which this Civic Federation is engaged is to my mind exceedingly important. It gives the opportunity of bringing together men who differ widely upon important features and facts regarding this great

industrial problem. I think we owe a debt to President Eliot for his utterances at the last meeting of the Civic Federation, which led to the response that at the moment I felt impelled to make, because he brought conspicuously to the attention, not only of the members of this Civic Federation, but of the thinking, active men in the worlds of labor, business and education, how it is possible for men to draw from a given state of facts diametrically opposite inferences. President Eliot then said, and repeated to-night with emphasis, that what we want is "industrial peace with liberty."

No man having any regard for the welfare of the human family will dispute the proposition that we want peace with honor, peace with justice, peace with liberty. But when there is strife or discord, when conditions are such as to make conflict inevitable, is it not true that we modify our conceptions of honor to the exigencies of the contest, or to the nature of the question at issue? Is it not true that we are constantly changing our concept of justice? Is it not true that there is a modification of what was generally accepted by the term "liberty"?

SOME HARDSHIPS OF LIBERTY.

The conditions of industry as they existed when the workman emerged from the state of feudalism into what was known as the free competitive system of society, and which brought in its wake the introduction of machinery, followed by the discovery of gas, so that the machines could be operated by night as well as by day—the conditions of the working people during those periods cannot be read by investigators, by sympathetic men and women, without touching them to the very core of their being. And yet we had then the highest conception of the liberty of the workingman. The workingman was untrammelled by organization. He did not yield one jot of his liberty to his fellows in a union. He enjoyed liberty to the full. That liberty spelled for the workman long hours of daily toil, scanty wages, a miserable hovel for a home, unsafe and unsanitary workshops, factories, mills, and mines.

During the early period of our present system of industry there went forth from some of the work people of Great Britain, particularly those in the textile industries, a demand upon Parliament for the establishment of a twelve-hour work-day. That demand was resisted as strenuously then as is the demand of organized labor to-day for a nine or an eight-hour work-day, and always, then as now, upon the two-fold ground: (1) that industries could not afford it, and (2) that it invaded the individual liberty of the worker. Despite these objections, despite hostility, despite antagonism, the organizations of labor continued to grow in Great Britain. And they have grown here. They are not, as some people imagine, importations. They are the result of our conditions in the United States. They showed their first living existence in Massachusetts and New York, where workmen went on strike as early as 1806, to enforce their demand for a reduction in the hours of labor. The shipwrights and the tailors struck even at that early day, when they found that there were no other means to secure any consideration of their rights. But the organization of labor could not grow in the United States, so long as this was overwhelmingly an agricultural country. Nor could they grow fully, so long as slavery was one of the institutions of our country. But with the cessation of the Civil War, the great impetus of industry, the factory system, the concentration of production, the invention and introduction of new machines—all these applications of new forces to industry tended to bring about organizations of labor. For the workmen observed that industry was becoming specialized, divided, subdivided, and that they were becoming as a mere atom in the great industrial hives—only one little factor in the great industrial plants.

UNION RESTORES INDIVIDUALITY.

I beg to submit this condition to our friends who oppose the organization of labor, and who assert that in its union men lose their individuality. Counter to that I present this statement: That in modern industry, with its great machines, which have specialized and subdivided labor, the workman is deprived of his individual liberty the moment he enters a modern industrial plant; and that the individuality which the workman has thus lost has been regained in the economic and social importance which they have achieved by associated effort in their unions. It is true, if we accept liberty to mean some fanciful thing with which to conjure, if we imagine liberty to mean that we may run riot, that we may totally disregard our own interests and that we may make our actions prejudicial to the interests of our fellows—it is true that the workmen lose their individuality and liberty by becoming members of a labor union. We all of us surrender to society certain things that are sometimes called liberty. We surrender them in order that we may be the better safeguarded in the exercise of our natural rights and of our true liberty.

I quoted at the last meeting Heine as saying: "Freedom? Freedom is bread. Bread is freedom." I am in entire accord with Heine. He did not mean simply the piece of bread such as this in my hand, that one may eat, but all that the term implies. Liberty can be neither exercised nor enjoyed by those who are in poverty. Material improvement is essential to the exercise and enjoyment of liberty.

Any one may say that the organizations of labor invade or deny liberty to the workmen. But go to the men who worked in the bituminous coal mines twelve, fourteen, sixteen hours a day, for a dollar or a dollar and twenty-five cents, and who now work eight hours a day and whose wages have increased 70 per cent. in the past seven years—go tell those men that they have lost their liberty, and they will laugh at you. Go to the wives who have received the benefit resulting from this higher wage and the companionship of their husbands; go to their children and compare them with the children who were deprived from going to school and have grown up to become miners and miners' wives, and see the difference in the standard of education and of morals; say to these miners' wives and children to-day that their husbands and fathers have lost their liberty by joining the union! Go to the bricklayers who worked formerly ten hours a day, but who for the past several years have enjoyed the eight-hour work-day with higher wages, with greater comforts, with larger enlightenment and social activity—tell these bricklayers that their liberties have been invaded! Go to the workers in the clothing trades, who worked in the sweatshops, whose very homes, even whose bedrooms were the factories where they toiled, and who organized and fought and won and lost and won and lost again and again, until that healthier public judgment was formed that abolished sweatshops—go to them and tell them that their liberties have been invaded by the unions! And so, through all the gamut of industries that I might enumerate. And then again go to the other industries in which you find little or no organization among the working people, and note there the comparatively long hours, low wages, misery and poverty. If those working people only had the power to speak their minds, if they had only the semblance of an organization that would give them the opportunity to exercise their freedom of speech, they would tell you in such thunderous tones that you would hear the echo and re-echo that their hope of liberty is through unions.

We hear much of the strike due to organization. But, pray, what say you of the strike of the unorganized workmen? Indeed, much of the larger number of strikes occur among the unorganized workmen. The fact is that organization is the workman's protection and secures for him, generally, many of the advantages that he enjoys, without the necessity of striking. But what would you do with the unorganized workmen who strike? Would you outlaw their effort because of lack of development, their failure of preconceived associated effort, the simultaneous movement that impels them, in desperation, to protest against their constantly deteriorating condition?

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE BAKERS.

We are told to make our appeals to the law and there find the means to secure our rights as workmen, or to find relief from onerous conditions. May I call your attention to a recent occurrence? The United States Supreme Court has just declared the ten-hour law for the bakers in the State of New York unconstitutional. It is neither my desire nor my purpose to criticize the highest judicial tribunal of our country, for which I entertain the highest respect; but one cannot always defer even to the judgment of that tribunal, and particularly when we see the court, divided by a vote of five to four, declaring as unconstitutional an act that was the result of decades of discussion and of an aroused public conscience; an act that had been tested and upheld as constitutional through the various courts of New York, and only decided to be void when it was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Without discussing the merits or demerits of that decision, let me call your attention to the fact that the four dissenting judges designate the majority decision of the court as the most far-reaching that has been handed down in over a hundred years. There is now no law upon the statute books of New York limiting the hours of labor of the bakers. Let me call your attention to a few of the conditions that obtained in the bakery trade before the passage of that law. It seems a peculiar incident in human life that bakers were always required to perform their work underground and facing a great furnace, perhaps to remind them of what awaits them hereafter (laughter). It was a rule that bakers were always required to board and lodge with the boss baker. Their trade, therefore, set a premium on single blessedness; it was a practical prohibition against marriage. The bakers worked every day in the week, every week in the year. They would sleep anywhere. Sometimes, as one said facetiously, they would "lie down on the dough and rise with it" (laughter). They suffered more than any other workmen.

BETTERMENT BY EVOLUTION.

Now, the Supreme Court has decided a law to relieve such conditions unconstitutional. Assuredly, the boss bakers had some purpose in mind when they incurred the expense and the trouble of carrying their appeal to the highest judicial tribunal of the land. It is only fair to assume that they want the spoils of their victory. In other words, they will want the bakers to toil more than ten hours a day. I ask our friends who speak so eloquently of the liberty of the workmen, and who advise the workmen never to enter an association because they will surrender their liberty—I ask these

gentlemen to answer themselves the question—What are these bakers going to do? Go back to the old conditions? Work eleven, twelve and more hours per day? I don't know what any one else may think, but so far as I am concerned, when that test shall come, and there is no other means to prevent it, I will urge these bakers to strike, and to strike hard, to enforce the ten-hour day for themselves.

No one believes for a moment that conditions to-day are perfect. No one imagines that there shall be no progress, that there shall be no improvement economically, socially and morally. Every one of us has his day dream and believes that in a year, or ten, or fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand, or a million years, a better day is coming. The question with us is whether, in our own time, if we are agreed that there is a better day coming, we shall work toward that day. I do not believe in an ultimate, absolute finality of anything—not even of life. If there is a division of opinion as to how the better day is to be attained, we must, nevertheless, work gradually and naturally and rationally toward its attainment. There are some who would have the better day come within our time, in a decade, immediately, or, perhaps, sooner. (Laughter.) But it behooves us to do our share in our time to help in the evolutionary process that shall go to make up a better life for all our people. The question is with us, not whether an improvement is going to occur or not. It is going to occur. We find that this movement of discontent, with existing conditions, is world-wide. It is a question whether it shall take the form, as in Russia, of bloody revolution, or the plain, modest American evolutionary method of attaining betterment through the trade-union movement.

As for us workmen who have so far developed as to surrender the fantasy of so-called liberty (the sort our opponents have in mind); we believe in the American method of the trade-union movement. You can look the whole country over, look the whole world over, and you will find that wherever there has come the organization of labor, in that same degree has depravity and misery and poverty disappeared.

CIVIC EDUCATION OF UNIONISM.

We speak of our great sovereignty of American citizenship. Yet we know that every right-thinking public man is concerned because there exists even to any extent the pollution of the ballot box through the purchase or influencing of votes. Let me tell you, my friends, that in the industries that were unorganized you could always tell the political opinion of the workmen when you knew the political opinion of the employer. You will find that to be true to-day in our country wherever organization does not exist. But you cannot make voting cattle out of eight-hour workmen. Workmen who toil eight hours a day have time and opportunity to acquaint themselves with the current questions that affect the people of our country. They earn wages at least sufficient to warrant them in expressing contempt for any one who may, for any financial reason, desire to influence their vote. The organizations of labor help not only to raise the economic and material standards of the workmen and of their families, but also their manhood, their character, their independence and their citizenship. When an organization does that, not only for one class of workmen, but for all who participate in the benefits resulting from organization, that is not curtailing liberty, but is giving a new meaning to the word liberty through the enjoyment and the fullest fruition of the benefit which comes from an enlightened mind and a broadened sympathy for all fellow men. (Applause.)

Chairman Belmont: It has been suggested that before this meeting adjourn there may be some gentlemen present who would like to address the meeting, and, with that end in view, any one desiring to do so would be recognized by the Chair—but limited to five minutes in making such address, and a real five minutes, with the request not to exceed it.

I will therefore ask if there is any one present who would like to speak upon the subject which has been before us to-night and which is of interest to us all.

If not, as I see that no one has volunteered, I desire, on the part of all, to thank the speakers who have entertained us this evening, and bid them and all of you good-night. (Applause.)

THE DISCUSSION REVIEWED.

A Critical Observer's Reflections on the Debate Before the Industrial Economic Department.

By J. W. JENKS, Professor of Political Economy in Cornell University.

While at the meeting of the Department no resolutions were passed, and while there was no formal agreement upon any of the points under discussion, it seemed, nevertheless, that in the addresses given, certain points were made on which there was unanimous agreement.

I. It was generally conceded that association, both of capital and labor, was necessary and desirable.

II. It seemed likewise to be conceded that this association on both sides did of necessity involve a certain degree of curtailment of individual liberty. The association of capitalists necessarily, and to a certain

degree properly, curtailed the individual liberty of action of its members, in order to produce better results for all; and likewise the members of labor unions very properly and wisely gave up some of their individual liberty of action in certain ways in order to secure to better advantage their other individual interests and their liberty of action in other ways.

The question as stated, "How far does associated effort in industry involve the curtailment of individual liberty?" was not the main question discussed. But one could gather from incidental expressions of nearly all of the speakers that, as a matter of fact, the associations of capitalists on the one hand and of laborers on the other do often actually curtail individual liberty as much as they think necessary to secure the accomplishment of their ends, provided they have the power. It was intimated by several of the speakers that this curtailment of individual liberty for the purpose of securing these ends was sometimes carried so far on both sides that it was contrary to the general interests of society.

The main question actually discussed may, perhaps, be stated in this way: "How far *ought* associated effort in industry be permitted to curtail individual liberty in carrying out the purposes of the organizations?" An attempt to answer this question regarding the degree of curtailment of individual liberty that ought to be permitted, was made by two of the speakers, while there was an intimation in President Eliot's remarks that such interference ought not to go far, certainly not to the use of the boycott or of monopoly. In Mr. Robbins' paper it was suggested that these associations might properly restrict individual liberty so far as that could be done without infringing upon the rights of others; and Professor Seligman, in his address, implied that these associations might properly restrict individual liberty so far as this restriction was consistent with the promotion of the public welfare, but no further.

It will be evident to any one that these tests, while very suggestive, in shaping our ideals, and quite possibly sound, are nevertheless of little practical value in the settlement of any individual dispute. When, for example, an employer attempts to restrict the liberty of action of any of his employees, he invariably says, and generally believes, that he is going no farther than is necessary to secure his own rights, and that he is not infringing any proper rights of the laborer; whereas, the laborer, with equal sincerity, declares that he is asking only his own rights and that the employer's demands are wrong and unjust. If, instead of the word "rights" we use the word "justice" there will be found the same difference of opinion in applying the test.

Or, again, if we adopt Professor Seligman's principle, which is clearly sound, we shall find scarcely less difficulty in its application. At the time of the coal strike, certain sympathizers with the strikers did not hesitate to say that the strike could not be won unless pressure were brought to bear upon the strike breakers, which amounted to threats of physical violence against individuals, and they would not have hesitated to say that it would be in the public interest to employ violence rather than to lose the strike, if violence were necessary as they thought probable. The leaders, so far as I know, discouraged violence. On the other hand, the sympathizers with the nonunion man believed that any such invasion of individual liberty was directly contrary to public interest.

Can there be found, then, any test that is practicable in its application in individual disputes by which one may determine the degree of restriction of individual liberty that ought to be allowed? If any such test can be agreed upon by employers and laborers it will serve a useful purpose as a starting point for further action, even though the test be very imperfect in itself.

In the long run public opinion, it is generally conceded, settles all such questions, and we believe that in the long run it settles them right, although it may temporarily, in answering a specific question, be wrong. Now, is there any way in which public opinion can give an answer which is in any way direct and positive in specific cases? The only way in which public opinion has any official expression is through the acts of government as expressed in law. We may have a hazy belief as to what the public thinks upon any subject, from reading the newspapers, from talking with friends and acquaintances, and from judging others by what we ourselves think; but any such judgment is likely to be doubtful, and there certainly can be many differences of opinion regarding it. On the other hand, the government exists to carry out the will of the people, and any act of the government, whether moral or immoral, wise or foolish, is an official expression of the public will. Until that declaration is reversed by other governmental action, either of the Legislature or of the courts, it stands, and must stand, among all civilized peoples, as the expression of the people's will. May we not then find in law—which is the concrete expression of the people's will—a practicable test by which, for the time being, we may agree that the limitations which may be placed upon individual liberty by the action of associations of either capital or labor shall be determined? This agreement will not prevent our working toward other ideals. The principle may perhaps be stated as follows: Associations of capital or of labor are

to be permitted, in the carrying out of the purposes for which they exist, to curtail the individual liberty of others, whether capitalists or laborers, so long as they act clearly within the law. As soon as they violate the law their acts ought to be universally condemned.

It will be noted that this test does not claim to be as high a test as that of justice or of rights or of public welfare, and these ends should be sought always; but existing law is a practicable test that can be immediately applied to specific cases.

It must be noted again that in suggesting this test it is by no means considered that either associations of capitalists or trade unions must depend upon law to attain their ends. They must in all probability in most cases depend upon their own actions applied directly instead of through the Legislature, but in so acting they must not go beyond their legal privileges.

Mr. Gompers, in his address, called attention to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States had declared unconstitutional the New York act, limiting the hours of labor of the bakers to ten; and he asserted that he should consider it his duty to urge upon the bakers to strike, should it prove necessary, in order to secure a ten-hour day, and not to wait until an act should be passed which would be declared constitutional. In that assertion, Mr. Gompers was not going beyond the principle laid down, so long as the bakers in their strike should do nothing contrary to law. It was undoubtedly right for them to attempt to secure a ten-hour day, through act of the Legislature, but it would also be entirely practicable under this principle, for them, if possible, to secure the same result through an agreement with their employers, brought about by a strike or the threat of a strike, so long as they did nothing illegal. The observance of law on the part of both employers and laborers in their dealings with one another, and with the public, does not seem to go very far. It ought to be a matter of course, but, in fact, it would be a decided advance over present conditions. Associations of employers and of labor often accuse each other of violations of law, and, sometimes at least, on apparently good grounds.

If, now, this test is to be considered practicable and useful, then, the whole doctrine may, perhaps, be summed up as follows:

1. Associated effort in securing its purposes may from this point of view take any action that is not contrary to law.

2. If the law restricts the action of associations to an extent that they think unwise and unjust, it is proper and best for them to attempt to have the law so amended as to give them greater liberty of action in restricting individual liberty.

3. It is usually, if not invariably, more detrimental to the public welfare to secure even a just end by illegal means than to wait until justice can be secured under the law, either by amendment to the law or by some change in the methods employed which are still legal.

a. Is the above suggested test a practicable one?
b. Is there any other test that is practicable?
c. Will associations of employers and of laborers now abide by such a test?

The observance of law would not hinder work toward an ideal that is beyond existing law.

Comments of an Observer Who Would Eliminate Coercion from the Problem.

By MARCUS M. MARKS, *President of the National Association of Clothiers.*

The statement of President Eliot draws a sharp distinction between industrial peace with honor and industrial peace with liberty. I fail to see, however, where the line can be drawn between these conditions. To my mind there can be no true industrial peace without honor nor without liberty; other so-called peace is slavery. It is the peace of the brute creation, enslaved to man—not the peace of noble manhood.

We must all agree that in joining a union or an employers' association, individual liberty is to a certain extent surrendered. Workmen and employers have the liberty to surrender their liberty, but should not be forced to do so. This, to my mind, is the crucial point. Coercion is the destroyer of industrial peace—there is no true peace under its screw. Coercion embitters employer and employee. What causes its use? Lack of patience—brutal pleasure in the triumph of superior force. If labor and capital would work for better conditions along the lines of least resistance, patiently and persistently, they would reach permanent improvement, real industrial peace, with honor and with liberty, much sooner than by force. Furthermore, the results of force are apt to be temporary and followed by reaction.

The great bone of contention just now is the closed shop. Omit coercion and let missionary work on the part of the unions bring about the union shop, where conditions warrant, and the trouble is practically over. The unions should legitimately strengthen their own ranks and not force men into the union, nor try to compel the employer to make unwilling converts to their cause. Many employers would cease their opposition to unionism if they did not fear being compelled to say to a workman, "join the union or starve!" I know many employers, and gladly state that I am one

of them, who are strongly in favor of workingmen's unions, but who consider it just as vicious for an employer to be compelled to coerce a workman into joining a union as it would be for the union to be compelled to coerce an employer to join the employers' association.

It may seem that this theory, while correct, is difficult to carry out in practice, but I have great faith in leaders in high authority; their very positions are apt to raise them to the level of lofty ideals and give them strength to live up to and carry them into practical effect.

If it be true that evolution, not revolution, voluntary agreement, not coercion, will bring about the healthiest and most permanent conditions of true industrial peace then indeed is the work of the Civic Federation most important, to prevent, or at times end, clashing between labor and capital. How? By substituting patience for temper, persuasion for coercion, conference in place of strike and lockout. May the influence of the Civic Federation in this direction grow and grow.

LIST OF ACCEPTANCES.

The following accepted invitations to the dinner of the Department of Industrial Economics:

Allen, William H., General Agent Association for Improving Condition of the Poor, New York.
Arnold, C. K., Philadelphia.
Archibald, James P., President New York Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, New York.
Belmont, August, President Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York.
Bright, E. D., President The Railway World, Philadelphia.
Brown, Roscoe C. E., New York State Civil Service Commission, New York.
Buchanan, Frank, President International Association Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Cleveland, O.
Buchanan, Joseph R., Labor Editor New York American and Journal, New York.
Butler, John K., Simpson Crawford Company, New York.
Beggs, James, American Federation of Musicians, New York.
Brandeis, Louis D., Lawyer, Boston.
Baine, C. L., Editor Shoe Workers' Journal, Boston.
Baldwin, Joseph C., President Boston and New York Dye-wood Company, New York.
Cooke, Frederick H., Counselor at Law, New York.
Call, Homer D., Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Syracuse, N. Y.
Cease, D. L., Editor Railroad Trainmen's Journal, Cleveland, O.
Chamberlain, Leander, Director Federation of Churches and Christian Organizations, New York.
Colwell, N. H., President National Novelty Corporation, New York.
Conant, Charles A., Treasurer Morton Trust Company, New York.
Colton, Olcott B., The Smith Worthington Company, Hartford, Conn.
Coakley, W. O., Lithographic Press Feeders' Association, New York.
Cooper, John, President Iron League, New York.
Corning, Edward, New York.
Cullingworth, George R., New York.
Cunningham, C., Brooklyn.
Davis, Hayne, Counselor at Law, New York.
Delaney, Charles, Granite Cutters' National Union, New York.
Devins, John Bancroft, D.D., Editor New York Observer, New York.
Donaldson, Robert M., Treasurer American Lithographic Company, New York.
Donnelly, Samuel B., International Typographical Union, New York.
Doyle, John J., Brooklyn.
Daly, J., Dock Workers' Union, New York.
Eaton, Allen B., New York.
Eidlitz, Otto M., Marc Eidlitz & Son, New York.
Eliot, Charles W., President Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Emmons, G. E., General Electric Company, Schenectady, N. Y.
Estabrook, H. D., General Counsel Western Union Telegraph Company, New York.
Fairchild, E. M., Editor Daily Trade Record, New York.
Farley, William H., Assistant Commissioner Bureau of Industrial Statistics, Providence, R. I.
Filene, A. Lincoln, William Filene's Sons Company, Boston.
Filene, Edward A., Treasurer Wm. Filene Sons Co., Boston.
Finlay, John H., President The College of the City of New York, New York.
Fiske, A. K., New York Journal of Commerce, New York.
Foster, Frank K., Typographical Union, Boston, Mass.
Flynn, John J., Brass Polishers', Platers' and Buffers' Union, New York.
Friedman, Henry, retired, New York.
Fyfe, William, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, New York.
Garrigues, W. A., Levering & Garrigues Company, New York.
Garvin, George K., The Garvin Machine Company, New York.
Gildersleeve, Oliver, S. Gildersleeve & Sons, Gildersleeve, Conn.
Gilder, R. Watson, Editor The Century, New York.
Gean, Orrin S., Manager National Biscuit Company, New York.
Goldman, William, Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Gompers, Samuel, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Graff, C. L., Secretary Retail Dry Goods Association, New York.
Graves, H. B., Secretary and Treasurer Standard Optical Company, Geneva, N. Y.
Greenbaum, Samuel, Judge, New York City.
Greene, John, Editor Bradstreet's, New York.
Greene, William C., Treasurer Peace Dale Manufacturing Company, Peace Dale, R. I.
Greenhut, B. J., Treasurer Siegel Cooper Company, New York.
Greenhut, J. B., President Siegel Cooper Company, New York.
Grimes, Patrick, Operative Plasterers' Society, New York.
Gunshanan, John F., Chairman Workingmen's Free Reading Room Association, Hartford, Conn.
Goodwin, John A., Secretary and Treasurer Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, White Plains, N. Y.
Hamilton, W. P., Wall Street Journal, New York.
Hammill, Joseph P., President Central Federated Union, New York.
Healy, Timothy, Eccentric Association of Firemen, New York.
Heidelberg, Isaac N., Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Hatch, James H., President Upholsterers' Union, New York.
Havemeyer, J. C., Capitalist, Yonkers.
Herman, Julius, New York.
Hillard, George B., President Paper Box Makers' Union, New York.
Hogan, C. M., Siegel Cooper Company, New York.
Holmes, William J., Assistant Secretary Building Trade Employers' Association, New York.
Holt, Hamilton, Editor The Independent, New York.
Hochschild, Berthold, American Metal Company, New York.
Holzman, Benjamin M., Banker, New York.
Hornberger, J. B. L., Comptroller Pittsburgh Coal Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Hubbard, Charles W., Treasurer Ludlow Manufacturing Associates, Boston, Mass.
Hunter, H. C., Commissioner New York Metal Trades' Association, New York.
Hunter, William, Blacksmith and Engineering Works, Hoboken, N. J.
Huyler, John S., Huyler's, New York.
Jenks, J. W., Professor Political Economy and Politics, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Kelly, Philip, Theatrical Protective Union, New York.
King, D., Treasurer Eureka Silk Manufacturing Company, Boston, Mass.
Kohns, Lee, L. Straus & Sons, New York.
Kohn, Emil W., Jeweler, New York.
Kohn, Robert D., Architect, New York.
Kohn, Harry D., Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Korn, Albert R., S. W. Korn Sons & Co., New York.
Korn, Harold, S. W. Korn Sons & Co., New York.
Kuhn, Ferdinand, Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Larimer, J. P., Structural Iron Workers' and Bridgemen's Union, New York.
Lauterbach, Edward, Lawyer, New York.
Lavey, Thomas B., Iron Molders Conference Board of New York and Vicinity, New York.
Leake, Frank, Star & Crescent Mills Company, Philadelphia.
Leipziger, Henry M., Supervisor of Lectures, Board of Education, New York.
Lippmann, Leopold, Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Lively, Jamea M., Federal Bond and Surety Company, New York.
Long, William F., President Subordinate Association No. 1, Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, New York.
Lord, Hartley L., Chicopee Manufacturing Company, Chicopee Falls, Mass.
Lord, J. C., Editorial Department, Record and Guide, New York.
McAinch, John, Proprietor Mitchell Company, Engineers and Boiler Makers, New York.
McCarthy, T. F., President New York Truck Owners' Association, New York.
McCormack, P. H., Typographical Union, New York.
McCook, John J., Attorney at Law, New York.
Mackay, Clarence H., President Postal Telegraph Cable Company, New York.
Marks, Marcus M., President National Association of Clothiers, New York.
Marks, Frederick W., Clothing Manufacturer, New York.
Mather, Samuel, Picands, Mather & Co., Cleveland.
Maxwell, William H., City Superintendent of Schools, New York.
Melendy, Royal L., General Secretary Newark Social Settlement Association, Newark, N. J.
Merrill, Bradford, Editorial Staff The World, New York.
Messiter, Richard P., Minot, Hooper & Co., New York.
Miller, W. W., Attorney at Law, New York.
Miller, Frederick J., Editor American Machinist, New York.
Moffet, E. A., Editor Bricklayer and Mason, New York.
Moore, Charles A., Manning, Maxwell & Moor, New York.
Morgenthau, Henry, Capitalist, New York.
Morse, Raymond P., Brooklyn.
Morris, Ray, Managing Editor Railroad Gazette, New York.
Murphy, John P., Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Michener, C. C., Secretary Industrial Department, Young Men's Christian Association, New York.
Nazro, W. E. C., Welfare Manager Plymouth Cordage Company, North Plymouth, Mass.
Neidig, Robert E., Structural Iron Workers' and Bridge-men's Union, New York.
Neill, H. H., Mail & Express, New York.
Nichols, George, New York.
Nichols, John W. T., Minot, Hooper & Co., New York.
Parker, J. W., Poster Artists' Association, New York.
Phillips, Roland, Managing Editor Harper's Weekly, New York.
Phipps, Henry, Director U. S. Steel Corporation, New York.
Pringle, John D., Editor The Labor World, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ridder, Herman, New York Staats-Zeitung, New York.
Root, Charles T., Root Newspaper Association, New York.
Salmons, C. H., Editor Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal, Cleveland, O.
Sargent, James T., American Washboard Company, Cleveland.
Schell, Philip L., Dry Goods, New York.
Schmid, August F., Upholsterers' Union, New York.
Seligman, Edwin R. A., Head Department Political Economy, Columbia University, New York.
Seligman, Isaac N., J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York.
Sinclair, Angus, President and Editor Railway and Locomotive Engineering, New York.
Silverman, Dr. Joseph, Rahhi Temple Emanuel, New York.
Sleicher, John A., Editor Leslie's Weekly, New York.
Smith, A. Beverly, Secretary Lithographers' Association (East), New York.
Smith, Harris W., New York.
Speyer, James, Speyer & Co., New York.
Stark, George, Treasurer Harlem River Lumber and Wood Working Company, New York.
Stern, James, Real Estate, New York.
Stoddard, Henry L., Editor Evening Mail, New York.
Stone, Warren S., Grand Chief Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, O.
Stuart, John C., New York.
Straus, Oscar S., Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague, New York.
Sullivan, J. W., Editor Garment Workers' Journal, New York.
Suter, G. A., G. A. Suter & Co., New York.
Sweet, Clinton W., Sweet, Orr & Co., New York.
Traitel, Benj. D., The Traitel Marble Company, Long Island City, N. Y.
Terhune, C. W., Edwin C. Burt Company, Brooklyn.
Thomas, Bond, Tiffany Studios, New York.
Thomson, James, New York.
Thompson, Robert, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, New York.
Thompson, T. B., Vice-President Eureka Silk Manufacturing Company, Boston.
Tobin, John F., President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Ullman, Joseph, Lawyer, New York.
Underwood, F. D., President Erie Railroad Company, New York.
Valentine, Joseph F., President Iron Molders' Union of North America, Cincinnati, O.
Vreeland, H. H., President New York City Railway Company, New York.
Watson, H. C., Editor Dun's Review, New York.
Wells, Henry H., Attorney at Law (Barnum and Wells), Brewster, N. Y.
White, Horace, New York Evening Post, New York.
Westergren, M. F., President M. F. Westergren (Incorporated), New York.
Wheeler, Edward J., Editor Literary Digest, New York.
Wilhelms, Carl G., New York.
Wilhelms, Charles, Sackett & Wilhelms Lithographing and Printing Company, Brooklyn.
Williams, J. R., New York.
Wolf, Simson, Attorney at Law (Wolf, Kohn & Ullman), New York.
Wolf, Edwin H., Rogers, Peet & Co., New York.
Wolf, Max, New York.
Wright, H. J., Editor The Globe & Commercial Advertiser, New York.
Yunker, Aaron, Dry Goods, New York.
Yunker, Herman, Dry Goods, New York.

THE NATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

Cincinnati Volksblatt.

It is a somewhat free translation which we use for the name of the association known as the National Civic Federation, and yet we believe it to be the proper one. The term "civic" does not relate only to matters pertaining to civil life; its meaning is broader, embracing every citizen's activities toward society. The study of such matters comes under the heading of sociology.

The organization whose object we are endeavoring to describe etymologically is deserving of a detailed account. If it is at all possible to reach an understanding between capital and labor, it can be expected from this organization, whose members are prominent capitalists, labor men, scientists and philanthropists. Social peace can only be attained through such men. Labor and capital formulate their demands, science determines their justice, and philanthropy endeavors to lessen the rest of the problem that cannot be solved.

The greatness of the powers that co-operate in the Sociological Association constitutes a welcome contrast to the opposing society, the Manufacturers' Association, whose one-sided point of idea has condemned it to fruitlessness, and whose actions are annoying rather than appeasing.

The latter consists not only exclusively of manufacturers, but of those who hold the most extreme ideas, and who are led solely by selfish gain, consequently failing to appreciate advantages which are in their interest. Comparing the speeches and articles of Parry, President of the Manufacturers' Association, with the speeches and articles of the Sociological Association, one notices immediately the distinction between men adhering to a one-sided point of view, and men grasping the problem in all its greatness and seeking to solve it in a calm way. This contrast has acquired a personal phase, adding much to the characterization of the Manufacturers' Association. The latter has termed the Sociological Association a feasting organization, whose sole purpose it is to awaken in the workingmen hopes of things to which they are not entitled. In saying this, the Manufacturers' Association stamps every endeavor to represent the rights of the workers as a hostile action.

The meeting of the Sociological Association which has just come to a close demonstrated that the Federation does not limit its activities to banquets, but is eagerly laboring to establish social peace. As proof of this, we regard the announcement that the Federation has undertaken steps to connect itself with similar organizations in Europe. That is equally as wise a step as it is just, which recognizes a heretofore disregarded fact, that the labor question needs international co-operation in order to settle it successfully. If in one country the average working hours are eleven, and in another nine, if in one country women and children toil unhampered and in another such labor is restricted, the conditions of production are at such variance that progress seems impossible. The conditions of labor must be nearly the same throughout the world, if the position of the working people is to be improved.

A remarkable paper was the one of Mr. Carnegie, who distinguished himself by his intimate knowledge of the subject he treated, and hence it was instructive and elucidative, seemingly making it appear that the Federation will soon reach its aim. In equally an interesting and convincing way Mr. Carnegie explains that the labor problem exists in this country actually only for one-seventh of the entire population of workers. For the 10,000,000 workingmen who pursue an agricultural career, there is no hindrance of the social peace known as strikes; the same applies to the 5,500,000 persons who busy themselves with housework. Small manufacturers have no difficulties with their employees. Deducting the number of smaller establishments, there are left, of the 7,000,000 industrial workingmen, only 3,000,000 who do not enjoy the blessings of continuous peace. This difficult problem is thereby reduced to such an extent that of the 22,000,000 workingmen of this country, only 3,000,000 employed in large industries and in the mines, are to be satisfied in order to establish harmony between capital and labor. Mr. Carnegie explains how this is to be accomplished. As the first condition, he suggests that good wages should be paid whenever business conditions make it possible. This suggests the logical thought that employees cannot demand higher wages than such as are justified by business conditions. Mr. Carnegie notices nothing alarming in the fact that workingmen ask for higher wages and employers refuse to grant them; to him this appears natural, just as though goods were for sale. The buyer makes his offer, and the seller insists on his price. Not being able to agree on the price, there is no reason for animosity. In the relations between capital and labor a different state exists, causing a suspension of production when the two parties cannot reach an agreement. For the purpose of preventing such a state of affairs Mr. Carnegie suggests the introduction of arbitration boards. This suggestion recommends itself because it will cast aside men of extreme ideas on both sides, who are known to be the main causes of strikes. Practice has

sufficiently demonstrated that the plan possesses much practical value.

Industrial peace has been by such means practically established in one of the most important industries—in the coal mines. This point of view is strengthened by Mr. Carnegie, by an observation which is remarkable to the highest extent. He tells the manufacturers of the Parry type, whose principle consists in an unconditional surrender of the toilers, that a manufacturer can add no greater injury to his business than to part from his experienced employees, so as to save on wages by employing new men. Whatever he saves on wages on one side, he loses double the amount on the performed labor on the other side. The meaning of this observation, therefore, is that the employer has a greater interest than the employee to prevent strikes. Such a view is held by every sensible manufacturer. Mr. Carnegie furnishes a psychological contribution to the labor question, when he seems to justify acts of force by striking employees, saying that the indignation of the experienced worker can be easily explained, when he is replaced by a less able person and thereby deprived of the means of subsistence both for himself and for his family. A workman should not be exposed to such torture. In so far as employees are advised to prevent strikes, this view is unquestionable. Of course, the right to commit acts of force cannot be recognized.

The reader will share our view, that Mr. Carnegie's speech does not only bear an element of enlightenment, but also furnishes proof that the establishment of good conditions between capital and labor is not one of the problems that cannot be solved.

SAUCE FOR GOOSE AND GANDER.

Wall Street Journal.

The less interference with economic law, the better. More freedom of trade, less tariff restrictions; more competition, less monopoly; more liberty, less legislation and governmental interference—those are ideals to strive for and work towards. But we are always in danger of going to an extreme in the advocacy of any principle. Freedom is so desirable that we must have it at any cost, but too much freedom means anarchy. Law is essential to public order and justice, but too much law becomes tyranny. The highest human happiness lies somewhere between the two extremes of tyranny and anarchy. Mr. Parry pleads for industrial freedom. To that we say "Amen." But too much industrial freedom would lead to industrial anarchy.

Order and justice must rule in our industrial relations. The danger is that measures taken to secure order and justice may lead to industrial tyranny. Somewhere between monopoly and unrestricted competition, lies the point of highest "economic" efficiency and national prosperity.

But the thing that we would especially call attention to, is that Mr. Parry in his appeal for "industrial freedom," limits that beneficent principle to labor. He wants freedom for labor. But how about freedom for capital? He is much concerned about economic law in its relation to labor, but how about economic law and capital? What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

One of the mightiest developments now going on in the world of business is concentration of capital. We are told that concentration is a result of natural economic law, and that any interference with it would be followed by the penalties which always visit violation of law. This concentration, however, is working toward the wiping out or reduction of competition which is freedom. It is working for regulation of production, and maintenance of stable rates and prices, and such regulation is interference with the law of supply and demand.

What is trades unionism but another phase of concentration? May not labor copy capital? When we begin to talk about law and freedom, let us be sure that we mean law and freedom for everybody alike, both master and servant, employer and employed, capital and labor.

Incidentally we may remark that Mr. Parry is doing the cause he advocates more harm than good, and the labor unions might help themselves by contributing to Mr. Parry's campaign expenses.

EXTREME MEASURES; EVIL RESULTS.

Staats Zeitung, New York.

The "Citizen's Industrial Association," assembled in convocation in this city, has formulated its demands, which sound well at first reading and appear justifiable at a glance, but which are not entirely sincere. If it is said that the association's sole object consists in creating freedom for labor, and in preventing a wage-worker's idleness because he is not a member of a trades union, then it does not coincide with the utterances of the president of the association and of other speakers who spoke at this and at previously held conventions. It is, furthermore, entirely wrong to condemn as a whole the legal regulation of hours constituting a work-day. The principle maintained by the association, that the freedom of individual agreements should not be curtailed, is out of date.

As a matter of fact, this association does not intend

to solve the so-called social question in a peaceful and sensible way. On the contrary, the association is organized to combat demands of laborers; disregarding the form in which they are presented, as was shown by the unmeasured attacks made upon the Civic Federation. That has at least a noble object. The "Industrial Association" is controlled by fanatics of the worst kind, who seek to conceal their true motives when they say that they do not desire to make any distinction between organized and unorganized workers. Its real object is to destroy all trades unions, without regard to their constituted form. So often and emphatically has this been stated at its meetings that it can no longer be denied. And yet, this association does not realize that an employers' association cannot claim any more reasons for its existence than an organization of employees.

The last demand of the association consists in a short sentence: "The enforcement of laws." With this we coincide fully. Its meaning is, however, more significant than one thinks. What the association really demands is not only that the existing laws shall be enforced, but that they shall remain unchanged. There can be no such thing. Legislative measures that were enacted when factories were practically unknown are not sufficient, now that the United States has evolved into an industrial state of the highest order. We will have to follow the example set by all other civilized countries, in that new laws will have to be enacted which will meet the changed conditions of the working people. Every observer of conditions knows that the old laws are insufficient; they are just as burdensome to the employer as to the employee.

He who obstructs the process of evolution pours oil on flames. He adds nothing to the solution of a continuously fiercer growing battle, but embitters it. He himself becomes an obstacle to progress, and increases the danger of a nearing flood by his attempts to stem it. It is beyond doubt that trades unions have committed grave sins. Underlying all of their movements are their just and reasonable demands for the enactment of new laws which will meet changed conditions. The fanatic who desires to obstruct the attainment of those wishes embitters the case. Mutual recognition and regard are necessary, and this cannot be demanded by one party if it refuses to grant them in the same measure to the other party. A solution by force will be the result of strengthening the extremes and inciting trouble. It is doubtful whether such a solution, if brought about by the fanaticism displayed by the "Citizen's Industrial Association" will be of advantage to the manufacturers.

OPENING OF EMPLOYEES' CLUB ROOMS.

(From *Store Notes*, official organ of the Howe & Stetson Department Store Employees' Association.)

The new club rooms in the Moses Building, which will be ready for opening shortly, have been planned and arranged for use by our president and general manager, Messrs. Howe and Eastman, and Miss Matae B. Cleveland, who has come to New Haven especially to look after the work of instalment. Miss Cleveland is an expert in this line of work and comes here through the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation.

So much interest has been manifested in these club rooms, and so much anxiety has been shown for their existence, that the news that they are nearly ready for use will be hailed with delight. The employees will especially welcome the announcement that the serving of lunch in the large dining room, in accordance with the plans, will so soon begin. The dining room will accommodate as many as one hundred at a time. It is intended to divide the working force of the store into four divisions, the first of which will go to the dining room at 11.30 and the last at 1 o'clock. Everything has been planned to permit quick service and it is hoped that the clerks will thus be enabled to take a little stroll, after luncheon, and still get back for their duties within the allotted half hour.

Upon one side of the dining room will be placed the reading and resting room, furnished with library tables, lounges and chairs, and provided with newspapers and other literature. On the other side will be the smoking room, while the kitchen will take up a large space across the rear of the big hall.

Even before completion, the hall and adjoining rooms will be dedicated to future social uses by a dance, under the management of the entertainment committee of the Employees' Association.

The prevention of strikes or lockouts by the National Civic Federation is a new proposition to both employer and employee, yet, in its comparative infancy, it has to its credit a splendid record of prevented breaks between capital and labor. It is to be hoped, and it is expected, that the men who are really interested in the question of industrial peace and who are in touch with the National Civic Federation will do much toward adjusting many controversies that, without their kindly offices, might result in disagreement to the point of separation. —*Labor Clarion*, San Francisco.



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IS THERE AN IMMIGRATION PERIL?

THE POPULAR IMPRESSION THAT THE SCUM OF EUROPE INVADES THE UNITED STATES
VIGOROUSLY COMBATED BY QUALIFIED EXPERTS.

THE growing volume of immigration and its relation to American industry was the general topic discussed at the quarterly meeting of the Civic Federation of New York and vicinity held on June 19 at the rooms of the Board of Trade and Transportation, 203 Broadway. Special questions considered in relation to the subject were: What is the net annual gain in the population of the United States from this source, and what is its character? Is there any practicable and desirable plan for distributing the immigrants throughout the country? What percentage of the arrivals is undesirable, and what, if anything, can be done to reduce this? What proportion of the 64 per cent that arrive at Ellis Island remains in this city? What industries does this affect, and how?

The participants in the discussion all spoke with the authority of expert knowledge. The information that they presented and the opinions they expressed were such as to correct much popular misapprehension upon this subject; such as, for example, that a great majority of the arrivals are from the jails, asylums and poor-houses of Europe. They were also of such a nature as

to emphasize the importance of the topic. For that reason, a resolution was adopted requesting the National Civic Federation to appoint a committee to give especial consideration to the relation of immigration to American industry, including particularly methods of its distribution and existing and proposed legislation; the committee to be composed of men of national reputation and to make a public report as soon as practicable. Among the illustrations accompanying this report are reproductions of photographs of immigrants, selected by the officials at Ellis Island as typical both of those admitted and of those deported. A verbatim report of the proceedings follows:

Charles A. Moore, President of the New York Civic Federation, in calling the meeting to order stated succinctly the scope of the discussion. He introduced as the first speaker Nathan Bijur, President of the State Conference of Charities and Vice-President of the United Hebrew Charities.

Mr. Bijur:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I doubt whether I can say more than a word or two on one or two of the

suggestions contained in the invitation, as the subject is so broad as to be impossible of thorough treatment in the short compass of a few informal remarks.

As a lawyer I take the liberty of advising my friends that it is impossible to discuss a problem unless we know what the problem is.

It is a very common thing to hear of the evils of immigration and the misfortune brought upon the United States by the immigrant, and of the hardships and burdens of the immigrant. Personally, I have no knowledge of these burdens; personally, I have not seen the evils as the term is applied particularly to immigrants, and I have searched in vain for a categorical and clear statement of what the trouble may be. I know that we have in the United States, and particularly in New York City, a great many poor people. That is nothing new. It simply carries out the prediction contained in the good old book. I presume we shall have those poor with us for a long time to come. I have no knowledge whether there were poor people when the original Americans monopolized the inhabitancy of this country, that is, the North American



ALIENS WAITING FOR TICKETS AT RAILWAY TICKET OFFICE, ELLIS ISLAND STATION.

Indians, but so far as our civilized history goes, we have had the poor among us ever since the first immigrant landed here, in the person of Columbus.

Now, in regarding the question of the immigrant—not the evils of immigration, but the question of the immigrant—we are frequently furnished with statistics. Let me say a word about statistics. Statistics should never be gathered by an advocate. Statistics should be gathered by a statistician. You know the old joke about three kinds of lies: Lies, and blank lies, and then statistics. That is a very unfair characterization of statistics. Statistics, if gathered by a statistician, do

Now I will read this relation of the number of new immigrants to the actual population by decades:

1821 to 1830, 15 to the 1,000.

1831 to 1840, 47 to the 1,000.

1841 to 1850, 100 to the 1,000.

1851 to 1860, 110 to the 1,000.

And now in subsequent decades, 73, 73, 104, and in the decade from 1891 to 1900, 59 to the 1,000.

In other words, not only is the ratio of increase by immigration not growing, but it is actually diminishing. That is to say, the number of immigrants who came in between 1891 and 1900 is very much fewer to the

burden upon the community by occupying the charitable and the penal and the reformatory institutions which the public have established. Then you are told that there are two kinds of immigrants—desirable and undesirable, the desirable being those that are designated as the ones who are kin to us in race or blood or habits, and the undesirable are all the rest.

But an analysis of the figures, which it would be altogether too voluminous a task to undertake here will indicate that while it is true that the alien and the foreign-born furnish a large proportion of the census of our charitable institutions, it is not true that the unde-



MAIN BUILDING, ELLIS ISLAND.



IMMIGRANT CHILDREN ON ROOF GARDEN, ELLIS ISLAND.

present the pictures of fact. After we have the statistics we may honestly determine whether we are an advocate or an opponent of the particular question which the statistics elucidate. The trouble with very much of the statistics gathered on the subject of immigration is that they have been sought after with a view of proving or disproving some previously conceived theory.

Now, when we look at the question broadly, what have you here about immigrants and immigration? That there is such an enormous number of immigrants coming into the United States at the present time. I have taken the trouble to look up some figures, in fact they have been collated by a number of men interested in the subject, and some of these have been published. A very interesting tale is the one prepared by Mr. R. P. Falkner and published in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March, 1904. Taking the decades from 1821 to 1900, 1821 to 1830, 1831 to 1840, and so on, he shows the relation of the total number of immigrants to one thousand inhabitants of the initial population. That is, the relation of the number of immigrants coming in during each ten years, to the number of inhabitants of the United States then present in the United States.

general population than the number of immigrants who came in in 1841 to 1850, 1851 to 1860, 1881 to 1890, and the other periods that I have named. So that this tremendous inrush of immigrants is something that is tremendous in its absolute figures but very small in its relative figures to the general population of the United States.

Now, when you remember that the State of Texas, which is larger than Germany, is alone capable of feeding a population and holding a population very much larger than Germany, which is, I think, some fifty-five million, and that the total number of inhabitants of Texas is about three and a half million, you will see that there is room, at least in some parts of the United States, for an increase of population, whether by immigration or otherwise.

But when these figures are presented we hear another objection to immigration, namely, this: It is true we need two hundred million, or we can stand two hundred or three hundred million more population, but we want them in the West and we want them in the South, and they should not come in the great cities; but that is where the immigrant flocks.

Now, it is equally interesting in that relation to see what the growth of urban population has been in the United States in recent years. From 1891 to 1900 the increase of population in the United States as shown by the last census was 13,000,000. That is, new inhabitants of the United States, whether born here or coming here as immigrants. Now, out of the 13,000,000 the growth of population in the urban communities was 7,600,000; in the semi-urban communities 2,000,000, and in the rural communities, 3,400,000. That is, the urban and semi-urban population grew 9,600,000 while the rural population grew 3,400,000. The total immigration during that period was but 3,600,000. It is perfectly evident, therefore, that the tremendous growth of the urban communities was not due to the immigrant at all, or at least was only due to the immigrant to the same extent that it was due to the native. The people from the country have come to the city, because either they liked it better, or thought there were greater opportunities in the city. If we are going to shut out from our city, because of some rule that we arrogate to ourselves the power to make, the people who now live in the country who prefer to live in the city, we should have to shut out the Vice-President of the National Civic Federation, Mr. Oscar S. Straus, and we should have to keep from our city lines a gentleman who has recently distinguished himself, named Mr. Thomas F. Ryan. There are other men you might think of who have come from rural communities to the cities and have not been a great burden upon the city institutions or upon the charity of the rich.

Now, what other general objection do you hear to the immigrant? You hear this, as I have said: First, there are too many of them. Well, the figures do not seem to show that, proportionately considered. Next, they flock to the cities more than the native does. That does not seem to be borne out by the figures. But, you are told, the immigrant in particular becomes a

sirable, so-called, that is, the south and the eastern European furnishes that larger proportion. On the contrary, an analysis of our criminal and of our charitable statistics will show that the so-called desirable aliens from northern and western Europe, occupy—well, nearly double the amount of room in our charitable and penal institutions that is occupied by the so-called undesirable immigrant from southern and eastern Europe. I want to say a word after all about this occupancy of our charitable institutions. The immigrant comes here and generally for the first ten or twenty years, until the new generation is on its feet, the immigrant is poor; the immigrant takes what we might call the laboring oar in the community. Is it any wonder that he occupies our hospitals and our insane asylums? Not at all.

You see, statistics must always be regarded from a comparative standpoint. You must differentiate, you must classify.

If you compare the statistics of accidents that happen in the City of New York and pick out, say, the firemen, you will find the proportion of accidents is much larger among firemen than among other people. It is their duty to meet with accidents. And the same might be said of the police. If you pick out the immigrant, who is generally the worker, it is quite natural you will find more immigrants in the hospitals than natives, because



PAUPER ALIENS—DEPORTED.



ROVING SERVIAN GYPSIES—DEPORTED.



TYPICAL SLOVAC WOMAN.

this. I cite it merely to dissuade rapid judgment from insufficient figures. I know of no inference that can be drawn from this. But you go about and you know from your own experience that the children of the immigrant are the most ardent citizens and the most ardent students in our schools and colleges.

We have a notion that the immigrant comes here poor and that, therefore, he is a burden on the community.

What would we do without the poor? Somebody has got to do this work. The history of the United States has been that in every irruption of a large number of immigrants the people who have been here before have been, as I think some politician once expressed it, kicked up into a higher place. It has been the history of this country since 1821 that every time a poorer class comes in, it takes the last economic strata of the community and pushes it up a peg. And that is going on to-day exactly as it did in 1830 and in 1840.

If we establish a purely economic or financial basis for immigration I am afraid we would be apt to exclude a great many gentlemen who are to-day quite a factor in the community—we would have excluded them, one of whom I see sitting here now, another of whom has become famous the world over as the greatest ironmaster, and yet when he came here he was quite incapable of getting in by a show of cash in hand.

There is a different question, not the question of anti-immigration, but the question of sifting the immigrant who comes in. When it comes to the question of keeping out the diseased, the actually pauperized, the actually criminal, who, gentlemen, come here, I think, not of



TYPICAL HOLLAND DAMES.

the immigrant is the man who takes up the employment which brings about the accidents; he takes up the employment in which the work is hard and dangerous. It is no wonder that he breaks down, and it is no wonder that he is injured.

On the question of intelligence I have never heard the immigrant criticised. There is a vague notion that the immigrant is illiterate. That is not true. Moreover, whether the original immigrant be illiterate or not, his children are more literate than the children of the native American.

I was very much startled to find a little set of figures that gave these facts: Natives of foreign-born parents who could not speak English in New York State, according to the 1900 census, 2,500; in Wisconsin, 5,000; in Minnesota, 2,740, and in Pennsylvania there were natives born of native parents who, nevertheless, the children, could not speak English to the number of 19,000.

Now, there is nothing significant in this; there is no conclusion to be drawn from



STALWART SPECIMENS FROM ROUMANIA.

Do we want to go back to the old humdrum, or do we not want to have all these elements?

And then here is one other consideration. I need not go into the history of the United States to say that if the United States stands for anything, it stands for political and for religious freedom, and I think I voice the sentiments of the American people in its true sense if I say that so long as there exists a man or a group of men in any part of the civilized world who are persecuted or oppressed because of peaceable political or religious beliefs and purposes, so long the doors of the United States will have to remain open. (Applause.)

The Chairman.—The Chair will call on Mr. A. W. Sullivan, editor of the *Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades*.

Mr. Sullivan:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—Being asked a few days ago my views on immigration, I replied, "Exclusion." Thereupon I was invited to come here and outline my position.



TYPICAL ROUTHENIAN WOMAN.

their own accord, but because they are sent here—that is a different question. Anything that we can do to protect ourselves against the burdens that probably belong in other communities we should do. Whether we can do that by imposing a money penalty upon the immigrant that comes in I doubt very much. Whether we charge a \$2 a head tax or a \$25 a head tax, it is my impression it will make no difference. I think the community—I do not mean this as applying to Germany or France—but I think the community in Germany or France or Austria or England, or wherever it is, will pay the \$25 to get a pauperized immigrant in here. But the honest immigrant, who deserves to come in and who may have only \$10, will be kept out. Financial bases for immigration are very artificial and very dangerous.

I do not know that I can add anything more—excepting to say one word: There is something in this question of immigration altogether outside of figures and dollars and cents. The United States is great, not because of any one class of its population, but just because it represents an amalgamation of various types. There have been brought to us all the forms of activity that have made modern civilization what it is, and the United States has become on that account a microcosm. We have got our love of art from the Italian; we have a lively and active spirit, perhaps from the French and from the Irish; from the German we got our love for music. From all these continental nations we are beginning to learn how to rest. Now, why do we want to keep these elements out? What is the matter with them? From the Russian we are getting an idealism to which we ourselves have been strangers for decades.



FROM ROUMANIA TO MICHIGAN LUMBER CAMPS.

The transatlantic steamship lines, almost exclusively non-American, in the last three years, coming and going, have carried wage workers in migration to the number of more than three millions; any one may compute for himself how nearly the gross earnings of these companies from this traffic have approached one hundred million dollars. If the average of the railroad and steamboat fares spent within this country by these migrants has been ten dollars, the inland American transportation companies have garnered from them about thirty millions dollars. If the manufacturers and mine owners and the employing classes in general have availed themselves of one-tenth of this providential supply of cheap labor, in substituting it for labor previously better paid by 10 per cent., they have saved in the three years in wages a matter of fifty million dollars. Crumbs sufficient to keep them alive falling from this traffic have also been picked up by some thousands of contractors, padroni, employment agents, slum landlords, and dealers in small patches of "our" undeveloped resources. If in America it could occasionally happen that lawmaking should result from pull and steering, the not somnolent interests mentioned might perhaps be tempted to try their turn in asking Congress for something good. Having overstuffed the



CHARLES A. MOORE,
President New York Civic Federation.

cities to a point of acute indigestion, they might come forward and suggest a project for loading up the hinterland.

Among the numerous articles afloat on the ocean of print during the last year or two advocating government aid in distributing the arriving millions, none has suggested a clearly considered, specific, detailed plan. "Kansas announces its need of forty thousand agricultural laborers for the coming harvest;" "the South is always calling for more field workers;" "immigrants have reclaimed many abandoned New England farms;" "healthy new communities can be nurtured from the bosom of Nature itself;" "land is offered everywhere on desirable conditions;" "plenty of room in our West, Northwest, South and Southwest"—these glittering pearls, borrowed from the phraseology of the real estate boomer, have been dangled before us, but out of it all we have been given no definite project.

To what part of this country can the coming poverty-stricken swarms be sent where they will surely benefit themselves and the community?

Shall we recommend the Pacific Coast? For twenty years rural California has been the gleaming ground of thousands of roving, homeless white blanketmen and of great gangs of yellow and brown men, whose movements depend on the successively ripening crops on large plantations in various parts of the State. To-day the entire Pacific Coast is in the throes of an agitation for the exclusion of all Asiatic laborers. The *San Francisco Chronicle* says that there are now in California thirty-five thousand Japanese, and on the whole length of the Coast fully one hundred thousand, the majority having arrived in the last five years, and a former agent of the Industrial Commission reports that "the number of Japanese in California alone is greater than the total number recorded at all ports of the United States in ten years."

Shall we send immigrants to the Northwestern States? The last number to hand of the *Butte (Mont.) Reveille* redescribes the remarkable movement of American citizens to Canada. It says the number going this year will be fifty thousand; Collier's counts on a hegira of one hundred thousand a year. Why don't these people stay and develop the alleged virgin riches of the country they are deserting?

Next, Colorado. Are we to send a hundred thousand more laborers to that noble State. Last year the United Mine Workers spent nearly half a million dollars in the Rocky Mountain region supporting moderate union

demands and came to grief. But perhaps there are other vast mining districts only awaiting the "magic hand of labor" for their needed development. There's Illinois, the State of Mr. Joseph Leiter, having, Professor Commons tells us, thirty-seven thousand coal miners, 60 per cent. being foreign born, the majority, arriving since 1894, having taken the places of Americans and Americanized miners from Western Europe. There's West Virginia, the scene of a long series of strikes, still on, many of the non-unionists newly arrived foreigners and the union men being described in the *United Mine Workers' Journal* this month as living under a reign of terror, the victims of lawless opponents. There's the Alabama mine district, where the United Mine Workers have recently had eight thousand men out, but where convicts have long been busily employed. There are the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania, where the Slavs and their descendants number one hundred and ten thousand, if we may believe Dr. Peter Roberts, of Mahanoy City, a systematic observer of the subject.

It is no longer proposed that immigrants adapted to the work be sent to the New England textile mills, which now largely employ not only French Canadians, but Armenians, Greeks and Portuguese, with remnants of the English and Irish who two decades ago pressed in on the American employes. None are to go to the iron and steel mills of Western Pennsylvania, where the callous indifference to their swarming foreign human life has recently moved the Austrian, German and Italian Consuls to seek an investigation. Skilled immigrants are not to be assigned to communities according to their trades—for example, potters to the pottery towns, packed with importations from England; glassworkers to the middle West, over-run with Belgians who came under inducements; quarrymen to Vermont and Massachusetts, where the union organ is printed in four languages. Are our beneficent railroads still clamoring for more foreign construction hands? Or are there really not enough half-employed Italian gang laborers in this country now? The Ninth Special Federal Report (p. 29) put the percentage of the unemployed unskilled Italians in Chicago at 56.97. Dr. Peter Roberts writes that after the great anthracite strike, when the mining industry was rushing, the collieries did not average more than two-thirds time.

What region or occupation in America is not already over-supplied with cheap foreign labor?

Ah, agriculture! Every farmer needs a hired hand! Five million farms; five million hands wanted! Five years more of business for the steamship companies before our vast national stomach shall be crammed to the throat. Unsophisticated persons there are who still echo the marvellous tales told about farm help somewhere growing rich on harvest-hand wages. And what is the big, broad, blanket-like fact that covers the entire proposition? It is this: For fifty years the average yearly earnings of the American farmhand have been the lowest in the entire national wage scale. From 1860 to 1890, except during part of the Civil War, the annual farm wages was variable in but the slightest degree. Aside from the census, the Department of Agriculture has made repeated investigations, one official conducting five of them within twenty-five years, and always finding this same state of facts. The census of 1900 reported a small increase, but the late Dr. Spahr, making special inquiries in 1899 as correspondent of the *Outlook*, found that general farm wages in Arkansas, for example, had fallen from \$18 a month to \$10 within fifteen to twenty years. Those excellent citizens who find mental recreation in belittling the laboring classes sometimes indulge in agreement on a fallacious prejudice according to which the working man shuns the country and loves the city's lights. The fact and principle involved are otherwise. America's labor, following the line of least resistance in striving for the American standard of living, cannot be expected to remain contented at an occupation whose rewards do not include a united family life, a home or wages above that of the day laborer. As to the attractions of the South and Southwest, continually advertised during the last quarter of a century, the foreigner believes them to be counteracted by competition with the negro, who, acclimatized, disciplined to subservience, by nature a season worker, presents to the world an example of the survival of the fittest.

But, "the immigrant is to buy land," "the era of the small farmer is at hand," "suitable acreage can be had on most desirable terms." Reply: The three hundred thousand Southern Italians, Hebrews and Poles arriving last year landed with an average capital of \$13 per person. The Industrial Commission in 1900 gave the average for these nationalities for years as respectively \$8.84, \$8.67 and \$9.94. Our immigrants reach here on the brink of want, the general average of their capital in 1904 being \$25.70. Nearly all are untaught in American methods of agriculture and of selling produce. The barrier between the \$10 foreign capitalist and the independence of an American farmer's life is mountains high—his need of food, clothing and shelter until he can surely produce a paying crop, his need of at least a part of the purchase price of his land, his ignorance of our language and commercial methods.

Where, in the name of horse sense, is there to-day a dearth of common labor in America? In what region will not brawn and backbone, of itself, appear, ready

and willing, whenever a living wage is offered? In 1900, the census tells us, the percentage of those engaged in gainful occupations who were unemployed during some portion of the year was for the whole country 22.3; in 1890 it was only 15.1. In agriculture the percentage was 20.7.

[At this point the speaker said that to deliver his entire address would overrun his time; he therefore asked leave to print. Granted.]

One quarter there is to which the non-English speaking creatures with but \$10 between themselves and pauperism can count on being rushed posthaste to work. It is where there is a strike or lockout. In one occupation they are given an indulgent trial for the passing hour by solicitous employers. It is as strikebreakers. Unrestricted immigration is unlimited government aid to union wreckers.

The cry now is for "distribution!" The unemployed are already well distributed in every State of the Union. The many great strikes of the miners the last two years should be deeply significant to those who urge sending the laborers out away from the cities. That is where the miners are. The miners are diggers, delvers, laboring men, as closely related to farm workers as any other class. If really any rural part of this country wants labor, underpaid, partly employed mine workers



ROBERT WATCHORN,
Commissioner of Immigration at Port of N. Y.

are so distributed by the thousands that it is strange they do not respond to the demand.

The problem of immigration admits at its present stage of only two modes of interference.

The first mode is further to extend the present policy, which, ostensibly that of assistance to the immigrant, is really a costly and indulgent paternalism toward parasites on the American people. Further steps in its pursuance will provide for more dividends to foreign corporations subsidized by European governments, possessed of ships convertible to war uses, and developed with the intent to drive our American marine from the seas in peace and in war. These further steps will also call for more rackrent for slum landlords, more rakeoffs for contractors, padroni and foreign agents of transportation, more voting cattle for our political stockyards, more blood for real estate sharks more non-unionists for manufacturers' combines, more outlay for every charitable and penal institution in this country, and incalculably more misery for America's wage earners.

Shall I illustrate by facts?

Not alone more riches and power for foreign steamship companies, but help to foreign governments. We read only last week that the Royal Steamship Company of Great Britain, built up by a subsidy of a million dollars a year, is to establish a line between America and the Mediterranean ports. We are informed that the English Government has a sovereign interest in the great new convertible Cunarders. The advertised present activity of the Italian Government in supervising emigration greatly results in keeping in Italy conscripts for the military service. The long continued practice of deporting public dependents has been astutely permitted by foreign governments to be shifted to a new form of insurance company. Professor Edward T. Devine writes that at Bremen and other points of embarkation are agencies with offices in many parts of Central and Southeastern Europe which contract for a price a safe landing in America or a free return to all comers. In this transaction the hand of neither government nor steamship company can be seen. But steamship officials are not always so modest. On January 26, 1897, the restriction bill being up in Congress for a vote, a German steamship official telegraphed to doubtful members threatening them with defeat at the next election if they voted for the act—if we may believe the Restriction League, which prints the telegram,

with names, in one of its leaflets. Mr. Lodge declared in the Senate, without contradiction, that another telegram had been sent at the time to every American newspaper carrying the company's advertising.

More fees to steamship agents! Stimulating emigration to America is in Eastern Europe a recognized profession. A representative of the United States Treasury Department investigated the subject in the summer of 1903. He found that in Europe drummers for steerage passengers to America included school teachers, notaries, postmasters, pedlars, peasants, and even priests. Mr. Ward assures us that the seven thousand steamship agents scattered throughout Italy have succeeded in persuading many thousands to come here who otherwise would have remained at home.

More success to Italian padrone and American contractor. For example, Rome, New York. That city let out to the lowest bidder certain public works. He sent to New York for a gang of two to three hundred Italians. They came and did the work at wages representing a degenerate level for Americans. They lived in shacks, ate animal food, wore foreign clothing, lived meaner than at home, for economy's sake. They saved their full share of the \$25,000,000 annually sent to Italy by New York's Italian banks. To the town shopkeepers they brought little or nothing; to the State, no taxes; to the jail, assault cases; to the public schools, itch and trachoma. The city of Rome, N. Y., had numerous workmen who would have been glad of the work. But, as in ancient times, foreign serfs labored on the municipal improvements while Rome's proud citizens stood idly by. In this respect the history of Rome has been repeated in a hundred American cities.



NATHAN BIJUR,
President State Conference of Charities.

To the employers' combines that are engaged in the crusade against trade unionism the hordes of fresh immigrants have been an inestimable blessing. These combines are invariably composed of intense Americans, bound by hooks of steel to every American tradition save traditional American wages. They'll drive the American wage workers out of a trade, and when their foreign non-unionists purge themselves and join the unions, will upbraid them for their un-Americanism.

An example, the clothing trade. The New York State Department of Labor (p. 43, Report of 1902) has pronounced the sweatshop a result of immigration. Dr. George C. Stiebling, of St. Mark's Place, New York, thus defines sweatshops: Workshops "in which clothing is manufactured and which serve at the same time as dwelling rooms to the bosses, their families and boarders"—"overcrowded, ill ventilated, over heated, full of dirt, filth, vermin and stench;" consequently, "unwholesome, health destroying and disease breeding." Joseph Baroness two weeks ago publicly stated that never were sweatshop conditions worse than at present on the East Side. In 1904, the Immigration Bureau reports, 23,508 tailors arrived. Besides, a benevolent society maintains schools for tailors on the East Side. Last summer the wholesale ready-made clothiers' combine, with philanthropic intent, established another school and union blacklisting employment bureau in Astor Place. This combine's organ, the "Daily Trade Record" (March 28, 1905), thinks well of the proposed Ellis Island great exhibition hall. It wants there, as a part of it, "a big clothing factory, in which arriving immigrants could note the class of tailoring work to which they are best adapted. Agents could be stationed there to direct them to the concerns in different markets most in need of their service. In this way considerable labor trouble would also possibly be averted." True, for the Chicago special order tailoring unions charge the combine with boldly violating its trade agreements, and refusing to submit the point to arbitration, because uncontrolled immigration permitted it to lock out its Scandinavians, Germans and naturalized Hebrews having \$100 apiece, and lock in Bohemians, Poles, Italians

and greenhorn Hebrews possessed of \$13 apiece, less immigrant fare to Chicago.

Can the Ellis Island officials guarantee that the incoming hosts booked for the suburbs will not stray to the cities? The federal inspectors, obeying the recent reform laws relating to pauper, insane, criminal, diseased and contract labor immigrants, last year deported the largest proportion ever known—and that was less than 1 per cent. The law's guarantee to protect us from these classes is plainly worthless. There's hardly a skilled trade in America, there's no industrial center employing highly specialized labor—from wood working to chemistry, from musician to cloth dyer—that cannot bear overwhelming testimony to violations of the contract labor law. The Federal Census Bureau reports that while the native born inmates of American insane and charitable institutions are 3 to 1,000 inhabitants the aliens number 30 per 1,000. Dr. Shively has estimated that 23,000 tuberculosis immigrants were landed in New York in 1902. The State of New York alone has 6,000 aliens in its public insane asylums. Of the 44,985 aliens in the insane, penal and charitable institutions of the United States, 19,764 are insane. Goodwin Brown, a specialist in lunacy statistics, predicts that in ten years the alien insane will cost the United States \$50,000,000 a year. A writer in the Brooklyn Eagle has recently estimated that the cost to New York State of its foreign born poor is annually \$12,000,000. Of 2,595 cases cared for by the New York Lying-in Society only 315 were patients native born. Multitudinous are the phenomena that government inspectors cannot either see or foresee. And astonishing are the things they are unable to do. The New York State Free Employment Bureau, with a million job seekers to experiment on, found places last year for about 7,000. The State Commissioner of Labor, when his inspectors last January captured in Elizabeth street tenements numerous bundles of men's clothing being finished in unlicensed dwellings contrary to law, refused to make public the names of the manufacturers owning the goods, since the statute gave them that discretion.

Good reasons, and many of them, in all the facts just mentioned for not enlarging the powers of labor bureau officials over Europe's impoverished millions thrown overboard in New York Harbor.

The second mode within sight of dealing with the immigration question is exclusion. As President Roosevelt said in his message, let us welcome the desirable and reject the undesirable. I submit that every immigrant who cannot pass an illiteracy test and prepay an insurance of \$50 against becoming a burden to this country, to be used for his deportation if necessary, is undesirable.

I also hold that a period of total suspension may become a necessity. This is conservative as compared with a decision of the United States Supreme Court, rendered in May, 1895. This was: "The power of Congress to exclude aliens altogether from the United States, or to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which they may come to this country, and to have its declared policy in that regard enforced exclusively through executive officers, without judicial intervention, is settled by our previous adjudications."

The illiterate among the immigrants over fourteen years of age, coming from Eastern and Southern Europe, were in 1900, 38.8 per cent.; in 1901, 46; in 1902, 44.3; in 1903, 40; in 1904, 43. The State Department of Labor reports that "the two countries having more than 50 per cent. of illiterates furnish one-fourth of the whole number of New York's aliens."

Reject the illiterates, require the fulfillment of the obvious obligation insisted on in wise New Zealand, that the foreigner shall not become a public burden, and the results will stagger the imagination. The colossal European marine leeches will no longer get drunk on both foreign and domestic blood; the discontented democratic hosts of Europe will be strengthened through the retention of their brothers at home; the working men of America will soon begin to pour out money to our business men, for their advancing wages will at once absorb a fair share of the enormously increasing product of the country. An authority in the New York building trades equal to the best recently told me that with immigration suspended common labor in this city would be \$3 a day within one year. The clothing trade unions would quickly proceed to enlist every garment worker, Hebrew or Gentile, in Greater New York, and their label would insure the well attired classes that no consumption sputum infected their coats.

Have no fear that the foreign born wage workers now here will not, after a brief campaign of education, favor exclusion. Why is only one immigrant in eighty a Frenchman, one in forty an Englishman, and one in several hundred a Swiss? It is because the masses of those intelligent nationalities are already educated in the fact that, all things considered, the economic level of the American wage earner is but a bare notch or two above that of their own land. The 10 per cent. of immigrants returning disgusted to Europe teach them that point. The immigrants now in this country can on humanitarian grounds repel the charge of selfishness in voting for exclusion. As one of the speakers said when the United Hebrew Trades voted for suspension of immigration for five years, "We are in a trap here; let our brothers at home keep out of it." When the unions of the State of New York voted, two

hundred to two, for suspension, it was avowedly done without prejudice of nationality or race, but purely for economic causes, and in the belief that governments owe it to themselves to work out their special problems of poverty within their own boundaries.

The Chairman.—Gentlemen, this is what the Governor of the State of North Carolina says to you here in a letter:

State of North Carolina,
Executive Department.

RALEIGH, June 17, 1905.

Charles A. Moore, President New York Civic Federation.
Dear Sir.—It is with deep regret that I have to write you that it is impossible for me to be with you on June 19 to attend the immigration meeting. Our State at this time is offering the very highest inducements to immigrants who will make good laborers, and also to farmers. Our farmers are willing to furnish the land, the stock, the necessary working tools, and give the party furnishing the labor half of all that is made. I wish it was so I could be with you and extend an earnest and open-armed invitation to all to come to our State, but am compelled to send my regrets.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) R. B. GLENN,
Governor.

The Chairman.—The next speaker will be Dr. Joseph H. Senner, ex-Commissioner of Immigration:

Dr. Senner:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—We do not propose here to have a college debate dealing in generalities of all kinds. We propose to fall back on the specific points mentioned in the two circular letters received. The second letter I want to mention first, because it contains the stupendous statement that the great majority of the arrivals, which is more than two-thirds of a million, are from the jails, asylums and poorhouses of Europe. I wish, gentlemen, that statements of this



J. W. SULLIVAN,
Editor Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades.

kind would be entirely dropped from the discussion of the immigration question. There may have been some isolated cases in immigration of persons coming from poorhouses or jails, but I can positively state that no number of such cases has been or is among the arrivals at Ellis Island. And further I can state that if they exist they are not among the steerage passengers, but they are among the first and second cabin passengers. (Applause.)

We have here to consider the question of what is the net annual gain in the population of the United States from immigration, and what is its character?

The net annual gain in figures has been treated of by the first speaker, but the gain in numbers, gentlemen, is very little as compared to the gain in wealth to this country by any immigrant arriving here.

If with me you pride yourselves upon the fact that we have the greatest home market of any empire in the world, you must not forget the fact that it is no doubt due to immigration. It is immigration that has made possible the immense development of our industries.

Having had the opportunity to witness in tens of thousands of cases and with my own eyes to see the immigrant arriving upon this shore, poor, destitute, more than simple in all his make-up, and a year after to have seen the same immigrant, whether a man or a woman, come to Ellis Island again to call for her sweetheart or for her husband or for children or for a friend, the difference, gentlemen, between the parties as they arrived and the parties as they appeared within a few months is simply wonderful. They have entirely changed; all their clothes are American and their new make-up is quite respectable. It is absolutely wonderful to any one who remembers their condition when they arrived. Our great home market, with its feeding of millions and millions of skilled laborers, was only made possible by immigration.

In the same way it was only by immigration that we could build up such a wonderful network of railroads, many of whom had to go into the hands of receivers every time immigration came to a standstill, or because

the constructors of such railroads had been rather visionary as to the time which would be necessary to fill up their country.

There is the net gain for our country which has been secured from immigration, not to speak of the fact that without immigration the number of our population would be immeasurably smaller than it is now, because our immigrants do not believe in race suicide.

Is there any practicable and desirable plan for distributing the immigrants throughout the country?

When I was Commissioner of Immigration at this port I conceived first the idea that the problem of immigration will in time be solved only by the proper distribution of immigrants all over the country into those places where they can be of the most good to themselves and to the country they live in. I then suggested in the immigration investigation report of 1895 that a clearing house should be established in Ellis Island for that purpose. I am very glad indeed that the present Commissioner General about two years ago took up the very same idea. I admit it appears rather impracticable for sometime, but only because our laws forbid instructions to immigrants about the benefits and advantages of sections of this country by any kind of advertisements or educational work abroad. This clause of the law would have to fall first. But then, with the previous education of emigrants given to them partly in their own homes before they make up their minds as to where to go,



EMIL L. BOAS,
General Manager Hamburg-American Line.

partly on board of the steamship and finally on Ellis Island itself, such education I believe would be practicable and would finally lead to the point that immigrants could settle in places for their own welfare and for the welfare of the country, instead of being allured as to-day by all kinds of incidents or by the glowing accounts of some interested person.

A great deal is also said about the inducement of emigration by the steamship companies. I have no reason, whatever, as you know—I suppose most of you know—to be in any way interested, directly or indirectly, in or for the steamship companies. But do you believe that the zeal of the steamship companies or of their European agents to induce emigration has been smaller during my term of office, when only 250,000 to 400,000 immigrants used to land annually, than it is now, when 1,000,000 immigrants land? Just the opposite. You may rest assured that at that time when immigration was only 250,000 to 400,000 a year they worked much harder than they do now when immigration, so to speak, falls into their lap. It is the hundred million dollars spent right here in the neighborhood of New York on tunnels, it is the agency of all those people who prosper and write about it to their friends abroad, it is this that creates immigration and not any agency, which would be actually helpless in the case of dull times such as we had in the middle of the nineties.

The first thing we have to do under all circumstances is to exclude all and every undesirable immigrant. But in speaking about a desirable or undesirable immigrant I beg to differ from the first speaker, who classified them according to races or origin. Every immigrant in himself, his individuality, his personality, has to be judged and appraised in order to determine whether he or she is desirable or not. (Applause.)

Every one who, for any reason whatsoever may appear to be undesirable is to be rigidly excluded. And I am glad to state that under the present regime this is absolutely and conscientiously done.

Now this is the first axiom of treating the immigration problem. The second, however, is in my opinion and my conviction: Don't place any unnecessary hardships or obstructions in the way of any desirable immigrant that desires to come to the land of the free. And the third axiom is this: When they are found desirable

endeavor to place them by governmental assistance and by the assistance of all private associations and corporations, in such localities, in such environments, where they will find a good future for themselves and where they will benefit the country to which they have come. I thank you for your attention. (Applause.)

The Chairman.—The next gentleman I desire to call upon is Mr. Emil L. Boas, the General Manager of the Hamburg-American Line.

Mr. Boas:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I do not want to make a set speech. I simply want to mention a few figures and correct impressions that have gone abroad for a long time.

It is said, first, that this country annually increases by immigration from 700,000 to 1,000,000. But first of all, sight is lost of the fact of how many leave every year. Now, in this city alone, in the City of New York, we had last year 571,000 arrivals in the steerage, but 323,000 left in the steerage. So there was an actual increase of only 56 per cent. And so it is in the other ports, so that in the four ports of the North Atlantic, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, there were 693,000 arrivals, but 359,000 departed in the steerage. So that there was an actual increase only of one-half of this number. Now, I want you not to forget this whenever the newspapers or any persons speak of the enormous increase. Sight should not be lost of the fact that half of the number go out of the country.

A Voice.—Do they take back any money with them?

Mr. Boas.—I do not know. They do their work during their stay here and have actually earned whatever they take back. (Applause.)

Besides, I wish to call attention to the fact that one of the speakers has said that the poverty stricken hordes of Europe come over here. Now, according to the figures of the Commissioner General of Immigration the immigrants that arrived last year were first of all thrifter than ever before; they showed up no less than twenty millions of dollars in coming over (Applause), and that was four million dollars more than the larger number that arrived the year before. So they are not a poverty stricken horde.

Mr. Sullivan.—The figure was \$25.78 per head.

Mr. Boas.—That is only what they are showing up on the request of the Commissioner.

The Commissioner's official report states that the immigrants showed up the amount mentioned, and if this is only \$25 per head, and if that were all that they possessed upon arrival, it must not be forgotten that it costs them something to break up their homes, that they have to pay the railroad fare to the port of departure, Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, etc., and the steamship fare from the continental port to the American port which is at present at least \$36 per head, so that adding up all the traveling expenses alone, they must have between \$60 to \$70 for each person, which, with the \$25 shown upon arrival, makes \$85 to \$95 each. A family of six must, therefore, have had before starting over \$500! These are average figures. Now, do you call a man in this country who has put away over \$500 for a rainy day as belonging to the "scum" and to "poverty stricken hordes?"

The money which these immigrants bring is, however, by no means their whole addition to the wealth of this country, for it has been computed by political economists that the economical value of every able-bodied male immigrant over twenty years of age represents on an average the sum of \$1,125 actually added to our working capital; in that way the wealth of this country is annually increased by hundreds of millions of dollars.

I only wish to remark again that the steamship lines are not scouring Europe to bring over immigrants. I want to refer to the very able article written by Mr. Whelpley in the *North American Review* of this month, in which he makes the statement that the laws of European governments are made with the view to retaining the population there. They don't want to lose it. And the steamship lines are not allowed to scour Europe and distribute circulars that point in glowing colors to the advantages of America. All they are allowed to do is to announce their sailings, and if they do anything else they are severely punished. The greatest emigration agent is the United States mail, the letters that are sent from here, the letters sent home from this country, that say what a man makes when he works, that is the immigration agent that brings the people to this country. (Applause.)

These letters bring information upon which implicit reliance is placed, and cause the people in the old home to sever their connection with that which is dear to them and go to the strange country beyond the sea. An emigration agent could talk till doomsday before he would have the same effect. These conditions will never change as long as the advantages are greater in this country than in Europe. There is no better barometer of the business conditions than the number of immigrants that come to this country. If times are good they will come.

Mr. Sullivan.—May I interrupt to ask one question? May I ask you whether it is correct, as Prof. Devine says, that in Bremen and in numerous other quarters about Europe there are insurance companies which will insure the coming emigrant that he will be landed here, and if not landed here that he will be brought back? A

gentleman of the Treasury Department says to-day there are 7,000 agents, and that even the priests are among the agents. I very much regret to interrupt you.

Mr. Boas.—I cannot possibly speak for the numbers of people who consider themselves emigration agents in Europe, and those are figures that are assumed. I cannot controvert them. Anybody can make a statement of that sort, that priests are emigration agents or that there are 7,000 agents, or any other number. I speak for the steamship line that has been charged with scouring Europe to bring the poverty stricken hordes over here. That is absolutely untrue. It is not allowed by law, and I wish to say the steamship companies and their agents are lawabiding citizens. We abide by the law here and abroad. Here is the Commissioner of Immigration, he can say what we do to conform to the American law.

One of the speakers referred to \$10 immigrants. The steamship lines had a war last year and rates went down to a very low basis, and the newspapers announced that in consequence of these low rates hordes, thousands, hundreds of thousands would come over here. Statistics have shown that last year during the lower rates fewer arrived than the year before, and fewer than this year when the rates are high. That only shows that the passage money has absolutely no influence on immigration at all. (Applause.) There is another point I wish to make: It is again the same old story, if times



JAMES P. ARCHIBALD,
Secretary New York Civic Federation.

are better here the immigrants are bound to come, and who comes? It is the energetic man who has the courage to break away from the ties that bind him, it is the intelligent man who can appreciate that his condition will be better here than on the other side and who can cut loose from his ties and come across to the unknown country, and it is the man with savings who can afford to go—that is the man who comes, and the poor, the ignorant, the scum, the people who are not energetic, they stay behind. They do not come to America. So I wish to contradict again the statement that it is the poor, the uneducated, the criminal horde that come over here. We have laws that restrain the criminal from coming to this country. Here is the Commissioner of Immigration; it is his business to exclude every one that is undesirable. The steamship lines do not bring the undesirable here, and if any should slip in there is the man to keep them out, and he does keep them out, too. He observes the law, and so do we. That is all I wish to say, gentlemen. (Applause.)

The Chairman.—Permit the Chair to suggest this, that any gentleman present who is interested, and I presume every one here present is interested in this great question of immigration—if any one has not visited Ellis Island and observed the immigrants landing, I ask him to take the opportunity of doing it at the first available moment. It will be the greatest education to him as to these "hordes," these "pauperized people." You will see as bright, intelligent figures, capable looking people, as you will find in the same number of their class anywhere in the world. I think this is a subject that should interest every thoughtful American, whether a property owner to a little or a great extent, who employs labor. And if he will go over there and take the courtesy of the Commissioner of Immigration, he will be surprised as to the people who come here as immigrants, and at the manner of handling immigrants.

In the last few days a prominent railroad man told me it would be impossible for the West to have kept its tracks in condition to run over them if it had not been for immigrants, absolutely impossible.

The man who is going to speak next is the man who, in my judgment and from my observation, is the best qualified to tell us the truth as to the character of the immigrants, and to answer any questions about them.

I am going to call on the Hon. Robert Watchorn, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island. (Applause.)

Commissioner Watchorn:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—When I assumed charge of Ellis Island I stated to a committee that called on me to participate in some meeting of this or similar character, that I did not believe that a Commissioner of Immigration had any business to participate in the discussion of questions of immigration; that I believed it was his business to enforce the law as it now stands and leave it to the good judgment of the people of this country and Congress to alter the law when it ceased to be satisfactory. I have concluded since I sat here this afternoon that, notwithstanding the very handsome manner in which the invitation to be present here this afternoon was framed and delivered to me, that I made a mistake in departing from that conclusion.

I am quite sure from what I have heard this afternoon that the subject is very thoroughly understood without any information from the Commissioner of Immigration, and I am not quite sure in my own mind that there are not some people who know more about the practical enforcement of the law than I know.

It is not for me this afternoon to say to you whether I believe the law as it stands to-day is satisfactory or not. There is just one thing that prompted me to come here this afternoon more than any other, and that was that I might be able to state to you, on my honor that at the present time the law, as it is, is being rigidly and

he should not be allowed to come in; and the inspectors, acting upon their best judgment under the law, will decide that he should be deported; then there will come forward some of the very best citizens of this land who will undertake to prove to the government that it is utterly impossible for such a person to become a burden on the community, and they will bring such pressure to bear and file such proofs with the authorities at Washington that even such a person will be admitted, no matter what the inspectors may do in the premises. Now, I would like to point out, so far as I am concerned, that when a certain standard of test has been established and it is proven by all the tests that may be applied that that person is liable to break down at a certain point and somebody will have to support him, whether that somebody be public or private, there should be very good reasons assigned why such a person should be admitted, and Congress ought to stipulate that he ought not to come in.

One of the speakers representing the steamship lines said that they were obeying the law. I believe they are, but it is because they are compelled to. (Applause.) If you were to relax the rules and leave it to their good judgment and patriotic sentiment, undesirable immigration would increase in contrastive proportion to said relaxation. The power to exclude and the power to deport is just in proportion to the power to fine or punish for violating the law. Now, I have no fault to find with the steamship companies as such. I think they are endeavoring to obey the law. Not because they have any special scruples about violating it, perhaps, but because they do not like the punishment that is meted out to them for not observing it. This is probably rather a serious stricture to make on some of them, but my good friend, Dr. Senner, who preceded me, knows that since his term as Commissioner the power to punish has been very largely increased, and in proportion to that power to punish, an increased respect for the law has been demonstrated.

Now, gentlemen, I should like to ask you all to come to Ellis Island. What concerns me now most is this: I want you all to know, and I want you all to believe, that just as the law stands and is interpreted by the courts and other competent authorities, it is being rigidly and honestly enforced, and if, after you have discussed this matter to your satisfaction, you believe that the law can be improved, as I believe it ought to be, all you have to do is to make that known to Congress. Get the law amended, and I assure you that the government has ample machinery and satisfactory facilities for enforcing it effectively.

Whether the great number that are coming in are a detriment to this country or a benefit is not for me to say. My chief function at the present time is to see that the quality is just what the department and the courts have decided it should be. As to the quantity, I do not think that you will expect me to deal with that. I do not think it would be proper for me to deal with it. But I do hope that those of you who wish to be more thoroughly informed of the difficulties encountered by the Bureau of Immigration in enforcing the law, would come to Ellis Island and exchange views with those officers with a view to getting the law intelligently amended in order that we may still further eliminate those from the incomers that are likely to be a detriment to this country in part or in whole.

I am quite sure that from the Chairman down, there are those here, as I stated before, who are amply qualified and able to discuss that feature. So far as getting acquainted with the practical end of it is concerned, none of you will need a pass to come to Ellis Island. You will all be welcome, and if you can point out to me where the present system of enforcing the law can be improved I shall most cheerfully welcome your suggestion. (Applause.)

The Chairman.—We have here this afternoon with us Mr. M. V. Richards, Land and Industrial Agent of the Southern Railway Company, who has done a great deal to build up the Industrial South. I was at Washington a short time ago and the president of the road pointed to a map, and speaking of the change that had occurred since he came in charge, showed that on three hundred miles of that system three hundred cotton mills have been erected.

Mr. Richards:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I come to you to-day quite in sympathy with the foreign immigrant; I mean the immigrant who comes to our shores for the purpose of bettering his condition and is willing and competent to avail himself of the great opportunities our country affords those seeking a competency and desiring to conform to the splendid rules and regulations which go to make this the leading nation in the world. I have no sympathy with the immigrant who is not capable of appreciating the privileges extended to the homeseeker. I would uphold a most rigid investigation of immigrants before they are permitted even to purchase tickets to the United States. We can, in my opinion, well afford to strengthen immediately the Department of Commerce and Labor, so that it can organize its forces in Europe sufficiently to carefully investigate immigrants seeking admission into this country. It is our duty as Americans to throw safeguards around our shores, and while we welcome the thrifty progressive and substantial newcomer, we should strongly fortify ourselves against the undesirable class.

The trend of immigration to this country has been to

the West through the ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore. Until within the last few years foreign immigration into the Southern States was limited. The last census shows that the States of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi, all of which I have the honor to represent by reason of the railroad I am connected with, having lines running through or to those States, had only 1½ per cent of the total foreign-born population of the United States, or 156,284. These States occupy a very peculiar position in reference to immigration. Since the Civil War the South sent about two and one-half millions of white people into the North and West and received from all sources less than one-half that number of immigrants. One State alone sent out to other sections 415,000 people and received only 190,000, showing a net loss of about 230,000. Massachusetts sent 300,000 people to other States, but received 845,000 from Europe alone.

The reason for this movement from the South to the West and North is well established. It will be interesting to note that no section of the United States has advanced more rapidly during the past ten years in agriculture, manufacturing and commerce than the Southern States. This advancement has been made under many disadvantages. It is well known that not many years ago the South was without money, without credit, and—as has been shown—immigration was pouring out, rather than coming in. The results accom-



DR. JOSEPH H. SENNER,
Ex-Commissioner of Immigration.

honestly enforced. I have been told and have seen quoted in the newspapers that there is very great room for improvement, and I have no doubt that some people might improve on conditions at Ellis Island from their own point of view, but I do not believe that a man who stands for a wide open policy, who would let everybody in because his sympathetic feelings get the better of him would be the proper man to enforce the law; nor do I believe that a man who has concluded, for reasons best known to himself, that there are already enough people in this country, and for that reason and that only, no more should come, that he would be a fit and proper person to administer the law.

I do not agree with some of the speakers here this afternoon that the law as it now stands is all that it ought to be. I think there are some people coming into this country to-day who ought not to come in. But I think the law is inadequate to keep them out as it now stands. I do not undertake to say to you how far this tendency to exclude should be extended, but I will give you one or two points for your consideration, and I leave it to you to judge whether what I suggest ought to be given serious consideration.

I have heard a great deal about the term "undesirable." Now, what constitutes an undesirable person? When you begin to discuss that one phase and turn it over in your mind you will follow the process of elimination until you get down to a point where the number will be very small comparatively and somebody will be apt to dispose of the whole question for you by still further reducing it; and if you leave it to all those who are actively interested in this question, there will not be many that will fall under the ban of undesirable. What is needed, in my opinion, is a drastic law which shall state specifically what is desirable and what is not desirable.

Now, let us take a case in point: An immigrant steps off the boat and the doctor takes him in hand, looks him over as to his mental capacity and as to his prospective physical endurance, what he is likely to stand, at what point of pressure he will break down and become a burden to somebody who will support him voluntarily or otherwise, and the doctor says he will probably break down very soon, and for that reason



M. V. RICHARDS,
Land and Industrial Agent, Southern Railway.

plished by the South under these conditions have at last attracted the attention of the outside world. The South is now recognized as one of the desirable fields for people with limited means and for the employment of capital. A few years ago the railroads, state authorities, manufacturers and farmers in the South found that their country could be best advanced through increased immigration. A systematic campaign has been carried on, and to those who have labored earnestly, seriously and persistently in promulgating information concerning the South, it is very gratifying to observe that the South to-day is in the minds of people throughout the North, Canada, and many parts of Europe, as a field for settlement and investment.

We have established numerous factories throughout the Southern country. You will be interested to know that over 2,500 manufacturing enterprises were located within the last three years upon the line of the Southern Railway. These factories each give employment to anywhere from five people to 2,000 people. A large percentage of the employees in these factories were drawn from the farming sections. The immigration into the South has not been equal to the migration of people from the farms of the South to the factories. While we have progressed remarkably well in our agricultural development, if we could have kept all of our farmers on the farms, induced immigrants to come in, open up and develop more farms and accept employment in our factories, our agricultural development would have been far greater and our factories would be larger to-day than they are.

We have appeals to us from farmers and manufacturers in all parts of the South for laborers. We can accommodate several million people. They can be provided with pleasant homes and profitable employment. The future of the immigrants locating with us, I do not for a moment doubt, will be in line with their desires and necessities.

We have systematically laid the foundation for the introduction of a foreign population by securing Germans, Scandinavians, Italians, French, Bohemians and Poles from the Northern States. We are now ready to receive the raw immigrant from Europe. We

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Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association, Detroit, Mich.
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland.
William D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.
Theodore J. Shaffer, President Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh.
J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood, Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington.
John Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Moulders' Union of North America, Cincinnati.
James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

It is a noteworthy discussion of a problem of the highest national and economic importance that we present to our readers, in the verbatim report of the consideration of Immigration in Its Relation to American Industry, by the Civic Federation of New York. The opinions of the speakers at that meeting are well worthy the careful perusal of both employers and wage earners, as well as of students of the economic questions involved in the absorption of an influx of aliens into our population and its ultimate effect upon production and consumption.

The most impressive and, probably to many, the most surprising feature of this discussion, is its refutation of the widely prevalent impression that the tide of immigration is choked with the social debris of Europe, contributed from its jails, asylums and poorhouses. The evidence of both statistics and observation adduced at the meeting went to dissipate this alarmist misapprehension. Upon the contrary, it was shown that an accumulation of capital, to an amount that would cause a similar saving by the family of an American workingman to be regarded as a result of unusual thrift, must precede the migration of a European family to the United States. Impressive also were the statements as to the unsatisfied demand for labor in the South and West and the suggestion as to the distribution of the newcomers away from the ports of arrival. Conversely, the plea of those who believe that the interests of American labor demand the restriction or exclusion of immigration was forcibly presented.

The National Civic Federation will comply with the request of the New York branch to appoint a national committee to consider this question and to report its recommendations to a general conference to be held in the fall. The composition of this committee, which will be of a character commensurate to the importance of the subject, will soon be announced. Its investigation and report may be expected to have a direct and practical bearing upon the solution of the problem.

SOCIALISM AND REVOLUTION.

We present upon following pages an exposition of the new campaign of "scientific Socialism," which is cunningly designed to captivate the support of minds more sympathetic than thoroughly trained and more susceptible to emotion than solidly grounded in the fundamental and unshakable principles of political economy. If we have appropriated considerable space to this recently developed strategy of Socialist leaders, it is not because we consider their creed of revolution really dangerous to republican institutions. There is no occasion to view with alarm a movement which openly and flagrantly proclaims its purpose to "undermine society"; for, in this free country, the absence of repression makes of the most violent of its utterings mere vaporings. But it does appear to be well worth while to place clearly before the public, and particularly before those who take special interest in current economic developments, the real ultimate design of these Socialists who pose as would-be benefactors of the working mass, whom they classify as the "proletariat," of whom they are themselves not a part, whose true aspirations and growing capacity of self-elevation they do not comprehend. The real representatives of the working mass have repeatedly rejected and denounced the apostles of social despair and revolution as the most dangerous enemies of those who would maintain the honor and elevate the living conditions of American labor.

There is another reason for this arraignment of those who avow their sympathy with Socialism as a remedy for economic evils and who would instil its deceptive doctrine into the minds of collegiate and graduate students. Just as the popular conception of Socialism is inexact, often confusing it with many causes plainly worthy or entitled to respectful consideration and debate, ranging from the restriction of child and woman labor to governmental ownership of public utilities, so it is possible that some of the personally estimable signers of the call for an "Intercollegiate Socialist School" may not have realized the true purpose of the cult with which they have identified their names. The very processes of unconscious exaggeration of industrial evils, of incessant contemplation of the most lamentable social distress, which they would employ to convey the sym-

pathetic impression that modern civilization is a failure, may have wrought more upon the imagination than the reason of these self-proclaimed Socialists. It is possible that some of them may be amazed at the revelation that what they have regarded as an altruistic and harmlessly esoteric theory exhales, noxiously if innocuously in this land, the spirit of treason. There can be no half-way position for these men. They must array themselves either as patriots or as open enemies of the institutions of the one country that stands pre-eminently in the history of mankind for the development of democracy.

There is a mental temperament predisposed to champion the creed of a minority. Its argument is that every great cause that has ultimately triumphed in history was at its initial stage the cause of a minority, and that, therefore, the minority must always be right. The defective logic is obvious. Nevertheless, there is a fatuous charm to a vanity that would fain believe itself a part of the "saving remnant," ignoring the fact that a "remnant," instead of being "saving," may be the vilest shoddy. The Socialist minority in this Republic is neither admirable nor formidable, but its advocates, whether malignant or self-deceived, should be paraded in their bald attitude of revolutionists.

A QUESTION OF DISCIPLINE.

We have a letter from a Connecticut employer asking us to give a list of men expelled from unions for assaulting non-union men or for participating in mob riots during strikes. Our correspondent admits that labor leaders denounce these offenses in their speeches, but says that he has never heard that a union expelled a member for such lawbreaking.

We can give no list of names, although a union in Chicago did assist last year in the prosecution of one of its members for violence and did expel him upon conviction. There may be other similar instances. We have asked the same question of labor leaders and their answer has been in substance this:

"We cannot expel these men except through regular processes provided by our by-laws and constitution. We must have the evidence to convict."

Any man who commits such an act will deny it, and his particular friends will shield him just as every accused person is shielded in the courts every day. When violence is committed and arrests are made, the organization cannot act until after a conviction, and then it does act. The same obstacles arise when demand is made for the expulsion of members from a church. How many churches to-day are expelling men whose rascality in "high finance" has been exposed during the last two years? Take a list of them and one will be surprised to find how prominent some of them are in ecclesiastical organizations. But, so long as nothing is proved against them in the courts it would be most difficult for a church committee to prove anything which the regularly constituted authorities, with their machinery for convicting of crime, cannot prove. If public prosecutors cannot find evidence, how much less can the trustees of a church or the trustees of a union find the evidence to expel their respective members?

STRIKES AKIN TO WAR.

From the Chicago Tribune.

While so many are working for international peace, it would be well if more were working for industrial peace. A strike may be as great a calamity as a battle, and the public sentiment should be educated to realize that strikes, like wars, should be measures only of the last resort. This does not mean that working people should not try to better their condition. That, of course, will be their ceaseless and proper effort. Nations continually strive to strengthen their international positions. But they no longer resort to war, except for the gravest and most fundamental reasons, and when all hope of settlement through negotiations, arbitration, or compromise has been exhausted. The cost of even victorious war is so great as to destroy by anticipation many of the benefits which it brings. So with the strike. The men who get better wages or better hours through strikes rather than through negotiations, arbitration, or compromise, lose in advance many of the benefits which spring from their improved condition.

On the other hand, employers who refuse to treat reasonably with their men, and so bring about strikes, lose a great deal through even the strikes they win.

SOCIALISTS SEEK TO INFLAME THE MIND OF AMERICAN YOUTH.

A PROPOSAL TO INCITE COLLEGE STUDENTS TO REVOLUTION—ORGANIZED LABOR REPUDIATES THESE FOES OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

(By the Editor.)

SOcialism schemes to plant its germs of discontent, despair and revolution in new fields. Its advocates, having failed to capture the mass of wage earners, have projected a campaign beyond them, planned to pervert the minds of the professional classes and of the younger and more impressionable recipients of higher education. The new venture in behalf of Socialism is in part revealed in the following call, published early this month, and addressed to college men and women, for the formation of an Intercollegiate Socialist Society:

In the opinion of the undersigned the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.

The undersigned, regarding its aims and fundamental principles with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country.

The call was signed by J. G. Phelps Stokes, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Oscar Lovell Triggs, Clarence S. Darrow, B. O. Flower, William English Walling, Leonard D. Abbott, Jack London and Upton Sinclair.

THE LATEST DESIGN OF SOCIALISM.

An "Intercollegiate Socialist Society," which would stand committed by its very title to the advocacy rather than to the study of a doctrine, is directly in line with this latest scheme of Socialism to extend its propaganda toward the so-called "upper social classes." Thus "The Collectivist Society" is the title of an organization in New York City, whose object is definitely stated by The Worker, an official organ of the Social Democratic party, to be that "of disseminating Socialist literature among the professional classes, persons not ordinarily reached by the party propaganda, particularly." This organization, according to the same authority, first recruited its membership by appearing in the guise of "a sort of American 'Fabian Society,'" that is to say, a kind of go-slow, conservative-radical body. But it speedily advanced beyond this stage, and, as was announced in connection with its second general dinner, on November 19, 1904, now "frankly accepts the fundamental tenets of scientific Socialism." By "scientific Socialism," it may be explained, the Socialists mean the out-and-out Karl Marx uncompromising school of revolution.

The Publication Committee reported at this same dinner that "ministers, Catholic priests, secretaries of the Y. M. C. A., physicians and instructors and seniors in the various colleges are the groups at which this propaganda has been mainly directed." These Collectivists issue a general invitation to sympathizers "to encourage the Society in its determination to assist in strengthening the Socialist party by making propaganda for Socialism in quarters not ordinarily touched by party agitation."

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIALIST AGITATORS.

It is interesting to observe that the promoters of the proposed Intercollegiate Socialist Society and of similar movements, inspired by self-imposed solicitude for the toiling masses, are almost never workingmen, and have nothing in common with the interests of laborers. This statement is true of 90 per cent. of all the Socialist writers, workers and open-air orators. Their roster is largely made up of briefless lawyers, pulpless clergymen, professional writers, ex-professors whose usefulness in college faculties has ceased to exist, sentimental exaggerators in social settlements, faddists, economic freaks, and here and there some man of wealth, whose capital has come to him through inheritance or marriage and whose vanity is tickled by being called a "millionaire Socialist, devoting his wealth to the uplifting of the downtrodden masses."

This heterogeneous aggregation is earnest, persistent and fanatical. In Russia, such devotees would develop under restraint into terrorists and include bombs in their political arsenal. But in a country of free speech, free press and free ballot, their fulminations usually expend themselves in the heated atmosphere of street corner harangues, or in the academic excitements of social coteries that flutteringly aspire to sensationalism, or in perfervid literature.

The serious pose of these apostles of the impossible has its counterpart in the antics of the quarreling professional agitators, who expend their force in mutual denunciation. One Socialist organ makes these remarks concerning the candidate for Mayor of an opposing Socialist faction in a large city:

Who is this man?
First, he is not a workingman.
He is a smooth, political huckster and grafter of the rankest type, besides leaving behind him, when he left Minneapolis, a

record well known to the Republican hoodlums in Minnesota, back in the '90s.

I met this man at the last national disgraceful convention at Chicago, where grafters and boodlers flocked in majority numbers. I could not help but regard him as I did, as he strutted about the convention hall dressed in broadcloth and silk stockings, buckled up with a one-eye glass and a gold chain dangling from the glass, tied in the button hole of a ten dollar silk vest, and his ten dollar silk slouch hat.

No workingman delegate of the fifty-two Socialists dared to speak to this gentleman worker of the workers.

Another evidence of the esteem in which these social "purists" hold one another's capacity for hastening the millennium by the revolutionary route is this excerpt:

The Socialists who have been trying to rid the Debs party of its fleas and barnacles are about tired of trying. Organized as it is, with grafters, traitors, and spies, from Maine to California, and from Minnesota to Florida, and with state constitutions and platforms drafted in such a way that a man or woman cannot be a member unless they are grafters and old party politicians.

In fact, a perusal of the organs of the factions of Socialism in this country would show that each Socialist believes every Socialist of another brand to be a liar, fakir, boodler and traitor. They preach "class-consciousness" and exhibit an amusing variegation of self-consciousness. They do not denounce all society and capitalism with more virulence than they denounce one another. They would create a new social order. And yet they display nothing but disorder in their own ranks. Their constant tempest in a teapot is in itself a demonstration of their utter incapacity for public affairs and an indication of the confusion, leading inevitably to anarchy, that would follow the inauguration of their impossible regime.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

But just what is this Socialism, with which these highly respectable gentlemen announce their sympathy and which they propose to promote? Let the following utterances, culled from the official organs and recognized spokesmen of Socialism, answer:

Far be it from me to deny that Socialism is a menace. It is its purpose to wipe out, root and branch, all capitalistic institutions of present-day society. It is distinctly revolutionary and in scope and depth is vastly more tremendous than any revolution that has ever occurred in the history of the world.—*Jack London*.

We give the capitalist class due notice of the possibility of volcanic eruption—we mean the real article, not the kind they have in New York. In every upheaval a terrible retribution would be enacted on the capitalist class. The French Revolution and the Paris Commune ought to serve as warning examples.—*Social Democratic Herald*.

The Socialist party is a party of revolution, not of reform. No reform of the present order of society, however radical or sweeping it may be claimed to be, will satisfy its class-conscious supporters.—*Eugene V. Debs*.

Desperation is born in poverty, and hunger will fire the heart and nerve the arm of rebellion.—*Socialist Magazine*.

The war between the capitalist class and the working class is bound to grow in intensity and to continue until one or the other is destroyed.—*The Worker*.

The proletariat will possess itself of the government, apply democracy to industry, abolish wages, which are merely legalized robbery, and run the business of the country in its own interest.—*Jack London*.

To large numbers of people the earth is little better than a dungeon—they are simply serving time on earth at hard labor, in order that an imperious few may lead butterfly lives.—*Social Democratic Herald*.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come into their rightful inheritance.—*Socialist National Platform*.

This revolt in the form of demands for an increased share of the joint product is being carefully and shrewdly shaped for a political assault upon society. The leaders intend to direct the labor revolt to the capture of the political machinery of society. With the control of the police, the army, the navy, and the courts, they will confiscate, with or without remuneration, all the possessions of the capitalist class which are used in the production and distribution of the luxuries and necessities of life. They mean to apply the law of eminent domain to the land and to extend the law of eminent domain until it embraces the mines, the factories, the railroad and the ocean carriers.

The Socialists turned their energies upon the trade union movement. To win the trade unions was well-nigh to win the victory. Instead of antagonizing the unions, the Socialists proceeded to conciliate the unions. "Let every good Socialist join the union of his trade! Bore from within and capture the trade-union movement."

To-day the great labor unions are honeycombed with Socialists. At work and at play, at business meeting and council, their insidious propaganda goes on. Night and day, tireless and unrelenting as a mortgage, they labor at their self-imposed task of undermining society.—*Jack London*.

The employers' associations that fight the unions will soon recognize that Socialism is a movement that will call a different strike from that of any trade union—that will not ask for shorter hours or a few cents more wages, but will ask the whole product and point the way for the producer to pass down and out of the industrial field. The Socialists ask no arbitration. They do not recognize that the employer has any rights to arbitrate.—*International Socialist Review*.

INNOCUOUS THOUGH INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC.

Let no reader be alarmed at these quotations. The tropical rhetoric of these solicitous guardians of helpless American labor, in their "self-appointed task of undermining society," through debauching the mind of youth, cannot flourish under the temperate atmosphere of democracy. Familiarity with the virulence of Socialism makes it ridiculous. There is no danger in a parade of words whose very violence proclaims their impotence. Yet there is something offensive to

patriotism in the spectacle of respectable citizens declaring their "sympathy" with doctrines that strike at the very foundations of the institutions of our country. While the ultimate aims of the Socialists and the Anarchists are antithetical, they follow precisely the same method and use the same material in preparing the minds of their hearers to adopt their theories. Both of them rail violently against existing institutions. Both of them denounce in unmeasured terms the present constitution of society. Both of them dwell upon the most extreme and exaggerated evils. The burden of the street corner speech of a Socialist agitator could not be differentiated with a microscope from that of a foaming Anarchist. The one would excite the passions of a pliant nature to the frenzy of murder as thoroughly as the other. At the time of the assassination of President McKinley, the Socialists were loud in their condemnation of the Anarchist murderer. Yet Socialist oratory alone would have inflamed the hatred of a disordered mind as hotly as did any of the Anarchist literature that Csolgolz read.

Are these seditious teachings of class hatred and social revolution to be made a part of the college curricula? Are the more or less distinguished signers of the call for an "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" really willing to stand before the fathers and mothers of the college youth of the country as the sponsors of such teachings to their children? The authorities of the University of California were incautious enough to permit one of the signers of the call, Jack London, to address a meeting of the student body of which he was at one time a member. This is what he gave them:

"You are drones that cluster around the capitalist honey-vats. Your fatuous self-sufficiency blinds you to the revolution that is surely, surely coming, and which will as surely wipe you and your silk-lined, puffed-up leisure off the face of the map. You are parasites on the back of labor." One capitalist among London's auditors interrupted. "Do you know what will be the result of your revolution?" he asked. "Anarchy, civil war, death and crime will be the results of the revolution you are prophesying." "I know it," shouted London; "but what are you going to do about it?"

STUDIES OF THE ABNORMAL.

But not all of the verbal batteries employed in the campaign of Socialism are directly vituperative and revolutionary. The projected "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" would hardly fail to include in its course of instruction excursions into another kind of literature that is used as a subtle ally to franker propaganda, through inspiring a mental protest against the present social and industrial system. This literature exists in abundance in two forms. One is the dark and gloomy description of all the nether strata of society; the other consists of sensational and exaggerated statements in newspapers concerning such recognized abuses as work in sweatshops, child labor and unsanitary tenements. The first and more pretentious of these forms is devoted to hideous, horrific pictures, drawn with revolting realism, of all that is pitiful, abnormal, shameful, vicious and criminal in the most degraded slums of the great cities. The effect upon the mind of any reader of this literature, of an average amount of sympathy, is most depressing. Its effect upon a nature supersensitive, either by temperament, by youth, or by temporary adversity is so unwholesome, that within the past month newspapers have reported two suicides, one of a man and one of a young girl, both attributed to the mental despair caused by reading these Socialistic studies of human degradation. Without questioning the scientific value and importance of learning all the ills that afflict the modern social structure in order to seek their remedy, it must be admitted that an exclusive concentration of the attention upon these painful phenomena, especially when they are pictured with sensational rather than philanthropic intent, must destroy correct perspective in the social outlook. If an ornithologist were to confine his studies and lectures to the habits of the buzzard, he would convey to his students the impression that all bird-life was sustained by carrion. The keeper of a prison, whose days and nights are spent among convicted criminals; the superintendent of an asylum in whose ears continually ring the ravings and wailings of the demented; the caretaker of a pest-house, whose eyes are constantly filled with the spectacle of the human body when afflicted with the most loathsome plagues—if these persons, useful and honorable as are their several offices, were continuously and persistently to exploit their painful and shocking experiences before the public as representative of prevalent conditions, they would create a tidal wave of pessimism. Indeed, it is a familiar fact that the reflex action upon those too long and constantly surrounded by such environments not infrequently has dire and even fatal effects upon the strongest minds and most resistant wills, leading to melancholia and suicide. The at-

mosphere surrounding the social settlements, steeped with appeals to sympathy and pity, has a disheartening effect upon some of the young college dwellers, whose fine enthusiasm has led them into the midst of squalid misery, exciting socialistic impulses. A surgical clinic may be of the highest scientific value when conducted in the amphitheatre of a medical school; but if held upon a street corner it would be degraded into an exciting of morbid fascination.

SOCIOLOGICAL EXAGGERATIONS.

Exaggeration, not always wilful or malicious, but based upon superficial inquiry into conditions wholly novel and necessarily unfamiliar to the observer, is available material for the Socialist orator. Not long ago a conservative newspaper in one of the largest American cities contained a long article, headed in striking type: "Women Inspect Sweatshops. Members of the State Federation Clubs Appalled by Awful Conditions Found Here. Making Men's Pants at 28 Cents a Dozen. Stitch, Stitch, from Dawn to Dark." The article, which is typical of its class, described the visit of a group of fashionable club women, who had become interested in the "study of sociology," to a slum tenement. It told with gloating detail how these social explorers discovered forty families upon two floors, "herded together like cattle. In one foul, rank room, two women, with wan, drawn faces, were sewing on men's trousers. They were mother and daughter. Born almost with a needle in her fingers, neither had ever known what it was to rest." Questioned by one of the compassionate club women it was "learned" that the women were paid 28 cents a dozen for "making" trousers; and that each of them, "by stitching incessantly from dawn to dark," could by the utmost effort "make" two dozen pairs a day. Hence the glaring head-lines.

It happened that this sensational article so stirred the compassion of a certain philanthropist that he employed a trained investigator to make an inquiry. Observe the result: A thorough search at the address given failed to discover any forty families crowded like cattle upon two floors. Instead, the dwellers were housed in fair comfort. The two sewing women were found, cheerful and contented. Instead of "making" trousers, they were finishing trousers upon which all the heavy work had been done by machinery in a factory. It was further learned that the husband had steady work and good wages; that the mother and daughter were sewing merely to earn a little extra money; and that this sewing was quite incidental and did not interfere with their housekeeping and the care of three young children. It is needless to say that the philanthropist did not find occasion for his charity.

All this is not to minimize the deplorable evidence of poverty and distress in city tenements. Nor is it to disparage the efforts of the good men and women who devote time and energy to praiseworthy and often effective social service. Neither is it to obscure the value of legislation and of rigorous public administration in elevating the social, industrial and sanitary conditions in congested centers of population. But it must be admitted that the article quoted, especially as it was published in a conservative journal, would spread broadcast an impression far from the truth and quite available for those who would stimulate discontent.

A conspicuous and recent example of sociological exaggeration is a book entitled "Poverty," by Robert Hunter. Ever since its publication last winter, this book has been advertised by Socialist organs as one of the "great works" of the day. The preachers of despair fairly revel in Mr. Hunter's assertion that there are 10,000,000 people in the United States in the grasp of poverty. Yet this assertion has been discredited by all those whose training, experience and opportunities of observation qualify them to estimate the true value of such figures; and even Mr. Hunter admits that he is "largely guessing."

The Socialists acclaim this book as written by one who has come down from the "upper walks of life" into the slums and made a series of shocking but scientifically accurate discoveries. They never betray their knowledge that this author belongs to their own school, but always convey to the reader the inference that he is an unprejudiced observer. They have even published "A Review by John Spargo," which would lead the reader to assume that the book had won the approval of a severe critic; whereas, the criticism was merely that of one Socialist patting another on the back.

An assertion of this same socialistic sociologist that 70,000 children in New York City went breakfastless every morning to the public schools was advertised all over the country, being exploited by the sensational press in every large city. The Board of Education, after a special investigation, declared Mr. Hunter's statement to be grossly exaggerated and without foundation in fact; while the Health Department could find, out of 275,000 school children examined, only 825 improperly fed.

Further remarkable evidence of his reckless exaggeration is afforded by the experience of the Salvation Army. No one will accuse that organization of any disposition to minimize the existence of distress. The Salvation Army undertook to supply free breakfasts to the "70,000 suffering little ones." In reply to an inquiry

as to the result of this charitable enterprise, an agent of the Salvation Army made this report:

That the conditions as represented by Mr. Hunter were very much exaggerated; that the Army established in all nine or ten stations in different parts of the city; that they never had more than 500 children apply at the total number of stations in one day, and this number only the first two or three days; that the number gradually dwindled down, necessitating the gradual closing of the stations, until they were reduced to one or two, and then no one having applied for a day or two, these last stations were closed; that the Army had soup, cocoa, coffee and rolls for the applying school children, but that the children stated they did not care for the soup or cocoa, and preferred merely the coffee and rolls; that if a child who had coffee and rolls for breakfast was considered breakfastless, then there were many thousands of such in New York City. This would apply equally to thousands of business men and capitalists.

Another choice bit of morbid rhetoric by the same imaginative "sociologist" follows:

In the Chicago stockyards are 50,000 on the verge of pauperism. They are in practical slavery. I have seen children of ten years of age working all day in great vats of blood. Incurable rheumatism before the age of twenty-five is reached is a common result, and tuberculosis even among the children is extremely prevalent. They have nothing to look forward to but death.

In fact, no such condition as described exists in the Chicago stockyards. The statement quoted was denied as promptly as possible and its absolute falsity was exposed. But no denial is as sensational as an accusation, and it is not to be expected that this denial will ever catch up with the swift circulation of the original children-in-vats-of-blood fiction.

Space permits but one more example of this nature, out of thousands that could be arrayed. A professional woman, having exceptional opportunities for observing the life of workers in the tenements, recently published the following statements:

Every garment worn by a woman is found being manufactured in tenement rooms. The coarsest house-wrappers to the daintiest lace gowns for a fine evening function are manufactured in these rooms. All adornments of woman's dress, the flowers and feathers for her hats themselves—these I have seen being made in the presence of smallpox, on the lounge with the patient. All clothing worn by infants and young children—dainty little dresses—I have seen on the same bed with children sick of contagious diseases, and, into these little garments is sewed some of the contagion.

Her statement, whose accuracy is not questioned, unintentionally conveys the impression to the average reader that such repulsive and dangerous conditions are prevalent, instead of exceedingly rare and necessarily corrected as soon as detected. Her peculiar use of the words "every garment worn by a woman," and "all clothing worn by infants and young children," leads to an unconscious inference that is startling. The official records of the Board of Health show that during the past two years there have been not more than seven or eight cases of smallpox per year in all Greater New York. In fact, the sanitary authorities consider the disease so rare, in proportion to the population, as to be practically eliminated.

Now, in their "self-imposed task of undermining society," the Socialists eagerly seize this kind of literature and exploit it to the fullest extent. Jack London, in his speech at the University of California, quoted freely from the hysterical assertions of Mr. Hunter about poverty, in order to impress his college hearers with the notion that the world outside groans in a state of universal, abject misery, whose only salvation is "revolution." If the "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" were to succeed in carrying out this part of its programme, mischief might result.

The effect upon the young mind of such distorted pictures, accompanied by an appeal to its generous impulses, can only be conjectured. The student, carefully trained for serious and important work in the world of which he knows so little, might thus be perverted into advocacy of a doctrine, presented to him as a panacea, but whose ultimate significance he is too immature to perceive.

DECEPTIVE TRICKS OF SOCIALISTS.

These promoters of "intelligent interest in Socialism" would doubtless cajole the students in their projected intercollegiate society with tricks similar to those habitually employed by the professional agitators of the cult. For example, the vice-president and actuary of an insurance company recently delivered an address claiming Socialism to be the phenomenon of the 20th century. Thereupon the Socialist organs heralded this address as an acknowledgment from a Wall Street capitalist that Socialism is inevitable, wholly suppressing the fact that this self-same Wall Street capitalist, strange as it may seem, has been a Socialist for twenty years, treating the address as if it were a tribute from an enemy, instead of being the plea of a partisan advocate. They printed it in pamphlet form and published this advertisement:

That first lot of leaflets giving the remarkable setting forth of the philosophy of Socialism by Vice-President Weeks, of the New York Life Insurance Company, went off like hot cakes. We were whipped out of them almost before we knew it. Order early if you want any of the new lot. Ten copies for a dime, one hundred for 35 cents and a thousand for \$2.50.

It is one of the stock tricks of the Socialists to deceive the public as to the strength of their following. Immediately after every election, when official returns of the balloting for the candidates of the various minor parties are not at hand, they announce tremendous gains in their vote. For example, directly after the last Presidential election their party officials gave the statement to the newspapers that the popular vote for Debs had increased to 600,000. This was accepted by the public as a statement of fact. Subsequently official

data reduced the Socialist vote to less than 400,000 and it was admitted that the enrolled party membership was less than 25,000. But this revised and corrected statement reached only a few. The original claim of 600,000 Socialist voters in the Nation remained unchallenged and furnished the text for many an excitable editor, who swallowed the Socialist figures at their face value and wrote a post-election article "viewing with alarm" the remarkable "percentage of increase" in the Socialist vote.

LABOR LEADERS DENOUNCE SOCIALISM.

But it may interest some of those who profess such solicitude for the "working class" to learn what the genuine, hard-headed workers themselves think of their revolutionary theories. How do the proposed beneficiaries look upon their doctrinaire would-be benefactors? They may be astonished to learn that there is not to-day a representative officer of any important labor organization in the country who does not, upon every occasion, denounce the Socialist propaganda of these silk-stocking faddists who would propose to force an entrance into the college lecture rooms. The American Federation of Labor, which contains the largest number of organized wage earners in the world, has defeated every effort of the Socialists to commit it to their cause, at its annual conventions for the past four years. So overwhelming, indeed, was the Socialist defeat in its last annual convention, held in San Francisco, that most of the Socialist leaders have openly abandoned this form of attack and declare that they no longer wish to capture the American Federation of Labor.

Instead, they now plan to destroy it. Thus the leaders of organized labor are actuated by two motives in their antagonism to Socialism. They are opposed to its creed, because it is wholly opposed to the spirit and operation of American institutions. They also fight it as the openly recognized enemy of the trade union movement. The call for an industrial convention in Chicago on June 27, to form a new national labor organization, was signed only by leading Socialists. That movement was promptly denounced as "treason" by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in the following language:

"Tis treason, gentlemen! The defensive actions of the rank and file, as well as advocates and defenders of the trade union movement, do not seem to commend themselves to the callers of the Chicago convention, nor have they commended themselves to the other Socialists, who are either openly aiding or encouraging the effort to destroy the trade union movement, while a number of other Socialists are hoping against hope that the destructive work may be crowned with success.

Do the convention callers or their friends imagine for a moment that the trade unionists will sit idly by and see the great organizations which they have builded to protect and promote the workers' interests, and which are the bulwarks of defense and opportunities for progress and advancement—see these attacked, maligned, and sought to be divided or destroyed without a word of dissent or protest?

The official journals of the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union, the Socialist Review, and all other Socialist publications, are virulent in their malicious abuse of the active trade unionists, professing friendship for the American Federation of Labor, and yet proposing to supplant it by the call they have issued.

When any man or set of men mask behind the pretense of friendship for labor, then attempt to undermine or to open fire upon the most successful general organization of labor that the world has yet seen, the American Federation of Labor, we say, "This is treason, gentlemen; it is treason."

President Gompers gave a good example of the straight-from-the-shoulder fight that trade unionism makes upon Socialism, in the following forcible conclusion to a speech against a Socialist resolution, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston:

I want to tell you, Socialists, that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know, too, what you have up your sleeve, and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare it to you, I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically, you are unsound; socially, you are wrong; industrially, you are an impossibility.

John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, itself the largest single labor union in the world, is equally emphatic in his denunciation of Socialism:

I advocate not industrial revolution, but industrial progress. The deadening blight of Socialism would wither progress. The virile, active forces of industry, enlisted in the wage system under the form of capital and labor, can be brought to work mightily, through sane and rational agreement, for that progress of industry which means the advancement of civilization and the lightening of the burdens that still oppress humanity. This progress can be stimulated by negotiation and, when necessary, by conflict. The Socialists abhor all such progress and denounce every method that has been discovered, including the trade agreement, for its encouragement. That is why the Socialists seek, either by assault or by "boring from within", to destroy or to disintegrate the trade union movement, because its aim and its effect are the betterment of society as a whole. The instinct of individual self-improvement is the life-blood of labor unionism. The control of all industry by the State, heing against that instinct, could result only in either anarchy or despotism.

If any of the dilettante triflers with revolution are still in doubt as to the estimate in which their plan to undermine society is held by labor leaders, let them inquire of such men as the following:

James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, Quincy, Mass.

E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, Detroit, Mich.

THE WANTON, INHUMAN, INDEFENSIBLE CHICAGO STRIKE.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH LOOKS BEYOND ITS EXCESSES TO THE GREAT UNDERCURRENT OF UNIONISM INDISPENSABLE TO CIVILIZATION.

(Address by Franklin MacVeagh before the Cincinnati Commercial Club.)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

You may question an appearance of impartiality toward labor unions, by a Chicago man lately escaped from a state of street ruffianism and a general mix up of brickbats, lumps of coal, glass bottles, stones, brass knuckles and the rest of the familiar equipment of disorder and slugging incident to Chicago strikes.

And you may not welcome Chicago suggestions about labor unions; our city being considered a high-roller in labor matters. Chicago's labor ferment, however, it is fair to say, is but part of the wider ferment, because of which many of the problems of our national development are finding their chief forum in Chicago and this Middle West.

Doubtless our teamsters' strike has not heightened Chicago's authority. But you must admit that it is a credit to our originality. For it is unique as a finished example; being an unprecedented combination of every mistake and every abuse which unionism has so far

It has driven the unwilling union men from their jobs, denied non-union men the right to work, and the employers the right even to attempt to do business.

It encouraged hideous strikes of children.

It has done everything it could find to do that would forfeit the good will of the public, and it has raised up against itself a nearly unanimous public opinion from ocean to ocean.

It is a strike and boycott of an oligarchy of unfit leaders, who have sacrificed with impartial indifference the rights of the employers, the citizens, the teamsters and the union cause. It is a strike which the rank and file have had little to say about, which has had no cause to fight for and no reason to fight, which is wanton, wasteful, inhuman, deplorable and unnecessary from any and every point of view. A Philadelphia lawyer could not find a word to say in its defense. It has closed the mouth of apology.

The initial blunder of the oligarchy was taking it for granted that the employers would have no scruples against buying immunity, or would have no principles or self-respect for which they would fight. It is unsafe to count upon the pusillanimity of peaceful American citizens.

Such is the latest dire experience of Chicago. But even this does not shut Chicago's eyes to the underlying just positions of unionism. Because war breaks out between Japan and Russia we do not forget the permanent values of civil government, nor the fruitful progress of the years and areas of peace. All through the injustice of this guerilla warfare, Chicago's employers and press have more than ever pledged themselves to a fair field for unionism. And the present is particularly a juncture for holding on to the just habit of discrimination between fundamental unionism itself and its wretched excesses.

For with all its faults—and its faults are grievous and many—unionism is a great movement. It is far too great; it relates its fortunes far too surely to every section of our national life and society, and it concerns far too vividly the far-reaching issues of present civilization, for us to confine its sphere to its own membership and its own leadership. Evidently its fortunes are bound up with those of the employers. But its relationships extend immensely further, even to the limits of present human society. The union labor movement is no mean part of the whole movement—industrial, social, intellectual and spiritual—that now has the stage of the world. For good or ill it is a significant part of the big life of the time. It is part of that greater human union which is carrying forward, and I believe upward, the general movement of mankind.

Unionism has so much power for good and so many possibilities of evil, that it must not be dealt with by employers as a mere enemy, or with habitual impulses of belligerency, notwithstanding those undeniable occasions when unions must be fought relentlessly to a finish. For the situation is permanent. It is childish to think we can abolish labor unions, for the public opinion of all nations has accepted them as fixtures. We must develop, not abolish them. And the employers, as sure as there is moral responsibility anywhere in the world, must assume a distinct share of the responsibility for the increase of their usefulness and for the correction of their faults. And we come a long way toward progressive unions whenever employers deal with them as friends.

But final friendly acceptance of labor unions, either by employers or the public, will not take place until all of the unions have definitely abandoned two wholly revolting and abominable methods which it is impossible for the American people ever to condone. I mean physical violence and the breaking of contracts. Other methods may be debatable. Even the open shop is not a closed question. But the breaking of contracts, and the breaking of heads are not in the nature of subjects for debate.

There is a controlling fact about violence that should be made clear and prominent. I mean the fact that it is never a private offense. It is a public offense, wherever and whenever committed. It is always an act against the government. Crime is crime.

The violence committed by strikers and their sympathizers does not differ from any other crime. It is simply crime. Such violence therefore takes issue, not with employers, but with the public authorities, and the issue is taken up, by the government necessarily as its own.

The important thing to notice is that this crime is no part of the strike. It is extraneous and incidental, and as external as if committed at another time.

A strike is a test of whether an employer can run a business to his satisfaction without the strikers, or whether the strikers will have to be called back. Everybody agrees as to that. And it must be agreed that this test cannot be made without a fair field, and that there is no suggestion of violence or disorder in the

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Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, Ohio.
P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio.

Theodore J. Shaffer, President Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Pittsburgh, Pa.
J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.

James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Moulders' Union of North America, Cincinnati, Ohio.

James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis, Ind.

William D. Mabon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.

Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, Philadelphia, Pa.

George W. Perkins, President Cigarmakers' International Union of America, Chicago, Ill.

Frank Buchanan, President International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, Cleveland, Ohio.

Max Morris, International Protective Association of Retail Clerks, Denver, Col.

John B. Lennon, General Secretary, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, Bloomington, Ill.

In short, let these poseurs as friends of labor address the entire roster of the 125 chief officers of the national and international unions. Among them all will not be found more than a half-dozen who will not tell the advocates of Socialism that their programme is foolish and unwelcome and that it would be regarded as dangerous were it not known to be utterly weak, contemptible and incapable of making headway against the common sense and sound economics of the captains of organized labor.

THE SOCIALIST ANTI-UNION PLOT.

These labor leaders are men who cannot be deceived as to the ulterior purposes of the Socialists. They are acquainted with all their treason, stratagem and wiles, for they have been fighting the Socialists for years, not only in national and international trade unions, but in state and city federations of labor, as well as in thousands of local unions. In ninety-nine out of a hundred of these contests, the leaders of organized labor have completely routed the Socialists; yet they do not relax their vigilance of Socialist tricks nor lessen the vigor of their denunciations of Socialism itself. Every friend of the recognized methods of attaining industrial peace, such as conference, conciliation and arbitration, and who has had experience in dealing with strikes and lock-outs, has learned how to identify the Socialist. He is generally the loud-mouthed blatant agitator, whose every word is directed against the settlement of any controversy between capital and labor, because he does not wish peace, but revolution. A recent article from the pen of Luke McKenny, of the Wire Lathers' Union, published in a labor magazine, states the situation so truthfully and succinctly that we quote it here:

Their active workers are led by men who are both vengeful and unscrupulous. Expressing principles that are directly antithetical to trades unionism, and down in their own hearts bitterly opposed to trades unions, they are, nevertheless, found ever at the forefront in labor matters.

Seek for the prime mover in some abortive and disastrous strike—you will find a Socialist.

Look for the sponsors of arbitrary boycotts, defamatory and insulting resolutions denunciatory of employers; in fact, anything that will tend to besmirch the name of labor or involve it in difficulties and you will come upon a Socialist in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

It cannot be gainsaid that in the rank and file of the Socialist party there are many conscientious but mistaken union men, and even among the leaders there are a few men of unimpeachable character. But recking to heaven as a stench in the nostrils of organized labor is the "party" with its vicious and irresponsible—even corrupt—leaders and labor can never assert itself; can never meet nor expect to meet its employers upon fair and equitable terms until it has thrown off this noxious burden for good and all.

Equitable agreements with employers, collectively entered into, and arbitration, that will be entered into in good faith by both sides, as a means of settling differences, is the ideal system, in my opinion, for the future relations of Capital and Labor. But in our own ranks we must inculcate a vital principle: that trade agreements honestly entered into shall be honorably and inviolably kept and respected during their life. But, in order to effectually maintain this principle, the party Socialist, to whom an agreement with Capital is more honored in the breach than in the observance, must be relegated to the rear for good and all.

But now the question presents itself to us: "How can we the soonest rid ourselves of this nuisance?" I would answer: By following in our local and central unions the same methods invariably used by the Socialists themselves. This, in brief, means regular attendance at our meetings and united and aggressive action against this disturbing element at all times. In our local bodies you will seldom find the Socialist absent. He is there to answer the roll call, not, you may be sure, for any particular love he bears for his union, but to be ready to exploit his visions of Utopia; he is there in force on election nights and he lets the conservative element indulge in petty electioneering for practically unimportant positions, while he sees to it that the delegation from the local to the central body is of his own stripe, as a unit, if possible. Once he is in the central body he follows the same plan of campaign. If the central organization publishes an official paper, the "red-buttonite" sees to it that, by manipulation at each election, his party furnishes the staff and controls its policy. And the paper under its "red button" management gives about three-fourths of its editorial space to the advancement of "class conscious propaganda," while the balance is given to comment upon existing labor troubles, usually containing such vicious and unwarranted abuse of employers that troubles which might have been adjusted are prolonged indefinitely, to the great hardship of the workmen involved and to the Satanic delight of the "class conscious" freak who edits the paper, who uses two or three columns of space to point the trouble out, as "an object lesson, showing the necessity of voting the Socialist party ticket at the next election."

See to it that no Socialist is sent to a central body or to a convention as a delegate. It may seem arbitrary advice, at first thought, but when we consider the fact that we are endeavoring to combat insidious and unscrupulous foes, whose very existence in our ranks is a constant menace to us, we should stifle all such wandering thoughts, use "the big stick" and use it effectively.

We have endeavored to group some of the salient

(Concluded on page 15.)



FRANKLIN MACVEAGH,
Merchant and Publicist, Chicago.

evolved. One may study in this one strike all the defects, excesses and deplorable features of the labor movement—and with the brilliant effect undimmed by any of its virtues.

It was at first sympathetic, though the teamsters had agreements specially prohibiting sympathetic strikes.

They struck for the garment workers, but only when the latter had long lost their cause. And they did not strike against the employers of the garment workers, but, like lightning from a clear sky, against houses with whom their own relationships, and those of all other unions, were satisfactory and unruffled. They struck only such houses as had never, to their knowledge, seen a garment worker in their lives—with the single exception of one house who had as a side show of their business nineteen tailors, and who didn't care a penny if they did not have one. The houses with whom the garment workers had their strike were not molested. They were exempt. They were prime favorites. The teamsters never turned their eyes their way.

It was not merely a sympathetic strike, and sympathetic by pretense; but it immediately became also a reckless criminal boycott, with automatic alternations of strike and boycott that could not stop short of involving, in the end, every employer in Chicago, whose business used a team. And yet, so fatuous and ill-considered were their plans that the strike leaders expected to restrict the strike.

The strike has broken every contract it could lay its hands upon, and as nonchalantly, and almost as frequently, as the leaders take a drink.

It has picketed, not legitimately, or in self-defense, but maliciously and to terrorize.

It has blockaded the streets with union teams, though less than formerly, because comparatively few teamsters sympathize with the strike.

It has slugged at every turn and at every distance.

It has disregarded the courts, both state and federal, and has loudly resented any legal restraints.

By common belief it was not a genuine strike at all, but "conceived in sin and born in iniquity," with sympathy as a pretense, and with revenge and cupidity hopelessly confused in inconceivable motives.

It has broken the peace into little bits, and has resented and resisted protection, even by the police, for the legitimate and necessary business of the employers.

It has terrorized the retail merchants throughout the city.

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**CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FOUR THOUSAND
EMPLOYEES WORK AND LIVE IN
BOURNVILLE, ENGLAND.**

By EDWARD S. THACKRAY.

Bournville is about five miles from Birmingham and lies in one of the beautiful Worcester valleys, through which runs the pretty river Bourn, in a district largely wooded and pastoral. Close by the station the factory of the Cadbury Brothers, Limited, cocoa and chocolate manufacturers, was erected some twenty-six years ago, and was one of the first factories in England to move from the city out into the country, where now about four thousand employees enjoy the beautiful surroundings.

WORKING CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYEES.

The entrance by the lodges to the office and factory buildings is through a rock garden, having a pathway arched by bowers covered with flowering creepers. Close to the entrance are the cycle houses, where the employees can leave their machines and have them thoroughly overhauled and ready for use when leaving at mid-day or evening. Between the blocks of buildings the grounds are laid out in gardens, planted, in the winter months, with evergreens, and in the summer, with flowering plants. The walls of the buildings themselves are covered with creepers.

The work hours are based on the eight-hour day. The women usually arrive at 9 and leave from 5 to 5.30, having a break of an hour for luncheon and recreative purposes at 12.30. On Saturdays the factory closes at noon the year round.

The work rooms are so arranged that the temperature is kept even, ventilators being freely used. During the



ENTRANCE TO THE OFFICE AND FACTORY BUILDINGS.

cold months, heat is obtained from the hot steam-pipe system, over which the fresh air from outside is thrown. All the rooms are exceedingly lofty, and the numerous windows and skylights furnish a means of drawing off excessive heat.

In the card box department special appliances have been installed for drawing off the fumes which rise from the heating of glue, so that the rooms where this process is going on are absolutely free from any suspicion of odor which would in any way affect the health.

The employees wear white uniforms. The first one is supplied free by the company to each employee. The second is paid for, half by the company and half by the employee; but after that, each employee pays for the uniform, but buys the material through the company at 25 per cent. less than cost.

Every facility is provided for the employees to sit at

their work, if they choose. In each room throughout the factory, drinking fountains are installed, also telephones, suggestion boxes and other incidentals to make the work pleasant. Plants are profusely distributed throughout the interior of the works, adding considerably to the home-like aspect of the work rooms.

A complete ambulance system is in vogue. There are in each room ambulance boxes which are in charge of several accredited persons. Three nurses, a doctor, and a dentist, whose services are free to employees, hold office hours daily for those who may be poorly, and they also attend to any individual cases of minor disorder on the premises.

Separate retiring rooms for the men and the women are provided, and these are well equipped with beds, couches and easy chairs.

The dining room for girls, which is distinct from that for men, accommodates some two thousand, food being



A LOFTY WORKROOM.



APPLIANCES FOR DRAWING OFF FUMES.

provided daily, at cost prices. A cup of coffee, tea, cocoa on a glass of milk may be had for a ha'penny; a large basin of soup with bread for a penny; a plate of meat, vegetables and pastry for a four-pence. Fresh fruit is brought in daily from the fruit growing district around the factory, and is often consumed in the dining rooms within two or three hours after it has been gathered. An expert is employed to select only the best and brightest fruit for the dining rooms. In the general laboratory of the establishment all food supplies are subjected to analytical tests for purity. The entire time of some thirty employees is occupied in connection with the kitchen and restaurants.

There is also a large heating chamber provided, into which the employees may put the lunch which they have brought from home. The doors of the chamber are then pulled and within an hour the lunches are hot.

The forewomen have their own separate dining room, fitted up with easy chairs and couches and supplied with all the current magazines and newspapers, so that they may have their rest where they can secure the needful quiet for the better carrying out of their duties.

RECREATION.

All of the employees have a fortnight holiday in the summer, and the management arranges with the railroads to run cheap trains to the seaside places all along the coast. The works are closed for a week at Christmas time and five days at Easter, which is a few days longer than is customarily given in England by other large firms.

The recreation grounds for the employees are very extensive and are divided into distinct sections, one for the women and the other for the men. The grounds for the women are laid out in tennis courts, net ball grounds, croquet grounds, and also large sections for swings and other games. The trees are many and of noble proportions; among them inviting seats have been arranged for those who prefer to take their rest quietly and read or chat together.

Bournville Hall, the old family mansion which belonged to the estate, is utilized as the women's club house, and associated with this club are many societies for the general welfare of the girls.

A girls' bath house is now being completed, containing swimming and other baths for the exclusive use of the female employees. Before the erection and completion of this building, architects were sent to the various countries on the continent to procure the best plans for the efficient installation of these baths. There is a large swimming pool in the center, and in the gallery around are private baths of every description.

A gymnasium is provided for the girls. This affords accommodations for the classes, which all the girls not over sixteen years of age are obliged to attend twice a week, to receive instruction in various exercises for physical development.

On the other side of the lane from the girls' recreation grounds are the recreation grounds for the men. The cricket field is sufficiently large to run four full counter-matches at one time. In connection with this cricket field are open air swimming baths, fishing pools, bowling greens and tennis grounds, so that all tastes are satisfied. A gymnasium pavilion is also provided for the men, which is filled with all the appliances associated with athletics. There are also two large football fields.

Associated with the outdoor sports are walking clubs, whose members take rambling tours, looking up old cathedrals and other buildings of historic interest, and enjoying the beautiful scenery along the road. There are also harriers, or groups of men in light silk suits, who start out and run for some twenty miles over fields, fences, walls and brooks, with no particular goal in view. This is a favorite sport in the winter months.

During the summer months the brass band gives performances in the recreation grounds and in the parks, and in the winter the orchestral and choral societies give various concerts in the large dining hall of the works.

EDUCATIONAL.

The intellectual side is not overlooked. A large library in the room adjoining the girls' dining room is at the disposal of all. Connected with this department are

classes in plain sewing, fancy work; also lectures in cooking, ambulance work and other subjects which will be helpful to them in connection with their home life. No fees are charged for these lectures and classes.

There is a large youths' club house, which is used by any of the employed men who are not over nineteen years of age. In connection with this, there are a library and lecture rooms. Bagatelle boards, chess and whist rooms are provided.

Another building is utilized for a club house for the clerks, where there are billiards and other games, with reading rooms and a lending library.

EMPLOYEES' HOMES.

Adjoining the works is the beautiful village, which is the result of Mr. George Cadbury's loving and philanthropic heart and head. When a youth, associated with Sunday School work in Birmingham, and especially with neighborhood work, as he visited the poor living in wretched, so-called homes, he made a vow that should wealth ever be vouchsafed to him, he would devote a large portion to improving that state of affairs. This desire has been fulfilled, and Bournville is now an object lesson to the world, showing that beautiful homes can be secured by even a man of low wages, at small cost.

Many of the homes built on the estate rent at from four to six shillings per week. These houses contain two or three bed-rooms, sitting room, small kitchen, bath and washing conveniences, and all have a kitchen-garden attached. Some of the larger houses, renting at from seven to eight shillings per week, are most artistically arranged. The effect on the dwellers generally has been to bring about a desire to make their homes beautiful; and thus is spread abroad an influence for keeping the husband, wife and family to their own hearth, rather than, as is the case elsewhere, allowing wretched surroundings to drive them to frequent saloons or other places which tend to blunt all that is highest and best. In many cases, individual persons, after seeing the bright interiors of some of the houses, have not rested until they themselves have arranged their rooms along similar lines; and in this way the general tone of house decoration has been elevated. From this has sprung a desire that their children shall be neatly clothed and they themselves dressed with care and cleanliness.

By the trust deed the garden must be at least three times as large as the area covered by the house, so that enough vegetables may be grown to supply a family of six. At the end of each garden a fruit orchard is planted, containing apple, pear and plum trees, currant bushes and other small fruits.

Playgrounds are provided for the children and the gardener overlooks the children to see that they come to no harm. These grounds are away from the main roads.

The roads of the village are all laid out with the object of taking advantage of triangular and other



GIRLS' BATH HOUSE AND SUN REST HOUSE.

(The latter so arranged that the gardener can revolve it during the day.)



LUNCH ROOM FOR TWO THOUSAND GIRLS.

small sections of land for parks. Along all the roads trees are planted and each road is named for a tree, such as Elm or Sycamore.

VILLAGE SCHOOLS.

There is now building on the estate a system of the most perfectly equipped schools in the country, which

room and small kitchen. By the side of each bed is a bell pull communicating with the next house, so that in case of sickness, assistance can be easily called. The furniture is of solid oak, and every thought has been given to make conveniences such that the occupants have every comfort. The almshouses accommodate about one hundred.

is costing Mr. Cadbury over twenty thousand pounds. These will be for the benefit of those living on the estate as well as for others living in the neighborhood.

CARE OF THE SUPERANNUATED.

The late Mr. Richard Cadbury, whose interest in the welfare of the community was great, caused to be erected a number of almshouses, fitted up with every comfort. These almshouses are occupied by those who have been associated with the works, if any such need the help; also by others who may be nominated, and whose character is thoroughly satisfactory. The almshouses surround a quadrangle of beautiful lawns and gardens, so that their environment is wholesome and cheerful. Each house contains a bedroom, sitting room and small kitchen.



MEN'S RECREATION GROUNDS.

STOVE FOUNDERS AND IRON MOLDERS AGREE.

A Year's Demonstration of the Peace Resulting from the Enforcement of Collective Contracts Leads to a New Agreement.

The annual report of Chauncey H. Castle, President of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, is a notable recognition, from the employers' standpoint, of the practical value of trade agreements, and of the increasing respect for their inviolability among both employers and wage earners. The recent convention of the association ratified the new agreement made by its Conference Committee with the Iron Molders' Union, a prominent feature of which is an increase in the ratio of apprentices. The following are extracts from President Castle's report:

This is the twentieth annual meeting of the Stove Founders' National Defense Association, and while your officers have, during the last year, had a large number of grievances to adjust, none of them were of a very serious nature. This may be accounted for by the fact

that the officers of the various organizations with which we have agreements have become more familiar with the objects and intents of the agreements and impressed with their importance and value in the settlement of questions in dispute. I am pleased to be able to say that in all cases the letter and spirit of the agreements have been carried out, so that peace and harmony have prevailed.

The number of cases of general importance that have been adjusted during the last year is 71. Of this number those involving the molders were 36; mounters, 28; polishers, 7. In six instances the molders quit work and were, in accord with the agreements, obliged to return before consideration could be properly given their grievances. In the same number of cases the mounters who had gone out on an independent strike were, under agreements, obliged by their officers to resume their work pending adjustment. In one or two cases our members shut out their workmen through error, but on being admonished by us opened the shop to them while the grievances were being taken up and adjusted under the agreements. In all instances the questions were adjusted without difficulty, with little expense and in full accord with the intent and purpose of our agreement.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

Its Successful Growth and Application in the Highly Sub-Divided Shoe Industry.

(Shoe Workers' Journal.)

COLLECTIVE bargaining is manifestly the most economic method of disposing of the wage, hour and conditions problems between employer and employees. The development of sub-divisions of labor and specialization in our industries has introduced seventy-five or more divisions and sub-divisions of the work formerly done by one individual.

There are few industries in which this process has been carried on to a greater extent than the shoe manufacturing industry. Formerly the negotiations between the employer and employee were for the price of the shoe made complete, but now there is a separate and distinct bargain for each of the many operations into which the work has been divided and specialized. In the past the shoe manufacturing industry was confined almost entirely to one section of the country, but it has gradually branched out until it is conducted to-day in all sections. The industry, the labor and the product have undergone great changes. From the small shop of the proprietor-worker to the immense factory; from a few hundred factories located mainly in one section to fifteen hundred scattered throughout the country; from practically one system to a thousand; from the individual making the shoe complete to seventy-five individuals performing as many different operations; from the segregated workers to thousands of associated workers under one roof; from hand work to machine work; from a comparatively few styles of shoes to a great variety of styles the shoemaking industry has steadily progressed. The development from the old to the modern method of shoemaking has introduced an immense variety of details in the accounts and management of the factory and a consequent increase of expenses. These details and the expense thereof are minimized by collective bargaining. The saving does not end there, but extends to every department of the factory. Collective bargaining introduces a closer mutual relationship, a spirit of helpfulness among the workers, which eliminates disharmony and unnecessary interference with each other, points out unnecessary obstacles and wasteful methods and installs the most economic systems of distributing and getting out the work. When there are incentives and inducements to the workers to co-operate to facilitate and promote the work of each other a saving in space, time, labor and money results to the employer. The concentration of capital, labor and management have effected wonderful economies, and the concentration of bargaining (collective bargaining) is their economic corollary. When unions first engaged in collective bargaining they were inexperienced, and at times evinced a disposition to be arbitrary, and did not always employ the best specialist or the best and most business like methods.

Often the tactics of the old form of organization were applied to an entirely new and different form, a business form, of relationship between employer and employee. In fact, methods that would not pass business scrutiny and would be suicidal in other lines of bargaining were indulged in by both employers and unions. The same tolerance, restraint, recognition and courtesy which influenced the relations between buyers, sellers or bargainners in other lines of commodities, business or trade, did not mark the relations between employers and unions in their bargains. This, coupled with the opposition of the employer and the inexperience of the union in conducting the business of collective bargaining, often resulted in waste rather than economy. Unfriendly relations, prejudiced, selfish and unwise opposition and wrong methods of execution did not affect the principle of collective bargaining or disprove its just claim to be the most economic and just arrangement for the adjustment of prices, hours and conditions of labor, although it detracted from its utility and efficiency. With the development of more reasonable relations between employer and unions and the adoption of sound methods, collective bargaining has been perfected along business lines and established its economic value in a variety of directions. It has introduced the union and arbitration agreement which fixes the price, hours and conditions of labor subject to change by mutual consent, thus limiting the bargains and bargainners and adjustment of disputes to the union representative, and the bargaining time to a fixed date. The whole matter is often settled and the question disposed of for the period stated in the agreement in one and usually in a few interviews between employer and representative of the union. It tends to impartial treatment and impartial wage scales as uniform as conditions will permit. It affects the economics before mentioned, accruing from a closer relationship and mutual helpfulness among the workers. It is the economic principle of associated effort, which enables one man to act for many, given a new application. It embodies the economics of simplification, systematization and concentration. It developed the most economic processes of doing the work and is the practical originator of the best factory systems in vogue to-day, systematized by the employer.

THE WANTON, INHUMAN, INDEFENSIBLE CHICAGO STRIKE.

(Concluded from page 11.)

proposition. Indeed, the suggestion of violence would destroy the proposition. And it would destroy strikes themselves, for it is inconceivable that a strike could be instituted if it proclaimed violence as a part of its proposition. If violence or disorder occurs it is wholly foreign to the test. It is "pure cussedness," and a refusal to fight fair. To consider violence a factor in a strike, and to hold the man struck against responsible for it, would be like putting two wrestlers in a fair ring and then let the friends of one of them break into the ring, slug the other and fix the blame for the slugging on the man slugged.

The intellectual confusion which makes the maintenance of public order a part of a strike issue must be cleared up. Striking is one thing. Breaking laws is another thing. But many people are honestly, and others not so honestly, confused as to this plain distinction, including, especially, in the two classes mayors, aldermen and those well-meaning people whose sympathy for the workman is never baked quite through.

Such people think that the police are a part of the employers' advantage, instead of what they are—a burdensome imposition upon their business. Certainly a man who is attacked by robbers is not taking an unfair advantage if he allows the police to rescue him. Now, no policeman ever guards a wagon or place of business except to ward off crime. No strike calls the police. Only crime calls them.

As to breaking contracts, labor unions are in no different case from anybody else. There is no moral exemption for any man or body of men that breaks contracts. Nor is there any hope of public or private respect for a contract breaker. A contract breaker is an utter misfit either as a citizen or a business man. There is no help for him except to be born again. And until contracts become sacred with all unions, until the public mind believes union contracts to be as good as gold, unionism will not be finally accepted by either the employers or the people. Happily, however, the strong and honorable men who are rising to the highest positions in the union movement understand as well as we do that it is vital for unions to keep faith.

One of the finest things ever done by a union man was the action of John Mitchell, when he resisted the sympathetic strike of the bituminous coal men while his anthracite strike was on. They could not strike without a violation of contracts, and he not only would not accept help through a breach of faith, but used every influence of his personal authority and that of every friend he could rally about him, to avert what he considered the dishonoring of his people. That example is celebrated, but there are abundant examples less conspicuous, by other tried labor leaders who are helping to make unimpeachable the contracts of the unions.

But much remains to be accomplished. The inviolability of contracts and the stern discountenancing of violence must become universal articles in the very creed of unionism. And these articles must become seasoned and confirmed before the American people will give its full endorsement to a cause and an institution that it is nevertheless anxious to adopt.

What would be the effect upon the fortunes of the labor unions, of the radical elimination of violence and broken contracts from their records? What could result but strength, success and progress?

First, there would be a new good will and co-operation on the part of the employers. Employers and workmen would soon come into cordial relations. That of itself would add immensely to the facilities of the unions.

But a more powerful ally than the good will of the employers is the good will of public opinion. With that as an ally everything is possible. Without it nothing is possible.

Public opinion will work for the working man if it can at the same time be just and moral. It is eager to be upon his side, and can be discouraged only by the conduct of the unions. It backs the honest man; but it will back him all the sooner if he works for wages. Nothing, however, can persuade it from despising and hating a contract breaker or a slugger.

There are various issues between employers and the unions, beside the sacredness of contracts and the maintenance of peace. But they are mostly debatable issues, respecting which final settlement may be a long time deferred but may always be expected. These issues require far more consideration and discussion than they have yet received. Much more experience and much more knowledge is needed for their final solution. But the two indispensable eliminations will make it possible to treat these other issues fairly, and in the end, wisely.

But not only are there issues to be settled. There are reforms to be effected in the labor movement. And all must help.

The unions, in frequent instances, suffer prodigiously from corrupt, incompetent or brutalized leadership, though it should exalt the pride of the American people that in so short a time so many of the highest places in the unions are filled by men who are an honor to the American name.

The unions are suffering too from the insufficiency

of their government. Their government is an attempt at the extreme democratic form of the town meeting, and it frequently produces instead of a democracy a dangerous oligarchy. Some modification of this form of government, or some evolution from it, or some new safeguards and checks, are necessary to prevent the running of many of the unions by their parasites—the grafters, the demagogues and the fools.

The needed reforms in whatever direction will take time. But what I want to say, with particular emphasis, is this: that for these reforms the workingmen themselves can never be wholly responsible.

The employers must accept a share—an important share—of this great responsibility.

And unionism makes large demands on our intelligence as well. In the first place there is the obligation to train ourselves to discriminate between the permanent values and meanings of unionism and the excesses incident to the first growth of an immense new power. The evolution of wise leadership and conservative membership in a new movement of workingmen must be slow. And it must be made at the cost of strange misconceptions of rights, of wild and illegal notions of self defense, of hostile mistrust of employers, and of deplorable disregard of the sanctities of law and order. Any man who will calmly and competently reflect upon this great matter will see for himself both that these phenomena are inevitable, and that they are entirely apart from the fundamental meanings, intent and values of the labor movement. They produce deplorable, and sometimes horrible facts and conditions; but they are, after all, superficial and might be temporary. It is our duty, substituting reason for feeling, to learn and understand the true significance of these excesses; and while dealing with them as they deserve to be dealt with, to always have a mind that looks beyond them into the depth of the great undercurrent which can, eventually, carry the whole American working world forward to calm prosperity.

We must accept the fact, too, that great changes in the conception of personal and property rights have come or are coming, as part and parcel of the democratic evolution. And among these is the acknowledgment—partly already legal and partly only as yet intellectual—that in employment matters there are two parties instead of one. A man who used to say I will run my business to suit myself, has to modify that exclusiveness. Some of us feel sometimes that we should be outrageously happy if we had even half to say about our business. In some respects a man can, it is true, run his own business—but in other respects public opinion, and not infrequently public law, steps in and limits his exclusive control.

But the chief requirement, after all, is that we shall believe that labor unions are indispensable to the advancement of mankind and to the growth of its civilization, for therein lies their profoundest claim. That is the great reason why we must not be halted by their present excesses, their present injustice, their present brutalities. That is why the movement must be purified, humanized and made wise and progressive. And that is why the labor movement—a large factor in the progress of the nation and the world—does not wholly rest upon the shoulders of the workingmen, but is a responsibility of yours and mine.

It is mere idleness to talk of an advancing civilization which doesn't include the advancing civilization of the workingmen. The development of only you and me, the rising comfort and manners, the rising intelligence and education, the rising character and morality, the rising altruism and ideals, the rising imagination and thought of only you and me and the few, would be a poor fruitage in that great garden of God where mankind has been placed to plant, cultivate and harvest the developments of progress and civilization. To leave out of the count vast sections of the people would be to defeat all the human purposes of Heaven.

And we cannot leave them out of the count. They will not be left out. For, why are the imperishable instincts and impulses of development and progress implanted in the race if they are not to carry forward and upward the whole people and not merely a small fraction of the people? What is there to satisfy, as a finality, the human intelligence, the human imagination, the human spirit, but the progress of the whole people?

But, how in the world, under present industrial and social conditions, can the workingmen of America hold their place, or how can we employers help them to hold their place, in the slowly but surely advancing columns of the army of civilization without the protection—the only protection—of their self organization? It would not be possible. It would not be conceivable. They would fall by the wayside—helpless victims of the vicissitudes of a cruel and inordinate competition. Where else but in this self protection is there even a breakwater, to moderate those high waves of immigration that are forever rolling in upon our working people from remoter and remoter Europe, where wages and the standards of living are miserably lower and lower?

The problems are difficult enough even with labor unions, for the unions are imperfect enough to suit their most fastidious critics. But without the unions the problems would be hopeless.

Therefore, for the larger reason that without the unions there would be the chaos of modern progress

and the travesty of modern civilization, and for the immediate reason that the unions need, above all, right direction and development, their claim upon all who care, within the unions and without, for the fate of all orders of men, is a claim with the highest sanctions.

I know how comparatively few there are as yet among union men themselves who relate the union movement to the general interest of society. The motives of union men necessarily are mainly selfish and interested. And the disinterested view appears imaginative to many employers who experience the aggressiveness of the unions. And treating the present problems—some of them very sordid problems—with intellectual sympathy, patience and hopefulness, may well look like optimism. But optimism isn't the blackest crime in the calendar. At least men are sometimes hung for worse crimes than optimism.

And to go, in conclusion, a step further along the path of cheerfulness and hopefulness—availing myself for a moment more of the opportunity of an exceptional audience—I shall let myself believe that this nation, which is the first that has had both the purpose and the free opportunity to accomplish the impartial development of its people as a whole, will not fail in this its distinctive and incomparable mission. Speak of idealism! Speak of idealism! There is no optimism and no idealism, there is no sane dream, that exceeds the accepted and grounded national propositions of the American people. Our foundation creeds revel in magnificent imagination. But not one article of those creeds lies outside the realm of the rational and the practicable.

The persistence of the centuries has broken the bondage of the individual man—and the American nation is the expression of this triumph. But democracy, under whose banner the slow and tenacious progress was made, had one steadfast dream—the development of all the people. It broke the vested privilege of the monarchs and the nobles, that all men together might rise steadily and forever, step by step, with the upgrowths of civilization. And the American nation, which speaks to the world, as no other nation is commissioned to do, in the name and with the voice of democracy, will not let its enfranchised individual carry his liberties so far as to defeat the interests of his fellow men! and will not replace the abolished privilege of the nobles with a new privilege of the rich. Neither will it weakly turn as a refuge from plutocracy to the negations and the paralysis of socialism. But, avoiding both, America will gladden humanity with the spectacle of a whole people advancing in happiness and civilization by an honest enforcement of the policies of "a square deal."

SOCIALISTS SEEK TO INFLAME THE MIND OF AMERICAN YOUTH.

(Concluded from page 11.)

phenomena of the Socialist program which its advocates now seek to inject into the systematic instruction of the higher institutions of learning. It has been pointed out that the varied and eccentric constituents who make up the "57 varieties" of Socialism, together with the revolutionary doctrines themselves that they announce, constitute a menace more ridiculous, in this free land, than grave. But this effort to distort the social vision and inflame the misguided ardor of youth against existing institutions, if it were permitted full and unchecked scope, might have a deleterious effect upon some of those who are in training for the leadership in the thought and action of the future. But it is shown simultaneously that the real toilers of the land, as represented by the leaders of organized labor, reject and repudiate these apostles of gloom and revolution, for whose welfare these "scientific Socialists" display such concern in their fantastic campaign.

These millions of wage earners can rely upon the solid support of the uplifting, progressive and patriotic forces of the Republic—the pulpit, the press, the colleges, the leaders of public thought—in nullifying the doctrines of despair and class hatred, whose advocates openly boast their purpose to undermine society and overthrow the institutions of free, popular government.

There is no more worthy or better publication in circulation to-day than the MONTHLY REVIEW of the National Civic Federation. THE REVIEW takes the position that it is not only wrong but is foolish for employers to undertake the destruction of the trade union movement. It urges upon both employer and employee the necessity of coming together in friendly conference and settling their differences. Where they cannot agree THE REVIEW urges the next best thing, which is arbitration.—*Cooper's International Journal*.

The Civic Federation is composed of the representative men in the business world, the labor movement and the philanthropic life of this nation, and much good has been accomplished by the organization in harmonizing the relationship between capital and labor.—*Louisville Journal of Labor*.

IS THERE AN IMMIGRATION PERIL?

(Concluded from page 7.)

can place him in neighborhoods in which are successfully established people of his own nationality. We do not doubt but what we will be successful.

Not many years ago I remember we established the first settlement of Germans in a State on our line. The forerunners of this settlement were brought from the congested sections of your city, New York. They were followed by German-speaking people, friends of friends and acquaintances of acquaintances. There are now several hundred German families in that section and more are wanted, and as they come, properly establishing themselves, they will be successful. In the same section we have colonies of Bohemians, Hungarians and some Scandinavians, all of whom are being joined by friends from the North and Europe. Recently we established a colony of French-Canadians. These people came from Canada to the United States, and after working around the mills in New England for a time found that they would be better satisfied if engaged in agricultural pursuits. They purchased farms in the South, at practically their own terms. They are satisfied and are being joined by other French people. We now have French colonists coming to us from Europe. True, the number is limited, but the foundation for an increased immigration is being laid. We have many Scandinavian farmers and business men located with us, and more are coming annually.

Recently I had the pleasure of making an extended trip through the South with the Italian Ambassador, Baron Mayor des Planches, at which time he studied several of the Italian colonies located on our system. These colonies were found most prosperous and contented. There is abundant room for many thousand Italian families on Southern farms and in Southern mills. We have to-day applications from not only farmers, but manufacturers as well, for Italian laborers. They will be given steady employment, and those desiring to own homes of their own will have no difficulty in being accommodated. We visited one settlement of Italians numbering about 175 families. Each family works from 20 to 30 acres of land for which they pay rental. They are furnished equipment, seed and supplies, as well as houses to live in. The statement of their net earnings shows that no farmer earned less than \$350—some of them as much as \$1,375. This was accomplished without any capital, and no investment whatever on the part of the Italian family, excepting the labor. I note this to show that the family without capital can succeed in the South.

It would seem appropriate for me to make the following suggestion as an aid to the solution of the problem:

Of the many thousands of immigrants now domiciled in your city, a considerable proportion come from farms in Europe. They come to this country to better their condition, to secure a home in free America. They are without any knowledge of the country beyond your city limits. They are not assimilating with our people, and I question whether they will; at least not as rapidly as they would, if placed in the rural districts. To distribute and establish these people we must have a location and money. With land, some money and people much can be accomplished. We have these three factors:

1. Desirable lands in the South at low prices.
2. Capitalists in the City of New York, in the North, and some in the South.
3. The people in congested districts.

Let us bring these three together.

The Commissioner of Immigration of the United States has, in my opinion, wisely recommended, that he be authorized to permit the various States to establish on Ellis Island, bureaus of information, the purpose being to reach the immigrants before they are permitted to enter the United States, and direct them to suitable homes, sending them direct thereto from Ellis Island. We are anxious to have many of these people in the South, and are ready to consider taking them; we believe we could aid materially in relieving the situation here in New York if we were permitted to go among these immigrants, making our investigation and selection, that is, giving the immigrant reliable information concerning the advantages we offer, the opportunities existing in the South, so that he can intelligently consider the proposition we would make. This done in advance of the immigrant having an opportunity to taste metropolitan life would, we believe, send more people away from the city than are going at this time. I would further suggest that the various organizations in your city interested in the caring for and protection of these immigrants be given sufficient support to properly connect themselves with people throughout the United States, likely to be interested in securing immigrants, thereby enabling these societies to do considerable more good work in directing people to suitable homes.

The Chairman:—Gentlemen, this is a national subject, and time will not permit of much further present discussion to-night. We have some gentlemen from the West here whom I would like to invite to show the immigrants the advantages of the West. Somebody is evidently getting men who want to work, for I can't get farm hands out on my farm twenty-five miles away. There is a scarcity of labor in the country, and

I do not know whether they go South or where they go, but I can't get them.

Mr. James P. Archibald:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It was my intention to read a paper here to-day from the labor standpoint and to endeavor to express the feelings of the working people in regard to the question of immigration. I feel that it would have settled some of the assertions that have been made here to-day in regard to unlimited desirable immigration.

I will detain you but a few moments, Mr. Chairman, but I want to get square with you because I could not read my paper, but I will endeavor to have it printed in the proceedings of this meeting. It is a paper that I prepared ten years ago. When I was invited to address this meeting, I read over this old paper and found that it expresses my views now just as if I had written it yesterday.

Way back in 1892 the Central Labor Union of New York interested itself very much in immigration, and I was one of the committee that was then selected to investigate and report to the Central Labor Union. We did so, and our conclusion at that time was that no desirable man should be prevented from landing in this country. That is my opinion. I am amply satisfied that the interests of the labor people will be conserved, at this point at least, because of the fact that the Commissioner at this point to-day is a man in whom all of us who have the pleasure of his acquaintance have unqualified confidence. (Applause.)

As this question is likely to give rise to discussion all over the country, and perhaps compel the attention not only of our State Legislature, but of our National Government, I believe it behooves the Civic Federation to be in a position to put itself on record as to its attitude towards this great question, the principal part of which I believe is the distribution of the immigrants in the country. Mr. Chairman, I move you that the Civic Federation of New York and Vicinity request the National Civic Federation to appoint a committee composed of men of national standing to investigate this question of immigration and report to the National Civic Federation at as early a date as possible.

The resolution offered by Mr. Archibald was adopted unanimously and the Chairman declared the meeting adjourned.

The following is the paper submitted by Mr. Archibald:—

It should be clear, in our opinion, to every thinking man that a course of public policy which would diffuse labor all over the country is the great necessity of our times. Every year, and in their tens of thousands, there come to us men and women whose life experiences have been wholly connected with farming. They come from countries where militarism and landlordism eat the substance of the people, where taxation and rents have reduced them to an almost entirely impoverished condition. Hence, when they reach our ports, they have little or no money; they are ignorant of our resources; they do not know where to go; and if they did they would not have the means to defray the cost of transportation.

The result is that they remain just where they first land. They crowd the districts which are already overcrowded. Want and misery, filth and disease are the inevitable concomitants of such unnatural conditions. Hunger must be at least partly appeased. The "sweater" comes to offer something for its appeasement, or the employer of "scab" labor is at hand to give work for starvation pay, or the employer of union labor is besieged with applicants for work until, even were he a philanthropist, he could not find places for all. The remainder go to the wall. They go down and down. Public and private charity are next taxed to the last degree of endurance. A standing army of paupers is created. Trampdom is filled to repletion. The criminal classes are increased by many, at first, unwilling recruits. Public health is endangered. Public appreciation of man's inherent dignity is lessened. Public morality is assailed in a vital part, while the multiplication of suffering by tens of thousands of able-bodied men and women tends to destroy the finer feelings of humanity and to create a brutal hard-heartedness in the stead of Christian love and fraternal sympathy. Meanwhile the South and West are calling loudly for the very class of labor which most abundantly discharges itself on our shores. But there is no organized means to supply it. The poor immigrant is unable to help himself or place himself within the reach of fair opportunity for work.

Now, why is this not remedied? And is it not apparent as the noonday sun that the means of our remedy are in the hands of our Governments, both national and state?

And is it not equally clear that the whole country would be improved and the condition of workers everywhere be ameliorated if an effective remedy were applied? So far as our State Governments are concerned, it seems to be wholly within their power and entirely within their province to maintain labor commissioners at this point, whose duty it would be to hold constant communication with the national officials of immigration, and take concurrent action with such officials to take charge of the immigrants in directing, divesting and transporting them to a place where labor

is required. If credence is to be given, as no doubt it should, to the press of the South, they are more in lack of labor than of capital in those fertile States. The want of farm labor fetters the farmers, who cannot increase the areas of improved and cultivated lands because they cannot find laborers to do the work. Good pay awaits the sober, industrious laborer. Plenty awaits the able-bodied workers if they only get there. But unadvised and unaided, our European immigrants cannot and do not get there. Vast treasures of national wealth remain undeveloped while vast additions to national poverty are made with each new influx of what might be manipulated to public and private good.

Nor is it in farming alone that the South, Southwest and West are calling for more workers. Alabama and Georgia cry out for more mechanical labor every day. Tennessee is rich in mineral wealth, while her soil has but to be scratched for abundant results. Florida calls for fruit growers. Louisiana offers great sugar opportunities. Arizona, the Dakotas, Nebraska, the wonderful State of Washington, Montana, Texas—but why further enumerate?—all these States require the industry (and have ample opportunities for its exercise) of millions yet to come; and it only remains for us to distribute and transport our immigrants where they are most needed. Such action would stop overcrowding. The general good would be promoted, and in the general advantage of the States the whole country would share. The organs of plutocracy may shriek "paternalism" as much as they may when dealing with this feature of the labor problem; they may desire to the top of their bent that there shall be yet more overcrowding in our already congested districts, so that concentration of capital may find a defenseless, impoverished concentration of mere human machinery at hand to be dealt with according to the dictates of soulless greed; but to this great policy of adequate, intelligent and well-directed distribution of labor the country must come.

Nor are we without example and precedent, in a limited degree, in this matter. One of the greatest governors of Massachusetts, the long-headed, far-seeing, wise and patriotic Andrews, once sent one hundred respectable, well-educated daughters of that State to the extreme West. They had been educated to an employment then crowded. There was nothing before them but starvation or the indescribable infamy of the streets. At the expense of Massachusetts they were saved from either of these awful alternatives. Provided with suitable escort, they were removed to a part of the country where their education, labor and thrift were most needed. They were placed where they could be of efficient help to themselves and to those about them. The result proved the wisdom of the great Andrews, and what he caused to be done for those one hundred young women can be done by our National and State Governments if they but rise to the height of the occasion in behalf of our immigrants.

It may and will be objected that the State has no right to interfere with individual liberty, and that such direction and transportation of immigrants would infringe on their individual rights; that they have a right to further congest the labor supply in our large cities if they choose; that they have a right to further overcrowd the already overcrowded tenement house districts if they wish to do so; that they have a right to increase the fierce competition for means of mere existence and further add to the burdens of labor in places where its superabundance is the superinducing cause of cheap wages and consequent hardship to the community. But such objection cannot stand the test of logical examination. It is self-evident that the State has the inherent right to protect itself against pauperism and its consequence, heavy taxation. It is not upon the barons of monopoly the burdens of taxation fall. It is the industrious poor of New York, with outrageously high rents flowing into the pockets of the landlord class, whose evicting propensities out-Herod the Herods of Ireland, who bear the burden of taxation for almshouses, houses of correction, penitentiaries, city hospitals and prisons. When trouble comes in financial circles thousands are thrown out of employment, and when the unemployed are brought to utter destitution the State or the municipality must come to their relief.

The idle and profligate are among us, but what shall he done with those who are only anxious for work, and the morality of whose lives under the most wretched conditions excites the admiration of every Christian or philanthropic observer, be he in religious belief or what he may? If the State has the right to organize for punishment, it must have an equal right to organize for guardianship. To prevent further overcrowding in this and other large cities would seem to be one of the highest forms of guardianship the State can exercise; and we hope that in due season, before the evil becomes unhearable, our statesmen and legislators will cease for a season their selfish scramble for place and power and give to the question of labor distribution their best thought and action. By so doing they will urge forward the car of American progress, create tens of thousands of American homes, cause civilization to bloom over trackless prairies, build up a citizenship that shall be a tower of strength to the Republic and invoke on our statesmanship the benedictions of Him before whose all-seeing eye the humblest workingman stands the equal of the wealthiest capitalist.



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TEN CENTS

WELFARE WORK AND THE PANAMA CANAL.

THE COMMISSION SECURES EXPERTS FROM THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION TO REPORT UPON RECREATION.

TWO experts in Welfare Work, furnished by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, sailed for the Isthmus on July 20, in the company of Chairman Shonts of the Isthmian Canal Commission and Chief Engineer Stevens. These men are W. E. C. Nazro, Welfare Manager of the Plymouth Cordage Company, North Plymouth, Mass., and Edward A. Moffett, editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York.

These experts were engaged by the Canal Commission especially to investigate the needs and oppor-

tunities on the Isthmus for the recreation of the workers engaged in canal construction, to put their conclusions in the form of definite recommendations, and to arrange to have carried into effect such plans as are adopted. The whole purpose is to secure the physical and mental welfare of the thousands of employes of the United States Government who, for years to come, will work and live in a climate and amid environments wholly different from their previous surroundings. These employes include heads of departments and chiefs of bureaus; clerks, stenogra-

phers, and a large number of engineers and rod-men, many of whom are college graduates; steam dredge men, high-class firemen, machinists; many hundreds of locomotive drivers, yardmen, steam drill operators, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, and mechanics.

Before sailing, Chairman Shonts thus explained, on behalf of the commission, the introduction of recreation into the work of canal construction:

"We have appreciated the necessity of doing something in the way of providing recreation for employes on the canal, and we have decided to take steps in



DEPARTURE FOR THE ISTHMUS OF WELFARE EXPERTS ON STEAMSHIP MEXICO.

that direction at once. It is absolutely true that down there our American employes have had no means of amusement. We are going to provide tennis courts, baseball parks, and perhaps fields for such other athletic sports as are suited to the climate. These opportunities for wholesome open air exercise and amusement will be especially valuable and welcome to the clerical force, and others whose work is largely sedentary. We intend, also, to have club houses erected, with every facility for reading and for all kinds of games and indoor amusements. In connection with these clubs and their various rooms, there will be reasonable opportunity for men to spend money in a proper way, who wish to do so. Before undertaking this plan we consulted with officials



W. E. C. NAZRO,
Welfare Manager, Plymouth Cordage Co.

of the National Civic Federation. The Welfare Department of that organization has put into practical shape some excellent ideas for providing entertainment and recreation for the employes of large industrial establishments. We are convinced that these plans can be adapted to meet the conditions on the Isthmus. We shall take with us accordingly, two experts that the National Civic Federation has furnished to look over the field and prepare definite plans.

"These plans will include also better houses and quarters for the men. The problem of housing is highly important, and clamors for immediate consideration.

"We recognize that a government employe down on the Isthmus is entitled to a habitation and surroundings in keeping with his American standard of living. These additions to our preliminary plans may

impede the actual work on the canal a little, but the delay will not be serious. It is far better to attend to this need in advance, and insure a contented and well housed army of employes, than through neglect to invite discontent and lack of enthusiasm in the work, not to speak of the sanitary question.

"Again, we are going to take steps to improve the food, and see that it is provided at the lowest possible figure. When we have accomplished these things, I believe the storm of complaints about the situation on the Isthmus will have ceased, that everybody will be contented, and that we shall in the end make a great gain, because of these preparations for recreation and wholesome living. With healthy underlying conditions we shall accomplish infinitely more, with less cost and less friction."

The experts furnished by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation are well qualified to prepare these desired plans for recreation. Mr. Nazro graduated from Harvard University in 1897, with the degree of B.A.S. upon landscape architecture, the laying out of recreation grounds, etc. In 1898, he received the degree of S.B. in architecture, having made a special study of all recreation buildings, such as club houses, gymnasiums, etc. After leaving college, Mr. Nazro traveled through England, France, and Italy, devoting most of his time to the study of these subjects. After returning from Europe he spent two or three years in practical work along the line of architectural and mill construction, and studying particularly the adaptation of sanitary conditions, light, etc., in the construction of mills, to the needs of employes. He was for a time with a large engineering firm, which made a specialty of mill construction. From there he went to the Plymouth Cordage Company as Welfare Manager, to take up their work of mill architecture, landscape improvements, homes for employes, a library, lunch-house, recreation hall, athletic association, and the development of other Welfare features. Mr. Nazro has carried on this work successfully for four years, and won the gold medal for his specialty at the St. Louis Exposition.

Mr. Moffett, as the editor of the official journal of the Bricklayers' and Masons' Union of America, has made a special study of all subjects connected with the welfare of skilled labor in the building trades, of which there will be a great deal employed on the Isthmus. In his capacity as a national representative of labor, he will make a thorough study of the prospective conditions that will surround the mass of employes on the canal. He will thus be able to render valuable assistance to Mr. Nazro in preparing a report to the Isthmian Commission which, it is hoped, will clear away a great deal of the popular misapprehension upon that subject.

Upon completing their investigation, Messrs. Nazro and Moffett returned to New York, where, after their arrival on the eve of THE REVIEW's going to press, they made the following preliminary statement:

"Inasmuch as we are to make an official report to the Isthmian Canal Commission upon our investigation into what has been done and may be done to make the

Canal Zone more habitable for employes, we obviously could not say anything that might anticipate our findings and recommendations.

"Speaking generally, it is well known that conditions on the Isthmus have been unfavorable for the employment of labor. Yet at the same time, our investigation warrants our saying that they are not as bad as they have been represented. In undertaking this stupendous enterprise, our Government has from the first met with most difficult problems, not the least of which has been the proper housing, etc., of the employes. Still, it must be said that the officials engaged in canal construction are making conscientious efforts to mitigate the hard physical conditions with which the employes have had to contend. It is plainly evident



EDWARD A. MOFFETT,
Editor Bricklayer and Mason.

that the Commission is determined to remove the slightest ground for whatever dissatisfaction may have existed. At the same time, we should say that the Isthmus with its tropical climate is no place for a man who expects to find all of the creature comforts to which he is accustomed at home. A man unaccustomed to the rough side of life, or at least unwilling to meet it, has no place on the Isthmus.

"We believe the efforts to better the conditions of employment on the Isthmus are to be continued with more intelligent direction. A day or two before we left, it was announced that Chairman Shonts, of the Commission, and Chief Engineer Stevens had issued a mandatory order to the effect that all work on the Canal should cease forthwith save the work of providing ample accommodation for employes already on the ground and for those yet to come."

NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

A Representative Gathering, at Our Largest Port of Entry, to Discuss a Problem of Inter-Continental Importance.

A National Conference upon Immigration will be held in New York City, December 6 and 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. The decision to give the investigation of this subject a national scope followed the many and widespread manifestations of interest in the discussion, at the midsummer meeting of the Civic Federation of New York, of the growing volume of immigration and its relation to American industry.

Invitations have been sent to the Governors of all the States to appoint each ten delegates to the National Conference. The responses have been prompt and favorable, and it is already assured that practically every State in the Union will be represented by delegates familiar with the needs and desires of their localities as to influx of population and with its relation to their industries. The following is the formal invitation:

SIR: Your Excellency is invited to appoint ten delegates to represent your State at a National Conference on Immigration, to be held in New York City, December 6 and 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation.

Some of the questions to be discussed under the general head are:

What is the character of the net increase in the population of the United States from immigration?

Should existing legislation looking to the elevation of this character through the exclusion of undesirable elements be extended and made more effective?

Should there be any change in the system of inspection, such as having it made at ports of departure, or at the home sources of emigration, or at both?

Are there any external influences tending to stimulate the volume of immigration?

What are the nature, extent, and locality of the demands in the United States for more labor?

What domestic industries and what labor crafts are most affected by the influx of alien labor, and in what ways?

What percentage of European immigration remains in the ports of arrival, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore?

What practical method can be devised of distributing immigration, especially for agriculture, to points where it may be needed?

What will be the effect of the distribution of large numbers of immigrants in the South upon the problem of industrial education and social betterment of the negro race?

Should the exclusion of Chinese coolie labor be made more rigid, and should it be extended to Japanese and Korean labor?

How shall the admission of exempted classes of Asiatics, such as scholars, merchants, and tourists, be regulated?

In fact, any topic related to immigration and its effect upon our national life and industries that the Conference wishes to consider may be included in its proceedings.

Yours respectfully,

(Signed)

August Belmont, Samuel Gompers, Oscar S. Straus, Bishop Henry C. Potter, John Mitchell, Archbishop John Ireland, William D. Mahon, Charles A. Moore, Warren S. Stone, Ralph M. Easley, Samuel B. Donnelly, Committee.

At the request of the Committee, the following were appointed by the Civic Federation of New York to co-operate in the preliminary arrangements; in the reception and entertainment of delegates, who will come from all parts of the country; and in making every effort conducive to the success and public value of this national gathering:

William H. Allen, General Secretary Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor.

J. Willis Baer, Secretary Board of Presbyterian Home Missions.

Nathan Bijur, President State Conference of Charities.

John N. Bogart, President Trades' Union Social Club.

Michael Brayer, Cloth Finishers' Union.

William O. Coakley, Lithographic Press Feeders.

John Cooper, The Cooper-Wigand-Cooke Company.

James Daly, Dock Builders' Union.

Charles Delaney, Granite Cutters' National Union.

Edward T. Devine, President National Conference of Charities and Correction.

Otto M. Edlitz, Building Trades Employers' Association.

R. Watson Gilder, Editor Century Magazine.

Edward Gould, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.
B. J. Greenhut, Treasurer Siegel-Cooper Company.
C. L. Graff, Secretary Retail Dry Goods Association.
J. H. Hatch, United Upholsterers' Union.
James P. Holland, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
Daniel F. Jacobs, Cigar Makers' Union.
Arthur P. Kellogg, Assistant Editor Charities.
Philip Kelly, Theatrical Protective Union.
B. A. Langer, United Garment Workers.
Thomas B. Lavey, Iron Molders' Conference Board of New York and vicinity.
Edgar L. Marston, Blair & Company.
E. A. Moffett, Editor Bricklayer and Mason.
Charles A. Moore, Manning, Maxwell & Moore.
Thomas M. Mulry, Thomas Mulry & Son.
Eliot Norton, President Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants.
Robert C. Ogden, President Southern Education Board.
Jacob A. Riis, Sociologist.
Charles A. Schieren, Charles A. Schieren & Company.
Louis B. Schram, President Associated Brewers.
Joseph H. Senger, Ex-Commissioner of Immigration.
Thomas R. Slicer, Clergyman.
Andrew J. Smith, Clothing Cutters' Union.
Maurice F. Smith, Musical Mutual Protective Union.
Frederick Boyd Stevenson, Sunday Editor Brooklyn Eagle.
Dr. George W. Stoner, Medical Officer in charge United States Hospital Service, Ellis Island.
A. Beverly Smith, Sec'y. National Lithographers' Association.
J. W. Sullivan, Typographical Union.
William Williams, Ex-Commissioner of Immigration.
C. E. Weisz, Superintendent of Public Charities, New York City.

TRADES UNION SOCIAL CLUB.

A New York Organization, Containing National Labor Leaders, Plans a Dollar Dinner on Labor Day.

The Trades Union Social Club of New York, as its name implies, of officers and members of trade unions in that city, and a goodly number of the officers of national organizations of labor.

A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION.

THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION INITIATES AN EXHAUSTIVE INQUIRY, AT HOME AND ABROAD, TO LEARN HOW FAR THEY ARE DESIRABLE.

THE Executive Council of the National Civic Federation, upon request of its Departments of Industrial Economics and of Trade Agreements, has decided to appoint a Commission to make a thorough investigation, in this country and Europe, of National and Municipal Ownership and Operation of Public Utilities.

The current discussion and acute agitation of this subject indicate its hold upon the popular mind and the necessity for its analytical and comprehensive examination. Its present debate is often inconclusive, because of contradictory or unsatisfactory statements of fact. It is intended, therefore, that this investigation shall disclose the actual results of public ownership and operation, as far as they have been undertaken in the United States, and of their more extensive practice in foreign countries. The ascertainment of these facts will afford a solid basis upon which to found discussion and conclusions for the guidance of future policy.

The scope of this inquiry will cover the relative advantages of Public Ownership and Operation, as compared with Public Ownership and Private Operation and Private Ownership and Operation. Each system will be examined with regard to its effect upon, among other topics:

Wages, hours, and conditions of labor;
Collective bargaining;
Cost and character of service;
Political conditions, civil service, spoils system, and municipal corruption;
Financial results;
Taxation.

The Commission will meet early in the fall to determine upon its program and methods of work. Among those appointed are:

Melville E. Ingalls, Big Four R.R., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Isaac N. Seligman, Treasurer Citizens' Union, New York City.
Oscar S. Straus, Merchant, New York City.
Albert Shaw, *Review of Reviews*, New York City.
Franklin MacVeagh, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.
Alexander H. Revell, President Chicago Civic Federation, Chicago, Ill.
Walter L. Fisher, Secretary Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.
Robert W. De Forest, Attorney at Law, New York City.
Wm. D. Foulke, Attorney at Law, Richmond, Ind.
Edward Rosewater, Editor *Bea*, Omaha, Neb.
Charles W. Knapp, Editor *The Republic*, St. Louis, Mo.
Frederick N. Judson, Attorney at Law, St. Louis, Mo.
Austin W. Fox, President City Club, New York City.
John G. Agar, President Reform Club, New York City.
Ambrose Sweeney, President Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio.
Alfred F. Potts, President The Commercial Club, Indianapolis, Ind.
H. W. Goode, President General Electric Co., Portland, Ore.
Frank A. Vanderlip, Vice President National City Bank, New York City.

W. D. Mahon, President Association Street Railway Employees, Detroit, Mich.
John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit, Mich.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, Boston, Mass.
John F. Tobin, President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.
Timothy Healy, President International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen, New York City.
F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.
F. W. Taussig, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Edwin R. A. Seligman, Columbia University, New York City.
J. W. Jenks, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Henry W. Farnam, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University, New York City.
Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Carroll D. Wright, Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
John R. Commons, Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.
Henry C. Adams, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Hugo Meyer, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
J. H. Hollender, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Alexander Humphrey, Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.
Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, Ohio.
William J. Clark, General Electric Co., New York City.
Walton Clark, Vice President Traction Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Samuel Insull, President Edison Company, Chicago, Ill.
P. F. Sullivan, President Boston and Northern Street Railway Company, Boston, Mass.
Charles L. Edgar, President The Edison Electric Company, Boston, Mass.
Thomas Lowry, President Twin City Rapid Transit Company, Minneapolis, Minn.
Horace E. Andrews, President Cleveland Electric Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
J. C. Hutchins, President Detroit United Railway Company, Detroit, Mich.
George F. McCulloch, President Indiana Union Traction Company, Indianapolis, Ind.
Hamilton Holt, Editor *The Independent*, New York City.
Lawrence F. Abbott, Editor *The Outlook*, New York City.
Graham Taylor, Editor *The Commons*, Chicago, Ill.
Talcott Williams, Editor *The Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.
R. R. Bowker, *Publishers' Weekly*, New York City.
Milo R. Maltbie, Franchise Expert and former Editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City.
T. C. Martin, Editor *Electrical World and Engineer*, New York City.
D. L. Cease, Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio.
John P. Frey, Editor *Iron Molders' Journal*, Cincinnati, Ohio.
John F. McNamee, Editor *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, Indianapolis, Ind.
Edward A. Moffett, Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York City.
C. H. Salmons, Editor *Locomotive Firemen's Journal*, Cleveland, Ohio.
S. M. Sexton, Editor *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.
Louis D. Brandeis, Attorney at Law, Boston, Mass.
Edwin Burritt Smith, Attorney at Law, Chicago, Ill.
Edward A. Filene, President City Club, Boston, Mass.
Townner K. Webster, President City Club, Chicago, Ill.

George E. Hooker, Secretary City Club, Chicago, Ill.
Frank Parsons, President National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass.
W. D. P. Bliss, Sociological Author, New York City.
George C. Sikes, Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.
Charles A. Conant, Morton Trust Company, New York City.
V. Everit Macy, Capitalist, New York City.
Marcus M. Marks, Manufacturer, New York City.
Slason Thompson, Railway Managers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
James F. Jackson, Chairman Massachusetts Board of Railway Commissioners, Boston, Mass.
F. E. Barker, Chairman Massachusetts Board of Gas Commissioners, Boston, Mass.
H. B. F. Macfarland, President Board of Commissioners District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
William Wirt Howe, former President American Bar Association, New Orleans, La.
Clark Howell, Editor *Constitution*, Atlanta, Ga.
George H. Harries, Vice President Washington Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.
J. W. Bramwood, Editor *Typographical Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.
Homer D. Call, Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Butchers' Association, Syracuse, N. Y.
Amos K. Fiske, Editor *New York Journal of Commerce*, New York City.
Charles S. Gleed, Attorney at Law, Topeka, Kan.
John Green, Editor *Broadstreet's Journal*, New York City.
S. W. Meek, the *Cleveland Leader*, Cleveland, Ohio.
Bradford Merrill, Editor *New York World*, New York City.
James H. McGraw, President McGraw Publishing Company, New York City.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
William F. White, Vice-President North American Company, New York.
J. W. Sullivan, Editor *Clothing Trades' Bulletin*.
William H. Brown, Secretary Civic Federation of Chicago.
Roland Phillips, Editor *Harper's Weekly*, New York City.
C. A. Rook, President Dispatch Publishing Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Angus Sinclair, Editor *Locomotive Engineering*, New York City.
Clarke B. Firestone, Editorial Staff *Evening Mail*, New York City.
Henry C. Watson, Editor *Dun's Review*, New York City.
James P. Archibald, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, New York City.
John A. Schleicher, Editor *Leslie's Weekly*, New York City.
Charles Kirchhoff, Editor *The Iron Age*, New York City.
Edgar H. Van Euen, Vice President New York Central Railroad Company, Boston, Mass.
Thomas F. Woodlock, Editor *Wall Street Journal*, New York City.
O. R. Young, General Manager *International Steam Engineer*, New York City.

Up to date, acceptances of their appointment have been received from nearly all of the above list. Each has been requested to indicate the most convenient time for him to attend the first meeting, between September 15 and October 15.

It is not expected that the entire Commission can devote its time to such an investigation; but it is believed that subcommittees can be appointed which, with experts, will examine the various phases of the general subject and report their findings to the full Commission. It is hoped that such a subcommittee of nine will make a three months' investigation of conditions in European cities.



JOHN N. BOGART.

room as a social center for the local labor leaders and as a rendezvous for visiting representatives of unions, and holds meetings to discuss economic subjects.

An illustration of the activity of this club is found in its recent decision that there should be a revival of interest in Labor Day, which was first made a legal holiday in New York State, and that its observance, in addition to a pleasurable picnic, should include some consideration of the higher purposes of this

annual celebration of organized labor. The club voted to have a dinner on the evening of Labor Day, with appropriate addresses. A committee of arrangements was appointed, composed of William F. Long, of the lithographers; Morris Carmody, hatters; Francis J. McKay, boilermakers; Jesse Larimer, housesmiths and bridgebuilders, and Captain William Bruer, of the Sandy Hook pilots. The committee met immediately and determined that it should be a dollar dinner, and that two hundred of the representative New York labor leaders should be brought together around the banquet tables.

Many of the veteran members of the club were delegates to the old Central Labor Union when, twenty-two years ago, the resolution was adopted declaring (three years before there was any law on the subject) that "the first Monday in September of each year shall be designated and recognized by the workmen of New York City as a holiday, and be called Labor Day."

The club comprises in its membership Samuel Gompers, President, and Thomas I. Kidd, Vice-President, of the American Federation of Labor; William D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street

and Electric Railway Employees; George Preston, General Secretary International Association of Machinists; James Wilson, President International Patternmakers' League; John S. Henry, General Secretary International Wood Carvers' Union; William H. Frazier, General Secretary International Seamen's Union; John J. Pallas, President New York State Workmen's Federation; James P. Archibald, ex-President Central Federated Union; Herman Robinson, Secretary Central Federated Union, and fifty of the leading business agents and other officers of New York unions.

Its officers are: President, John N. Bogart, organizer American Federation of Labor; Vice-President, Edward A. Moffett, editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*; Recording Secretary, John B. McNerney, International Secretary, Patternmakers' League; Financial Secretary, Frank A. Corbett, business agent Job Press Feeders' Union; Treasurer, Eugene A. Johnson, delegate Musicians' Union, 310.

A SOCIALIST ATTACK CRUSHED.

The Boston Central Labor Union Welcomes the New England Civic Federation, and the Cigar Makers Honor Its Officers.

Organized labor in Boston, through its highest and most authoritative body, the Central Labor Union, has expressed cordial approval of the formation of the Civic Federation of New England, and the earnest sympathy of the trade union movement with its plans for pro-



JOHN B. MCNERNEY.

moting industrial peace. Simultaneously, organized labor has discovered and repudiated a temporary victory of the Socialists in the local branch of the Cigarmakers' Union. It was, in fact, the temporary success of the Socialists in passing resolutions, in a meeting of the cigarmakers' local, when they were momentarily in the majority, that led to the subsequent enthusiastic commendation of the Civic Federation by the Central Labor Union, and virtual repudiation of the resolutions by the cigarmakers themselves.

The first general meeting of the Civic Federation of New England, held in the Quincy House on April 26, was devoted to the advocacy of trade agreements. The trade agreement is a method of attaining pacific progress in industry that is most abhorrent to Socialists. Among those who attended that meeting were Frank H. McCarthy and Henry Abrahams, respectively First Vice-President and Recording Secretary of the New England Civic Federation. Mr. McCarthy was also a former President of the Central Labor Union, of which Mr. Abrahams is Recording Secretary. Both are members of the Cigarmakers' Union, No. 97, of Boston.

At a meeting of that union, on May 12, when there was but a slim attendance, the Socialists carried the following resolutions by a vote of 147 to 105:

Whereas, The daily press of April 27 printed the names of several of our members as being present at a banquet given by the Civic Federation, and

Whereas, The printing of such names as members of the Cigarmakers' Union would lead the public to believe that they were present at that banquet as representatives of Cigarmakers' Union No. 97, and

Whereas, The Civic Federation, an organization founded for the purpose of continuing capitalistic control in the industrial world by keeping the workers unorganized and offering their services during times of strife to betray them, as, for example, the Boston Teamsters' strike, and

Whereas, The president of the Civic Federation stands for the scab shop as against the union shop, and who, by his actions as president of the Interborough R. R. demonstrates that he bitterly opposes the efforts of the trades union, he it

Resolved, That we, in meeting assembled, do not allow any

(Concluded on page 4.)

CHIEF JUSTICE PARKER ON LEGAL RIGHTS OF UNIONS.

A DECISION BY THE HIGHEST COURT OF NEW YORK THAT OFFSETS A MUCH-QUOTED DECISION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

UNFRIENDLY critics of organized labor, in the daily press and in periodicals, have been making much ado over a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in the case of *Berry versus Donovan*. This decision was, in brief, to the effect that a labor union commits an illegal act when it causes the discharge of any worker for the reason that he is not a member of the union. The decision even held that such action was not justified by the fact that the employer had previously agreed with the union to employ its members exclusively.

The facts leading up to this decision are that a non-union shoemaker sued an officer of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union for procuring his discharge from employment. This discharge was enforced under a contract between the union and a firm, the firm voluntarily agreeing to employ only members of the union and not to maintain in its service any non-members. The Supreme Court held that the contract between the union and the firm (whose legality was not before the Court) did not justify the union officer's demand for the plaintiff's discharge, and that the latter was entitled to damages.

This decision is cited extensively in connection with a recent decision by the Supreme Court of Illinois, to the effect that members of a labor union could not legally compel, by threats, a contract for the exclusive employment of fellow-members. This opinion incidentally advanced the dictum that the closed shop contract is "illegal and criminal." That dictum was, however, no part of the decision, as that question was not before the Court.

The effort is made to create an impression in the public mind that these decisions, rendered by the highest Courts in Massachusetts and Illinois, go far to establish first, that a union commits an illegal act in causing the discharge of non-union men by a strike, or by a threat to strike; and second, that the closed shop contract is a violation of law. The fact is ignored that the Massachusetts decision, even though of the highest Court in that State, is directly controverted by the highest Court in New York, the Court of Appeals, in the decision rendered by Chief Justice Alton B. Parker, in the case of the *National Protective Association versus Cumming*. The fact is also ignored that the Supreme Court of Illinois sustains the decision of the lower court in the case of *Christensen versus People*, upon grounds wholly aside from the legality of the closed shop contract, which, as stated above, is no way involved in this decision.

It is pertinent, therefore, to recall the decision rendered in 1902 by Chief Justice Parker: for that decision, by the highest Court of New York, should in fairness be held before the public eye as conspicuously as the contradictory decision by a court of only corresponding rank.

Indeed, this New York decision goes even further in upholding the right of a union to demand, and to take measures not in themselves illegal to compel, the exclusive employment of their members than does the Massachusetts decision in denying that right. The official report of Chief Justice Parker's decision (New York, 170) thus summarizes its scope and significance:

A labor union may refuse to permit its members to work with fellow servants who are members of a rival organization, may notify the employer to that effect and that a strike will be ordered unless such servants are discharged, where its action is based upon a proper motive, such as a purpose to secure only the employment of efficient and approved workmen, or to secure an exclusive preference of employment to its members on their own terms and conditions, provided that no force is employed and no unlawful act is committed. If, under such circumstances, the employees objected to are discharged, neither they nor the organization of which they are members have a right of action against the union or its members.

The history of the case culminating in this decision is brief. Charles McQueed, being refused admission into a union entitled the Enterprise Association of Steam Fitters, organized another union, which was incorporated as the National Protective Association of Steam Fitters and Helpers. Delegates of the older union, among them Cumming, ordered strikes wherever the members of the National Protective Association were employed, resulting in the discharge of the latter. McQueed procured an injunction against the Enterprise Association, which appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The Judges there vacated the injunction. The Protective Association thereupon carried the case to the Court of Appeals, which sustained the Appellate Division.

In giving the opinion of the Court, Chief Justice Parker recognizes "the right of one man to refuse to work for another on any ground that he may regard as sufficient, and the employer has no right to demand a reason for it," and continues:

But there is, I take it, no legal objection to the employee giving a reason, if he has one, and the fact that the reason given is, that he refused to work with another who is not a member of his organization, whether stated to the employer or not, does not affect his right to stop work, nor does it give a cause of action to the workman to whom he objects because the employer sees fit to discharge the man objected to rather than lose the services of the objector.

The same rule applies to a body of men who, having organized for purposes deemed beneficial to themselves, refuse to work. Their reasons may seem inadequate to others, but if it seems to be in their interest, as members of an organization, to refuse longer to work, it is their legal right to stop. The reason may no more be demanded as a right of the organization than of an individual, but if they elect to state the reason, their right to stop work is not cut off because the reason seems inadequate or selfish to the employer or to organized society. And if the conduct of the members of an organization is legal



ALTON B. PARKER,
Former Chief Justice N. Y. Court of Appeals.

in itself it does not become illegal because the organization directs one of its members to state the reason for its conduct.

Some things may be treated as the subject of a grievance, namely, the desire to obtain higher wages, shorter hours of labor, or improved relations with their employers, but this enumeration does not, I take it, purport to cover all the grounds which will lawfully justify members of an organization refusing, in a body and by prearrangement, to work. The enumeration is illustrative rather than comprehensive, for the object of such an organization is to benefit all its members and it is their right to strike, if need be, in order to secure any lawful benefit to the several members of the organization. as, for instance, to secure the re-employment of a member they regard as having been improperly discharged, and to secure from an employer of a number of them employment for other members of their organization who may be out of employment, although the effect will be to cause the discharge of other employees who are not members.

And whenever the Court can see that a refusal of members of an organization to work with non-members may be in the interest of the several members, it will not assume, in the absence of a finding to the contrary, that the object of such refusal was solely to gratify malice and to inflict injury upon such non-members.

Justice Parker made an important point in his decision regarding the influence upon safety of life of a trade union requiring a system of examination and a certificate of qualification for work. He argued "So long as the law compels the employee to bear the burden of the injury" due to the "negligent acts of a reckless coemployee . . . it is clearly within the right of an organization to provide such a method of examination and such tests as will secure a careful and competent membership, and to insist that protection of life and limb requires that they shall not be compelled to work with men whom they have not

seen fit to admit into their organization, as happened in the case of the plaintiff." Upon this point Justice Parker further said:

I know it is said in another opinion in this case that "workmen can not dictate to employers how they shall carry on their business, nor whom they shall or shall not employ;" but I dissent absolutely from that proposition, and assert that, so long as workmen must assume all the risk of injury that may come to them through the carelessness of co-employees, they have the moral and legal right to say that they will not work with certain men, and the employer must accept their dictation or go without their services.

Entirely aside from this question of safety of life, the decision entered into the question of motive. Justice Parker said that he does not assent to the following proposition, laid down in the earlier case of *Bowen versus Matheson*:

If an organization strikes to help its members, the strike is lawful. If its purpose be merely to injure non-members, it is unlawful. If the organization notifies the employer that its members will not work with non-members, and its real object is to benefit the organization and secure employment for its members, it is lawful. If its sole purpose is to prevent non-members working, then it is unlawful.

The following is the most sweeping portion of Justice Parker's decision:

The defendant associations, as appears from the finding quoted, wanted to put their men in the place of certain men at work who were non-members working for smaller pay, and they set about doing it in a perfectly lawful way. They determined that if it were necessary they would bear the burden and expense of a strike to accomplish the result, and in so determining they were clearly within their rights, as all agree. They could have gone upon a strike without offering any explanation until the contractors should have come in distress to the officers of the associations asking the reason for the strike. Then, after explanations, the non-members would have been discharged and the men of defendant associations sent back to work. Instead of taking that course, they chose to inform the contractors of their determination and the reason for it.

It is the giving of this information, a simple notification of their determination, which it was right and proper and reasonable to give, that has been characterized as "threats" by the Special Term, and which has led to no inconsiderable amount of misunderstanding since. But the sense in which the word was employed by the Court is of no consequence, for the defendant associations had the absolute right to threaten to do that which they had the right to do. Having the right to insist that plaintiff's men be discharged and defendant's men put in their place if the services of the other members of the organization were to be retained, they also had the right to threaten that none of their men would stay unless their members could have all the work there was to do.

A SOCIALIST ATTACK CRUSHED.

(Concluded from page 3.)

of our members to attend as members of Union 97, any meeting that is held under the auspices of the Civic Federation, and be it further

Resolved, That we consider the Civic Federation unworthy of our support and to be condemned by Organized Labor.

In adopting this resolution, the Socialists ignored a letter from the Teamsters' Union of Boston, denying that the Civic Federation had "betrayed" them in their strike.

The same local union of cigarmakers held an election of officers on June 13. Mr. Abrahams was a candidate for Recording Secretary and Mr. McCarthy for delegate to the Central Labor Union. Elated by their success in smuggling through the above resolution, the Socialists announced that they would defeat both these men. But the effort failed, both being elected by substantial majorities. The total vote of over 1,600 for officers indicates how slender was the attendance at the meeting which adopted the hostile resolutions, and demonstrates that the Socialists are, in fact, in a minority in the cigarmakers' local. Its action in honoring the two men whom the Socialists opposed, because of their official connection with the Civic Federation, was, in effect, a repudiation of the resolutions of May 12.

The Boston Central Labor Union, however, went still further, and on May 21 adopted the following:

Resolved, That the Boston Central Labor Union expresses its approval of the establishment of a branch of the Civic Federation in Boston, believing that the basic principles underlying the conduct of that organization merit the cordial endorsement and hearty cooperation of men and women identified with the American Trade Union movement.

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Boston Central Labor Union, in regular meeting assembled, express on behalf of the organized trade union movement of Greater Boston profound appreciation of a movement based upon a full, free understanding of controversies between employer and employee, whose efforts toward substituting mediation, conciliation, and arbitration for the drastic weapons of strike, lockout, and boycott should receive the fullest commendation of American wage earners.

In commenting upon this action of the Central Labor Union, its President, Peter W. Collins, wrote to Hayes Robbins, the Secretary of the New England Civic Federation: "Only those who were in attendance at our meeting can appreciate the sincerity of the Central Labor Union. The hearty cooperation it intends to accord the Civic Federation was very strongly and unanimously expressed, not only by the resolution of confidence, but by the very hearty approval of the sentiments it contained by the rank and file of labor."

BOTH SIDES WOULD AVERT A GREAT COAL STRIKE.

A. COAL DEALERS' PANIC EFFECTUALLY QUELLED BY THE STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENTS
DAVID WILLCOX AND JOHN MITCHELL.

THE speaking tour of John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania has been accompanied by a series of sensational rumors and reports that another coal strike, involving both the anthracite and bituminous fields, was imminent. The sources and the terms of these reports were suggestive of a deliberate effort on the part of some large dealers in coal to scare the consuming public into heavy and general buying, in anticipation of a famine. These tales dwelt with particular emphasis upon the threatened peril of a great coal strike this fall; whereas it is a well known fact that the miners, both bituminous and anthracite, are working under trade agreements which have withstood every strain, and will not expire until March 31, 1906.

That no such present danger exists, and that there is on both sides an absence of desire for a conflict when the bituminous and anthracite agreements expire simultaneously for the first time in their history, is shown by the utterances both of one of the largest anthracite employers and of Mr. Mitchell, speaking on behalf of his union. The employer is David Willcox.



DAVID WILLCOX,
President Delaware & Hudson R.R.

President of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company, who contributes to the August issue of the *North American Review* an article entitled "Present Conditions in the Anthracite Coal Industry."

President Willcox thus summarizes his own article (the emphasized type is our own):

"The existing conditions have, therefore, all been the result of arbitration in which both parties were represented. They have secured to the employees a rate of wages which the Commission held to be proper when the 'prepared' or domestic size of coal sell at \$4.50 per ton with an advance as the price increases, and have also provided machinery by which all grievances have been adjusted and which will be equally available for that purpose in the future.

"The employers have no desire to disturb these results, which have been so painfully and expensively reached by Arbitration, and are perfectly willing to continue the present arrangements indefinitely. There is no association of the employers generally, such as is attempted in the case of the employees; indeed, either one would probably incur the charge of illegality under the anti-trust acts. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts has just held that an attempt to exclude non-members of a union from employment violates the prohibitions of monopoly, and other courts have made similar rulings. As already pointed out, everything suggested as the subject of a general contract between the employers and employees has been secured by the award. Therefore, no contract with the union is necessary for the protection of the employees; the Commission held that nothing of the sort would be admissible save on conditions which the union has failed to carry out, and any such arrangement would tend to defeat the award of the Commission and the decisions of the courts establishing the principle that employment must be open to all irrespective of membership of trade unions or otherwise.

"It is, indeed, grotesque to call such arrangements contracts, for, as Mr. Mitchell says in his work on *Organized Labor* (p. 227), 'the union no more guarantees that any particular man will work than the em-

ployer guarantees that work will be provided for any particular man.' Manifestly, there can be no contract where nobody is bound to anything. The illogical and illegal scheme of having all the labor organized in a great industry controlled by one organization and compelling all the employers to enter into contracts with that organization, rather than with their own employees, is rapidly passing away, and agreements of employment are fast reverting to their natural form of arrangements between the parties concerned.

"It may be added that the anthracite coal industry has been under investigation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, unhampered by the rules of evidence (194 U. S., 25) for two years and a half, without result. Although no formal decision has yet been made by the Interstate Commerce Commission, it is not too much to say that the manifold charges which have been made with such resonance and iteration for so many years past against those engaged in the industry have collapsed under investigation.

"The present state of the industry is, therefore, exceptional. All the existing conditions have been settled by arbitration, to which the employees were parties, and the machinery has been successfully provided through the Conciliation Board for adjusting any future questions. The methods of transacting business have been fully investigated and have not been found objectionable in any respect. What possible ground can exist for disturbing this situation and subjecting the country to the hazard of another anthracite strike?"

President Mitchell, in an interview at Scranton, was thus reported in a dispatch to the *New York Herald* of July 31:

"I believe some apprehension was caused by a report originating in Pittsburg that I had sent T. L. Lewis, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers, to arrange with the officers for a general strike which was supposed to offset a lockout on the part of the anthracite operators. The strike was alleged to involve the bituminous and anthracite miners, and to be effective in a month or two.

"There was no truth whatever in that statement. Mr. Lewis was in Pittsburg on other business. All the bituminous miners in Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Western and Central Pennsylvania and some other points have agreements with the operators' association until April 1, when the award of the Anthracite Coal Commission expires. It is only natural that when so many men are released from contract obligations the public would feel some anxiety. And regardless of the fact that both operators and miners may be, and I believe are, desirous of renewing these contracts as they are now, or modifying them as the conditions of the coal trade may warrant, there is, of course, an element of danger that they may not agree. There is the same risk in our affairs that there might be in any other.

"But the attitude of our organization is simply this: We want to be in a position to make a contract that will be as advantageous to our people as possible. Personally I am satisfied that we will be able to negotiate another contract in the bituminous district, which will insure a continuance of the relations now existing between operators and miners in that field, and I am hopeful of like results in the anthracite region. I am sure that whatever differences may exist between the anthracite operators and the mine workers can be readily adjusted if the two interests will make any efforts to come together in a spirit of fairness."

Mr. Mitchell spoke as if he had no doubt whatever of such a result.

"I feel," he continued with deliberation, "that the last strike of 1902 was a lesson not soon to be forgotten by miners or operators. It is, of course, natural that the miners and operators of the anthracite districts should make such preparations as are necessary to defend themselves against any emergency that may arise next spring. Both miners and operators are doing this, the former by organizing their men, the latter by stocking coal. But these preparations do not necessarily mean there is any danger of a conflict. They are the precautions of prudent men. In our case the indications are that every miner in the anthracite field will be in the organization by April 1. They are joining now in thousands.

THE ANTHRACITE SITUATION.

(Editorial in *Wall Street Journal*, August 4.)

Referring to the article in the current number of the *North American Review* on the anthracite coal situation, written by Mr. Willcox, President of the Delaware & Hudson Company, the *Sun* points out

that Mr. Willcox on behalf of the coal operators considers the present agreement with the miners entirely satisfactory, and is willing to have it continued. Mr. Willcox says:

"The employers have no desire to disturb these results, which have been so painfully and expensively reached by arbitration, and are perfectly willing to continue the present arrangements indefinitely."

The *Sun* thinks that Mr. Willcox undoubtedly speaks with authority, and that it is impossible to believe that he would speak in this fashion if the operators contemplated any steps in the direction of changing the present position to the disadvantage of the miners. It professes to see, in the steps taken by Mr. Mitchell to strengthen the union, evidence that the miners intend to fight for something better than present conditions. It is unable to account for the activity of the union on the theory of self-defense merely because, as it says, "where no attack is contemplated no defense is necessary."

This strikes us as ridiculous. What would the *Sun*



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers of America.

say if the government of the United States, placing in evidence the declarations periodically made by representatives of foreign countries, that the one thing that foreign countries desired at all times was peace with the United States, were then to announce that as foreign countries contemplated no attack upon the United States, no defensive measures were necessary? We can imagine the screech with which our neighbor would greet a message from the President proposing to abolish the navy and dismantle the coast defenses. Yet it is precisely this that it expects of Mr. Mitchell as the head of the Miners' Union. It proposes that, on Mr. Willcox's statement that the operators are satisfied with present conditions, Mr. Mitchell should at once abandon his efforts to strengthen his union.

If we mistake not our neighbor is a firm believer in the advice to "speak softly, but carry a big stick." Can any one blame Mr. Mitchell for doing the best he knows how to maintain a strong union of mine workers in the anthracite regions? Does any one suppose that present wages and conditions would rule in the anthracite region if there had been no union? If there were no union in the anthracite regions to-day, how long would present conditions last? We believe that there can be but one answer to these questions. Admitting that the union has been directly responsible for many infamous outrages, and regretting that unionism in general can not divest itself of direct responsibility and therefore guilt in this respect, we must, nevertheless, take things as we find them. And facts being facts, Mr. Mitchell is perfectly warranted in preparing for war so as to assure peace.

If the operators desire to enlist the public on their side of the case at the start, they can do so by formally and officially notifying everybody that they are willing to extend the present agreement in the regions. The public will then want to know from Mr. Mitchell where he stands, and why he stands there. But meanwhile no fair-minded man can find fault with Mr. Mitchell for looking after the fences of his organization.

TRADE AGREEMENTS FORMED IN FOUR GREAT INDUSTRIES.

TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF THE SUCCESS AND INCREASE OF COLLECTIVE CONTRACTS BETWEEN LARGE EMPLOYERS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

THREE important national trade agreements, tending to secure harmonious relations between labor and capital in the great industries of iron and steel, inland water transportation, and iron molding, have recently been formed. These agreements are of importance even wider than these industries, since they affect favorably, because of their interwoven relations, many other spheres of production, and have a direct tendency to ensure stable conditions in every branch of trade. In addition to these, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, which has refused to recognize organized labor since its bitter and noted strike in 1886, has resumed the policy of conference and collective contracts with its employees.

IRON, STEEL AND TIN.

The assurance of peace in the iron and steel industry during the coming year, accompanied by the abandonment of the restriction of output by the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, is the highly important result of conferences in June and July between delegates of the organized wage earners



HENRY PHIPPS,
Director U. S. Steel Corporation.

and representatives of two of the largest employing corporations in the country. These are the Republic Iron and Steel Company, with which an agreement was reached at Detroit on June 9, and with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, which was signed at Pittsburg on July 3. Among those active in the negotiations on the part of the Amalgamated Association were its President, Theodore J. Shaffer, its President-elect, P. J. McArdle, and its Secretary and Treasurer, John Williams. The Republic Iron and Steel Company presented its terms through its President, Alexis W. Thompson, and its Vice-President, Archibald W. Houston; while on behalf of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, the scales were signed by its President, John A. Topping, and its First Vice-President, C. W. Bray. The new scale fixes eight hours as a day's work in finishing mills working three turns, which is to be done wherever practicable; and eight hours are to be a day's work in tin and black plate mills.

The Amalgamated Association also made the important concession that the rebate on tin plate for export, after August 1, 1905, shall be changed, should business conditions demand, from the present rate of 1½ per cent. to 3 per cent.

This is a concession involving such an intimate knowledge of trade conditions that the arrival at an equitable conclusion could result only from their frank and full discussion between representatives of the employing corporation and of the workers. In this case, organized wage-earners have agreed to reduce the labor cost of a product so that it could be sold as cheaply as by a foreign competitor. This product, tin plate, is bought in large quantities by the Standard Oil Company, for making cases in which oil is shipped abroad. Before the rebate in wages was granted, the American company was unable to compete with the tin plate makers of Wales. This concession was made originally only after months of investigation by the Amalgamated Association, which decided that this re-

bate should come out of the wages, not of the workers in tin sheet mills alone, but should be distributed among all members of the union, and be paid out of its national treasury.

In general terms, the wage scale of 1904-05 were adopted for the coming year in the agreement with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company. The importance of this agreement is enhanced by the fact that its terms were immediately adopted by practically all of the independent employers.

In the agreement with the Republic Company, the workers secured a restoration for boiling iron of the scale of 1903-4, which the *Amalgamated Journal*, the official organ of the Amalgamated Association, says "is generally regarded as being the best scale that the boilers ever worked under." The muck scale was advanced at the same rate, and there were other minor advances. Of this agreement, the *Amalgamated Journal* says:

The Republic company and the Amalgamated Association can well afford to give their respective representatives a vote of thanks for bringing to pass such an honorable and amicable settlement. It will undoubtedly result in knitting the company and the Association closer together, making each more willing to make concessions when conditions and circumstances demand.

It will be remembered that a symposium upon the Shorter Work Day, published in *THE REVIEW* for September, 1904, contained the opinions of a large number of representative wage-earners and editors of labor papers upon the advisability of granting certain concessions in return for fewer hours of work, among them being the removal of restrictions of output. At least a dozen of the writers in that symposium denied that such restrictions existed in their crafts, and declared that it is the sincere policy of unionism to place no limit upon the amount to be produced by any worker in a given time. But nearly a score of writers, admitting that restrictions do exist, declared that they should be removed for economic reasons. They pronounced restriction short-sighted, because increased productivity is essential to higher wages.

Still others, while agreeing with this general economic proposition, defended restriction of output in certain callings, as a protection to labor against excessive strain caused by "pace-makers," or against physical conditions of unusual hardship, or as an insurance of greater safety in construction upon whose soundness or stability human life depends, such as bridges, buildings, and ships.

The Amalgamated Association is a union that has hitherto been one of the conspicuous adherents to the restriction of output, on the ground that the labor in the manufacture of iron and steel is especially severe, and that, unless some limit were agreed upon, physical exhaustion and injury would result. The operation of the new plan in this industry will be observed with interest, both as to its results in the labor cost of production and in the welfare of the workers.

The *Amalgamated Journal* says:

The new scale was negotiated under the most trying circumstances. The American Sheet and Tin Plate Company had determined upon certain departures from past conditions. The conferees representing the Association put up a strong fight against the Company's proposition, and it is safe to say that if arguments could have won the convention scale, it would have been accepted by the officials of the company. The conference committee deserves only praise from the rank and file for the strenuous fight they put up for the convention scale, and it was only when it became apparent that the officials of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company were set in their purpose of acquiring the changes set forth in their proposition, and had been fortifying their position to press their claims to the point of operating their plants non-union, did the Association's conferees yield in as graceful a manner as possible. Circumstances were against declaring a strike at this time to sustain the convention's demand.

The *Labor World* of Pittsburg says of the agreement:

The very fact that a union agreement has been made is a matter of great public moment and is of the utmost importance to trade unionists all over the country. It will tend more than anything else to aid in the re-strengthening of the A. A., and this is something that is of infinite worth to the Amalgamated Association and to all organized labor.

Probably the most important feature of the new agreement between the A. A. and the American Company is the abolition of the limitation of the output rule. This is not only a step in the right direction, but goes toward removing one of the most damaging objections to so-called trade union policy. This limitation of output rule has for years been a blemish on the economic wisdom of the association. It has afforded argument, and powerful argument, to the bitterest foes of trade unionism. It has always, in view of the fact of a limitation of hours of work, been utterly devoid of the support of logic and argument. It has caused immeasurable trouble, and has, in fact, almost brought the association itself to complete destruction. It will require years for the A. A. to redeem the injury that the folly of this rule has imposed upon it.

Now that this limitation of output rule has been obliterated, do not let us overlook the fact that it is due to President Shaffer more than to anyone else that the absurd condition has been discarded. He has valiantly and ably opposed the rule within the ranks of the association. While he could have made his advocacy more public, and thus more forcible, he has yet preached an unpopular proposition with vigor among his fellows.

For years it has been a decidedly unpopular work among the rank and file of the organization to oppose this limitation of output rule. At the recent annual convention of the A. A. the continuance of the rule was upheld by a large majority, and even in face of the opposition to it of President Shaffer. So that let the retiring president have all of the credit due him for the disappearance of an exceedingly mischievous and highly unsound rule.

The *National Labor Tribune*, also of Pittsburg, another labor journal, takes a somewhat different view of the industrial result of the removal of restriction:

The agreement reached between the A. A. conference committee and the representatives of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company in this city on Monday, is one of the most momentous in the history of the Amalgamated Association. This is not only because it averts a strike, but because of the terms of the agreement itself, which provides for the abolition of the limit on output. There has been no article in the constitution of the Amalgamated Association that has been more stubbornly adhered to than this one. The refusal to remove the limitation has resulted in numerous lockouts of late years. It has probably lost the association a number of the mills controlled by the combine, and it looked very much as if a continued adherence to the limitation would provoke an early fight with some of the largest independent manufacturers, who claimed that they could no longer afford to stick to the association scale on this account. There has undoubtedly been a powerful combination of circumstances pressing the association to recede from its former position.



THEODORE J. SHAFFER,
President Amal. Asso. Steel & Tin Workers.

While for some time foreshadowed, therefore, the removal of the limitation is still somewhat of a surprise. Its ultimate consequences are hard to foresee. It is, of course, a material advantage to the manufacturer. It means that the men in the mills will be subjected to a greater strain than ever, and the man who cannot do a yeoman's work will not long survive the increased severity of the struggle. There will probably be a very considerable increase of production at once, and we think it reasonable to suppose that in the end the workers will be doing a great deal more for a good deal less pay. Naturally, too, the increased average output per man will decrease proportionately the number of men for whom there is employment.

It is the old story of machinery replacing labor over again, and it is not necessary to follow the matter further here. We are told that the machinery which displaces labor always requires more labor than it displaces. This seems paradoxical, but let us hope it will prove true in the present case.

GREAT LAKES SHIPPING INDUSTRIES.

This year has witnessed a renewal of the annual agreement between the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and the Dock Managers at Lake Erie ports. This has proved one of the most successful of trade agreements in the United States, in preventing strikes and lockouts, while it is one of the most far-reaching in its pacific effects. The Longshoremen's Association, of which Daniel J. Keefe is President, covers more territory than any other labor organization in the world, extending throughout the inland commerce of Canada and the United States and into the ports of two oceans, the Gulf of Mexico and Central America; while it maintains fraternal relations with corresponding organizations in Great Britain and Europe. It was organized by Mr. Keefe in 1882, and its wage-scales have been advanced an average of 60 per cent. since 1895. Its agreement with the Lake Erie dock managers covers thirty-nine divisions of trade, but its essential provisions are uniform.

This agreement is reached at an annual conference between representatives of the union and of the organized employers. The delegates from both sides to this conference are vested with full power, so that no

confirmation of their conclusions is required. A marked characteristic of this conference is that the various subjects to be included in the agreement are previously referred to committees of the union. Before these committees, union men present the employers' side of the case. By this method, the union conferees, when they meet the representatives of the employers, are prepared to discuss every article of the proposed contract, both from their own and the employers' point of view. This preliminary process conduces greatly to the dignity and harmony of the annual conference. Every demand advanced by either side has been thoroughly discussed in advance; and the labor delegates are not likely to present demands to the employers whose justice they have not been able to prove before a committee of their fellow-craftsmen. In the conference, each article of the contract is first adopted by a majority vote and then confirmed by a unanimous vote. In this way the will of the majority is made binding upon all. Any subject not covered by the agreement, and any dispute as to its interpretation is subject to arbitration, and work must continue pending the decision, which both sides are pledged to accept. The principal contract and the local contracts formed in accordance with its provisions are neatly printed in compact form, and every worker is furnished with a copy, so that he may refer at any moment to its exact language.

This conference is also noteworthy for its yearly emphasis of the inviolability of the contract. The Longshoremen's Association is often cited by employers as one of the best examples of the responsibility of unions for keeping contracts. Any local union violating its contract is subject to expulsion. Not only has



H. COULBY,
Chairman Lake Carriers' Association.

this penalty been rigidly enforced, but in the case of one recalcitrant union, the Longshoremen's Association, being unable to furnish all the union labor required, sent non-union men to fill the places of the men who had been expelled for striking in violation of the agreement.

One article provides for cases of unusual work in these words:

It is understood that occasionally when any unusual work arises in isolated cases not covered by this agreement, the men, when called upon, shall perform such labor; and the compensation therefor shall be determined and adjusted between the representatives of the local organizations and the dock managers or owners, and in event of any disagreement shall be arbitrated.

The joint conference this year adopted a resolution declaring that the principle covered in this article is:

That any and all contracts made between the local manager and the men directly involved shall be held inviolate for all work not specifically covered in exhibits attached to and made part of this contract, and

That any one trying to break such agreement or in any way interfering with its performance, shall be barred as a representative, and shall not be permitted to work under this contract, and in all cases work shall not be interrupted on any account.

Resolutions were also adopted requiring all grievances or suggested changes in the contract to be submitted to the chairman of the dock managers and the president of the union prior to the next conference; and that any future addition to the contract must receive the two-thirds vote of the delegates of the conference.

The agreement is for the navigation season of 1905, and also covers winter work from December 1, 1905, until May 1, 1906. Wage schedules are attached as part of the contract. All employees are to be members of the local organization whenever such men can be had who can perform the work. When such men can not be had, the dock managers have the right to secure any other men who can perform the work satisfactorily, until members of the union can be secured. No man shall be discharged without just cause, and any man discharged shall be notified of the cause.

If any controversies or grievances can not be settled by the local representatives of the union and employers, they shall be arbitrated by choosing a third disinterested man, the decision of any two to be final. "If the representative of the local organization and the representative of the dock managers or owners can not agree upon a third man, then each side shall choose a disinterested man—the two disinterested men thus chosen to choose a third disinterested man, and said three men shall constitute a board of arbitration, and the decision of a majority of said three shall be final, and all parties shall abide thereby." This board must meet within ten days after the difference arises.

No beer or intoxicating liquor shall be brought upon the property of the dock managers. No man under the influence of liquor shall be permitted upon their premises. No employee shall leave the dock during working hours without permission. Pure and fresh drinking water with oatmeal and ice shall be provided on the dock.

STOVE-MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

One of the most important of the national trade agreements, which has been ratified with one important modification for the coming year, is that between the Stove Founders' National Defense Association and the Iron Molders' Union of North America. The modification relates to the ratio of apprentices, which has long been a subject of debate between the organized employers and the union. This year, the representatives of the Molders' Union, in conference with a committee of the Founders' Association, agreed to a considerable increase in the ratio.

As its name indicates, the National Defense Association was formed to fight. That was twenty years ago. Since then, while still militant for the rights of its members, the association has demonstrated that the trade agreement, with its provisions for arbitration, is efficient in preventing strikes and lockouts, or in affording a method for adjusting troubles when they do occur.

In this industry, the organizations of both employers and wage-earners have shown a progressive appreciation of the inviolability of contracts. During the last year, for example, seventy-one disputes were adjusted through the method provided by the national agreement. In twelve of these cases, the molders and the mounters had struck, but in accordance with the terms of their agreements were obliged by their national officers to resume work before their grievances could be adjusted. In two cases, employers suspended operations, and they, also, were compelled by the officers of the National Defense Association to cease their lockouts while their complaints against their men were being adjusted under the terms of their agreements. All of the other cases were settled without even temporary resort to either strike or lockout. In the words of Chauncey H. Castle, President of the Founders' Association: "In all cases, the letter and spirit of the agreements have been carried out, so that peace and harmony have prevailed. This is because the local as well as the national officers of the unions have become more and more familiar with the objects of the agreements, and more and more impressed with the prime importance of their strict observance; while upon our side, we have admonished our members against resorting to the lockout in violation of the trade agreement."

Joseph F. Valentine, President of the Iron Molders' Union of North America, declares: "Our trade agreement proves every year a practicable and efficient method of promoting peace in our industry, through the adjustment of grievances, by conference between representatives of the organized employers and workers, and, when necessary, by arbitration."

To these two Presidents are first referred for settlement disputes as to subjects not covered in local agreements, when a majority of the molders in the foundry concerned are union men. In case the two Presidents can not agree, the dispute is referred to a permanent conference committee of six, composed of three members of each side, the decision of a majority to be binding.

A NEW RAILWAY AGREEMENT.

The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Company is a recent example of the conviction on the part of a large employing corporation that it is a sane and wise policy to enter into contractual relations with organized labor. Ever since the great strike on its system in 1886, this company had ignored the national brotherhood organizations of railway employees. But during six weeks, from the middle of June until the end of July, a board composed of representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen formulated their propositions and held a series of conferences in Chicago with officials of the Burlington corporation, which resulted in the signing of a schedule, covering wages and conditions of work for the ensuing year, satisfactory both to the corporation and the employees.

The *Chicago Chronicle*, a journal severely and usually adversely critical of organized labor, said in

its report of the successful conclusion of these conferences:

"So quietly did this organization of locomotive firemen attend to their business during this meeting that few guests of the hotel were aware of its presence. The members were in the halls, in the restaurants, and everywhere in the hotel, but neither by word nor act did they disclose their identity or the object of their mission.

"The impression this board made on those familiar with its work was that if labor unions and officials of corporations met in the same friendly spirit that actuated this body and the representatives of the company that the millennium in the labor world would be at hand, and that strikes and their attendant riots would be at an end.

"The board, after completing its schedule, met in conference for several days with the officials of the Burlington. The schedule was thoroughly discussed and the arguments were sometimes exciting, as might have been expected. However, it was clear sailing from the start when Mr. Daniel Willard, Second Vice-President of the Burlington system, said:

"I am not opposed to labor unions, and I was a member of one myself. I was a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers before any of you men were here. I am familiar with most of the questions that bring you here."

"This remark was followed, in an equally generous spirit, by N. C. Allen, chairman of the board, who said:

"We have been fair both to ourselves and to the company, and followed the policy of our organization along the line of conservatism. We think that, after due



DANIEL J. KEEFE,
President Longshoremen's Association.

deliberation, we have decided on rules that will be a benefit to the men and also to the company. It is the policy of our organization if we find men that will not look out for the interest of the company the same as if it were their own organization, we will not stand for them."

The Burlington at the various conferences was represented by Mr. Willard, Mr. Holdridge, Mr. Gruber, Mr. Clark, Mr. Torrey, Mr. Smith, Mr. Judson, Mr. Byron, Mr. Ross, and Mr. Nutt.

The protective board represented the 1,700 firemen who are employed on 9,000 miles of railroad, and whose compensation monthly runs from \$80 to \$140 each. The members of this board were:

N. C. Allen, Chairman; Norman Allen, J. Hannahan, Grand Master of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; Willie Hannahan Finley, J. S. Ford, secretary; Otto Schultz, vice-chairman; Maurice Larson, alternate, secretary and treasurer; W. K. Hess, F. O. Paulus, M. L. Houlihan, William McCormac, O. A. Brouse, W. S. Bixler, J. M. Barber, A. M. Deen, J. E. Cambronn, Howard Timmel, Frank Armstrong, C. W. Tillett, A. G. Cookingham, F. L. Bradley, Thomas J. O'Neill, R. V. Brown, Thomas Flocke, R. E. Tucker, C. W. Reissig.

The conferences ended with a display of good feeling between the officials of the Burlington company and the representatives of the Firemen's Brotherhood. The protective board adopted resolutions expressing its appreciation of "the invaluable services rendered by our worthy Grand Master, John J. Hannahan, in obtaining the best pay schedule west of Chicago." Mr. Hannahan is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation.

There can be no hope for winning untimely and irrational strikes. A just cause always meets a responsive public sentiment, without which no strike can be won, and for which an irrational strike can not appeal, and it is necessarily lost. Such was the Interborough strike. It was apparently an unnecessary and untimely strike, and did not appeal to the public. It was lost.—*Motorman and Conductor*.

ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS, OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, INSISTS UPON HUMANE CONDITIONS AND PROTESTS AGAINST EMPLOYING COOLIE LABOR.

THE President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, delivered an address recently before the Trades Union Social Club of New York, upon the relation of organized labor in the United States to the construction of the Isthmian Canal. This address was delivered upon the evening of the day of the sailing for the Isthmus of the two Welfare experts. This official adoption of Welfare Work by the United States Government received the hearty approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Gompers spoke as follows:
Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Trades Union Social Club:

You will understand the pleasure it is for me to be here and address you, especially on a subject of such importance as the one to consider which this meeting is held. It is not necessary to criticize the formal selection of the Panama route for the construction of the canal. I don't know that we would change the route even if we desired. I don't know that it is desirable, or, even if desirable, whether we can with advantage even discuss it. I think it is agreed, however, that the greatest difficulties in the construction of the canal will be met upon the Isthmus of Panama. Its climatic conditions, its geographical situation, the well-known diseases, the ills and the ailments, to which the men who go there are subject, are known to every one.

It is claimed that there is no obstacle so great that the American people can not cope with and eventually overcome it. And, in truth, there is a long line of achievements to the credit of our people. We might look to many of the tropical countries, some of which have come under the jurisdiction of our government, in which in former years and under the old régime diseases of this same character marked their victims by the thousands; and as soon as we have entered those regions, we have, if not entirely eliminated the germs of these great awful climatic diseases, reduced them almost to a minimum, and the possibilities for their future elimination seem promising, so that they may be as free from them or very nearly so as we are free from them in the main land of the United States.

The construction of the canal, all men are agreed, is essential to the world's great progress. That it will be an impetus to industry and commerce, bring peoples into accord who are now remote from each other and into closer proximity, by reason of being able to reach each other more readily; that it will be beneficial to the country's great commerce—to the carrying of the great commerce of the world more readily—is easily understood and accepted by all; that it will make for better opportunities and conditions and tend to the uplifting of the world, I think is also agreed. But in the building of the canal, great as its opportunities will be when completed, largely contributing toward the world's progress as it will, wonderful with its potentialities as it will be, there is one thing that must not be lost sight of. The coral reefs are very wonderful; but the millions and millions and millions of insect lives that have perished in making those reefs must not be repeated or duplicated in the loss; in the sacrifice of human lives in the building even of the interoceanic canal. There are some achievements that are too costly in human life even to be ventured.

The organized expression of the American people, our Federal Government, has undertaken this task. I am always glad of things that may be helpful. I believe to-day that in the great undertaking we must be careful in our adverse criticism, lest we overstep that which is fair, which may result in harm to our own integral life, and lay us open to the criticism of the peoples of other countries.

I think we are all agreed that in the industries of our time there are too many lives lost and too many limbs hazarded, and the health of too many of our people placed in jeopardy; and I think we also believe and hope and are confident that, as the workmen of our country and our time shall organize, and as we shall impress upon the minds of our fellow-citizens the necessity for more humane conditions under which labor shall be performed, there shall be greater precautions for the health and life and limbs of our fellow-workmen. We shall make greater progress upon these lines. That we have accomplished much, all of those who have studied, as well as those who have lived during the industrial progress and development of the organization of labor, will agree. But yet, one can almost count with a degree of accuracy the number of men who lose their limbs, whose health is undermined and even destroyed, who even lose their lives, by reason of our modern methods of industrial and commercial life. And we aim to improve the conditions of labor so that it shall not be so hazardous to either our lives or limbs or health.

We don't undertake to say that we shall stop industry because it involves the loss of life or of limb or of health even to as large a degree as it does now. We insist that there shall be better protection against machinery; that there shall be better sanitation; that there shall be better hygienic conditions; and shorter hours of labor, giving us liberty and more leisure and time for the recuperation of our health and of our strength; and that we shall have higher wages with which we may buy the things that contribute to our health and our strength, physical, mental, and moral.

I want to approach the subject of the Panama Canal and in its construction in the light of that thought that I have tried to express. We want the canal; we are agreed upon that. At this time, there is no choice as to the route. The Panama route has been chosen. We are committed to that. And as long as there is, I suppose, a fair chance for the prosecution of the work, though under adverse influences, there will be no change in the route. In Panama, and throughout that great miasmatic country through which this canal has to be dug, life is not congenial. The conditions



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

are not such as contribute to health and comfort; are not such, I imagine, as would allow one to regard it as a health resort. In the Convention of the American Federation of Labor two years ago, a resolution was passed, and I think unanimously, declaring that the construction of the canal is a great world's benefit; and then it was declared that the preference should be given to the laborers of America. Now, if we want the work, I take it that we shall be compelled to submit to some of the privations, some of the difficulties, and that we shall also enjoy some of the advantages and pleasures that come from organized society and civilized labor. No man has the right to assume to take employment on the Panama Canal and expect that every Sunday he can visit Coney Island. It won't do for our men who may take this work to expect to go to a roof garden in the evenings. The man who undertakes work of that sort must realize that for the work in which he is engaged he will have to make some sacrifices of what we in our civilized lives expect to enjoy as a recreation after our day's work is done. I don't want any one to imagine that I harbor in my mind the idea that the condition of the American workman is such that he enjoys invariably Coney Island and roof gardens and all that sort of thing; but I have tried to put it rather extravagantly, so as to emphasize my thought.

I want to repeat that the lives of our American workmen are too valuable to be sacrificed upon the scheme of building the canal, and, further, that the conditions of labor in and around the canal for the workmen must be such as to make life and the conditions of life at least tolerable, and that no man shall feel that he in his zeal for the world and for our civilization has made his life a burden and not worth living.

I have been in correspondence with a number of people employed near and on the canal. I want to be entirely frank with you and say that the date of the last letter which I received is more than two months ago, and of whatever change in conditions may have occurred between then and now, I can not speak. I

can only speak of the conditions up to date of the letter which I last received. I want to read that letter to you:

I read a florid interview with one of your labor union friends in which he told me of the arrival of the two Bates brothers in Chicago and of their coming to Panama. I believe that at the time he said that he would overrun the Isthmus with union men at salaries of \$190 and \$165 per month, with bonuses of \$1 per cubic yard for every yard over 125,000 per month which their shovels excavated.

If you want to have some facts in regard to the situation here, listen to the following: The union should not rush men down here with the idea that they are going to get high wages and an easy snap. Every man should have his contract hard and fast before he comes here.

In regard to the Bates brothers. The steam shovel engineer received \$190 and the crane man \$165 per month. There are only two other engineers and two other crane men receiving such salaries in the whole Isthmus. The six men are, outside the heads of departments, the highest salaried men in the employ of the Commission. In the Rocky Mountains, where they operate their shovels, they will be very lucky if they get out even 20,000 cubic yards per month.

The steam drill men who work with the shovels receive \$50 per month. The pit men receive \$75. A foreman of drillers receives \$75. A fireman on the steam shovel receives \$75. These salaries do not compare very favorably with the ones in the States.

There are other disadvantages. Board at Culebra, the station where the excavating is being done, is \$21 per month. Quarters are provided by the Commission in all except a few cases.

All except the professional men and officers work ten hours per day. Ten hours here means starting at 6 o'clock in the morning and keeping at it in the hot sun until 11.30. The afternoon hours are from 1 to 5.30. Salaries are but little better in the States, and the hours are hardly what can be called a union scale. In Panama and Colon the rates of board are even higher. The men are not provided with quarters, but are given an allowance of 8 per cent. of their salaries for that purpose, which is in all cases inadequate. Rents are increasing weekly.

An experienced machinist, blacksmith, boiler-maker, plumber, carpenter, mason or such, receives 45 cents per hour and works under the same conditions. He will not be given transportation to or from the States, and will be paid only for the time he works.

A general foreman, and there are not a half dozen on the Isthmus in these trades, gets \$150 per month. An ordinary foreman gets from \$83.33 to \$125, and an assistant foreman gets from \$50 to \$75 per month.

The above wages are paid in gold, and only to Americans. Subordinate employes are paid in silver, which is \$2.16 silver for \$1 in gold. Not a few Americans are on the silver pay roll.

In the mechanical and building trades the foremen get 60 cents per hour in silver. An assistant foreman gets 50 cents, an artisan gets 25 to 40 cents. Ordinary laborers get either 15 or 17½ cents silver per hour.

No union man should come down here with the hilarious idea that he is going to get high wages and an easy time. If he has a contract he may be all right. Most of them, even with contracts, are dissatisfied and anxious to get back.

I have not mentioned the malaria, which every one gets, the yellow fever, which comes to more than a few, the scorpions and the tarantulas, and many other things which give local color to the country.

I can not understand why there should have been any question raised as to whether the eight-hour law of the United States should apply to the work in the digging of the canal. Is it not agreed, at least among a large portion of our fellow-citizens, that the eight-hour day for Government work is long enough? Not even the worst antagonist of organized labor has made any attempt to change the law and practise of the eight-hour workday in the Government employes. If eight hours' work a day is sufficient in the United States, with its comparatively advantageous climate, how much more essential is it that no longer than eight hours should constitute a day's work on the Isthmus of Panama?

Organized labor has given me an opportunity of visiting several parts of this world, and among them Cuba and Porto Rico. They are considered as a part of the tropics, and yet any one who knows, who has been there, in either of those islands, knows that one of the great causes of the enfeebled condition of the workmen, heretofore of Cuba and still of Porto Rico, is due to the fact that they work abnormally long hours. And a climatic comparison between Cuba and Porto Rico on the one hand, and the Isthmus of Panama on the other, is as like our seashore and the climate of the Netherlands. While men work and live, and till the ground from which come lethal fumes, surely eight hours ought to be enough to constitute a day's work.

And now, I want to speak in regard to the employment of Japanese and Chinese on the canal. I have no antipathy to the Chinaman. In fact, so far as he is a man, I have no antipathy to him at all. The objection that I, in common with all members of organized labor, in common with every thinking citizen of our country, entertain to the Chinaman is this—that he is a cheap man, and that he and his fellows are entirely incompatible with the civilization of the people of our country.

I don't want now to discuss this Chinese problem. It is too big to discuss in a few minutes. But I want to say a word or two regarding the so-called Chinese boycotts of American made goods. A few months ago a committee of American merchants called upon the

(Concluded on page 20.)

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

A SYMPOSIUM TREATING OF SOME OF ITS IMPORTANT PHASES BY WRITERS OF WIDELY
VARIANT VIEWS AND DIVERSE CONCLUSIONS.

WE present upon the following pages a collection of articles bearing upon The Problem of Immigration. Each of the writers has approached that subject from his individual point of view, and it is inevitable that each should arrive at his own conclusions. When grouped together in this way, the articles afford an interesting opportunity for the economic student to compare opposing premises, different methods of reasoning, and several plans of treatment proposed. It is to be observed that the writers are all agreed in their recognition of the importance of their problem and in their patriotic desire to find a sound solution.

BISHOP POTTER ON IMMIGRATION.

He Regards Equity and Freedom from Racial Prejudice Essential Elements in its Restriction.

BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER, of New York, in an interview on August 6, declared that the question of immigration ranks as one of four great civic problems uppermost just now in the minds of thinking citizens, the three others being municipal ownership, the relation of labor and capital and the negro question. The Bishop, who is a member of the "general public" section of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation, thought that the restriction of immigration is a subject to be "sifted mentally apart from bias and partisan conviction" at the National Conference in December, called by that organization. The Bishop further said:

"The question of the restriction of immigration is one which, so far as the constituent principles of our American republic are concerned, touches the foundations. Originally the republic was declared to be a refuge for the downtrodden and oppressed of every nation, race, and creed. Of late years in the interests of particular classes of labor we have enacted certain restrictive laws which have had in them conspicuous elements of injustice, and which are now, in the boycott of American products, which is almost universal in China, producing their appropriate results.

"There has not been in the history of American politics a more dramatic illustration of the punishment of a political party or parties for special legislation than this. A much larger interest, and one which at the same time is inextricably allied to the labor interest, is to be punished for the folly of a special legislation which aimed to protect a particular class.

"The questions which now confront the American people are twofold: Whether (a) there should be any restriction to immigration, and (b) if so, upon what that restriction shall be based. It is not only perfectly competent, but perfectly equitable for a nation to restrict its immigration in its own interests. Self-preservation, we are wont to say, is the first law of nature. The American Republic exists for the illustration and propagation and the maintenance of certain ideals of civic government and of personal freedom. The invasion of a race which would destroy these would be a sufficient ground for resisting such invasion and excluding the invader, and no less would this be true of moral standards. The basis of high political ideals is a moral basis. The nation rests upon the cornerstone of the eternal righteousness, and a race which by its moral or religious standards would assault these would strike at the foundations of the Republic. Therefore, some restriction of immigration has in it the essential quality of equity.

"But, the moment this has been said, it should be remembered that this restriction can only be equitable when it is impartial. Its basis should be certain requirements which demand equally of all and every race certain qualifications for American citizenship. I believe that a common law which bore equally upon all those various races and peoples that are knocking at our doors would command the sympathy of the Republic and the votes of the upright men, but any proposed legislation must have in it the essential notes of equity and absolute freedom from racial prejudice."

HOW SHALL WE SELECT OUR IMMIGRANTS?

An Argument in Support of Proposed Additions to the Classes now Excluded.

(By Robert De C. Ward, of Cambridge, Mass.; Republished by permission of *Charities*.)

WE are now witnessing an annual immigration of about a million people, taken largely, as formerly was not the case, from countries that are strangers to the institutions and traditions on which our republic was founded. When present methods of

transportation are further developed, we may see the annual arrival of two or three times that number, largely derived from countries still more remote and alien to our methods of government. In the face of such facts it is only those who seem to the writer to be optimistic beyond the bounds of reason, or the hopelessly incautious, or those selfishly interested, who do not say to themselves that the stream must be further checked and regulated.

We can not justly charge with prejudice against the alien those who wish a more careful selection of the fathers and mothers of future American children. We can not count as un-American those who, with the late Gen. Francis A. Walker, believe that this stream of "pipe line immigration" will, if left to itself, flow on "as long as any difference of economic level exists between our own population and that of the most degraded communities abroad." We can not justly call those narrow or inhuman who see the danger of having our future standard of citizenship, and the future physical



HENRY C. POTTER.
Bishop, Protestant Episcopal Church.

condition of our people, determined by the greed of a few transportation companies.

We still welcome, as we have always welcomed, those immigrants who, however humble, add to the health and to the sum of good citizenship of our country, but we have the undoubted right to restrict, regulate, or prohibit any alien immigration that proves a menace to the standard of living of our wage-earners or a danger to our democratic form of government, an influence tending to pull down rather than build up our national health and physique.

In trying to effect a solution of this problem, it is obvious that we must bring about united action, on the part of those who believe that the time has come for something to be done. As a step in this direction the writer has given below a brief explanation of a number of measures that have most strongly recommended themselves to those who have within the last few years given study and labor to the subject of practical legislative remedies and to their application.

Means should be taken to assist in the more complete enforcement of our present laws. Most of these laws are excellent so far as they go, and so far as they can be enforced by officials, hitherto largely unsupported by the public in the face of interested and often unscrupulous opposition. * * * Our only safeguard against endless fraud, dishonesty, deceit, and political pull is popular support of those who are trying to administer the laws. No body of Federal officials deserves as hearty support as do the men of the United States Immigration Service. Nor is there any body whose work should be watched with more jealous care.

Our immigration laws should be amended, and there should be further additions to the excluded classes. Many suggestions have been made concerning further restriction. Some, such as consular inspection abroad, or the admission of aliens on a five-year probationary period, would be clumsy, expensive, and largely ineffective. Other measures, such as a large head-tax of \$50 or \$100, are open to criticism as carrying exclusion too far. Others, such as a wholesale distribu-

tion of aliens over our country districts, are palliatives rather than cures, and can not of themselves solve the immigration problem. No one can doubt that a well-directed and intelligent distribution of aliens of strong physique over farming districts where they will find work which they are fitted to perform, and where they are wanted, should be encouraged. But it must be remembered that the immigration which we most need to check is made up of people who are not fitted for an agricultural life; that our agricultural communities do not desire a wholesale and indiscriminate invasion of Slav, Latin, Hebrew, and Asiatic immigrants, but want something else; that the effect upon the sections in which the distribution takes place is not always for the best, and that the immigration which we are now getting is crowding out the class of immigrants who used to be in the majority, and who went readily into the country. In the corn belt of the West, as has recently been shown, the newer immigrants, because of their lower standards of living, have an advantage over the native-born farmers. Again, the immigration of Italians and other alien laborers into the South will doubtless cause a migration of the negroes to the cities—a result which those familiar with the conditions of negroes now congested in cities can not fail to view with apprehension. Further, to attempt to relieve our slums by dispersing their inhabitants, without at the same time further restricting the numbers of newer aliens who will pour in, is like trying to keep a boat bailed out without stopping the leak.

No distribution of immigrants should be thought of if the States to which they are to be sent do not welcome them. A canvass of the different States, made within six months, brought forth from the officials to whom the inquiries were sent a vigorous protest against the shipment of southern and eastern Europeans from the city slums into their States. In the South to-day there is need of pickers in the cotton fields in some sections, of skilled workmen in factories in others, and of mine laborers in others. The demand for "cheap" labor without regard to the effects which the wholesale importation of "cheap" laborers will have upon the community comes from a comparatively limited number of capitalists, and from certain Southern railroads. The majority of the thinking people of the South, who know something about the evils which have come in the train of the newer alien immigration in the North, do not look with favor upon the wholesale importation of cheap and ignorant alien labor. Such an importation might, it is true, give a temporary relief, but it would bring in its wake, in the future, many vast and complex problems which the South has not yet had to face. * * *

1. *The head-tax should be raised.* The act of March 3, 1903, increased this tax to two dollars. This money is paid by the steamship companies, and is simply added to the price of the passage ticket. The immigrant himself knows nothing of the payment. The head-tax is paid into the United States treasury, forming what is known as the "immigrant fund," and is spent in maintaining the immigration service. This head-tax should be increased to twenty-five dollars. The chief reason for advocating such an increase is that we have no other means of keeping the steerage passage rate to the United States at a figure which brings it somewhere near the rate to South America and other countries to which immigrants are likely to go. When a steamship war is on, the steerage rates may drop to ten dollars, or even less, as they did in the summer of 1904, and as they seem likely to do again. Such a reduction immediately brings a large influx of desperately poor and generally undesirable aliens, as was the case last year. An increased head-tax means a larger "immigrant fund," and that means more effective administration of existing laws and better care of the immigrants. It is objected to an increased head-tax that the honesty and character of an immigrant do not depend upon his ability to pay a certain sum of money, and that undesirable persons, criminals for example, might easily pay the tax. In answer to this objection it need only be pointed out that the higher head-tax is not to be substituted for the other restrictive clauses of existing law; it is to be added to them. Criminals are already excluded by law. They would be excluded—if detected—even if they could pay the extra passage money necessitated by a larger head-tax. An increased head-tax is intended as a means—the only means within our reach—of keeping the steerage passage above the level of pauper rates, and is one of the few practicable methods of reducing the flow of undesirable immigration to a point where it can be properly assimilated. The United States should not be chosen by an immigrant, as it now often is, because it is the cheapest country to go to. It should be se-

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THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The appointment of a Commission, by the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation, to investigate National and Municipal Ownership and Operation of Public Utilities, in this country and Europe, is designed to meet a want that grows more evident and pressing with the rapidly extending discussion of the subject. That want is of exact and complete facts, without which discussion is obviously wasted, and whose ascertainment in the light of all available experience is essential to wise public policy in the future. The comprehensive scope and scientific purpose of this investigation are outlined in the announcement made in the newspaper press and published upon another page of THE REVIEW, while the personnel of the Commission is an assurance that the inquiry will be conducted in the interest of no one school, party or faction, but will be directed to placing argument upon a solid basis of fact.

The general subject readily divides itself into various systems, under each of which an accurate comparison is practicable of various economic, industrial and civic results. The question is so large that the examination of its several phases will doubtless be assigned by the Commission to subcommittees, carefully chosen with a view to educing "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." It is expected that one subcommission, composed of about nine members, will spend at least three months in Europe, upon a thorough study of the results of Public Ownership and Operation. The collection and publication of these reports will be a substantial aid to the crystallization of sound opinion upon one of the greatest questions affecting the industrial, financial, and moral welfare of communities and nations.

THE IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

For the first time since the earliest colonists set foot upon the land destined to become the United States of America, a National Conference, composed of officially designated representatives of these States, is to consider the problem of immigration in its relation to our industrial and social prosperity. The response to the call for the Conference from students of this problem reveals an expert appreciation of its growing importance and a confident expectation that the gathering that will convene at our largest port of entry on December 6 and 7 will make intelligent progress toward its solution. In its promotion of this Conference, the National Civic Federation, as an organization, has committed itself to no attitude of approval or opposition as to any of the propositions concerning the regulation, restriction, suspension, exclusion, or encouragement of immigration that have been advocated. The Conference will be an open forum for debate by the best thought of the country in the hope that an earnest thrashing out of every phase of the subject may result in definite recommendations of far-reaching consequence and value to our present and future national welfare.

The Governors are accepting the invitation to appoint delegates to the National Immigration Conference in such number as to make it certain that practically every State in the Union will be ably represented. Their letters indicate the intention of many Governors to attend in person with their delegations.

We present in this issue a symposium of informative articles upon the immigration problem by writers whose studies of several of its phases have led them to widely different conclusions.

WELFARE WORK ON THE ISTHMUS.

The Isthmian Canal Commission has received general and merited commendation for its decision to introduce Welfare Work into the stupendous enterprise which the Government of the United States has undertaken. In fact, under the general title of Welfare Work may be grouped practically all of the preliminary preparations, in the way of sanitation, housing and commissariat, for which operations in the actual construction of the Canal have been temporarily halted. It is conceded that the delay incident to these

preparations is a wise investment of time and effort to place upon a sure and safe foundation a task which will consume, during an undetermined number of years, an enormous amount of human energy and skill.

The Canal Commissioners have included in these general preparations definite provision for reasonable and wholesome recreation for the army of employes who will be required to live and work amid climatic and physical conditions radically different from those to which they have been fitted by training and ancestry. The travail of spirit must be lightened for greater physical effectiveness and mental alertness. To this end the Commission engaged two experts, furnished by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, to investigate the needs and opportunities in the Canal Zone for the recreation of the workers, and to embody their recommendations in a report. The Welfare experts selected, W. E. C. Nazro and Edward A. Moffett, were peculiarly fitted to render the Government this valuable service.

The importance of the realization of this purpose upon the Isthmus was forcibly presented to an audience of representatives of organized labor in a recent address by Samuel Gompers, which we publish in this issue. The President of the American Federation of Labor utters a broad and high recognition of the importance of the canal to the commerce of the world; but he would have a due regard for the wholesome living of the workers and for the protection of occidental civilization accompany the bisecting of the Americas.

ANTHRACITE AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.

That the present conditions in the anthracite industry are pacific, and that sincere efforts will be made, on the part of both operators and workers to maintain peace when both the anthracite and bituminous agreements expire simultaneously, is indicated clearly by the statements of David Willcox, President of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad Company, and of John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America. The significance of President Willcox's statement, that the anthracite employers "are perfectly willing to continue the present arrangements indefinitely," is equaled by that of President Mitchell that a great strike would be "criminal," "without first exhausting every conceivable effort for a peaceful adjustment."

In connection with the process of conference and conciliation between operators and miners that is here suggested, we invite the attention of President Willcox, as well as of other large employers, to the accounts, in this issue of THE REVIEW, of typical trade agreements that have been formed this year in four great industries. These agreements are cited as representative of the growth of collective contracts. They are convincing witnesses to the success and the increase of that method of industrial peace. Such facts are not in harmony with President Willcox's view that "agreements of employment are fast reverting to their natural form of arrangements between the parties concerned." Every year sees more employers who prefer to enter into contracts with organizations rather than with individual employes. We doubt that President Willcox really meant all that his language implies. He, of course, well knows that every large railroad in the country makes agreements with the railway Brotherhoods instead of with individuals, his own road being no exception.

A highly successful conference of Welfare Managers and Special Welfare Workers—those who have charge of any particular phase of Welfare Work, such as men's clubs, technical schools, lunch houses or relief departments—was held in Atlantic City, on July 25. An account of the proceedings will be published in the next issue of THE REVIEW.

The June number of THE REVIEW quoted an extract from an article by Luke McKenny, of the Wire Lathers' Union, setting forth the opposition of organized labor to Socialism. That article was originally printed in *The Mechanic*, New York, to which esteemed labor periodical we omitted, through an oversight, to give due credit.

THE ORIGIN OF "THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY" DISCLOSED.

ITS DEFENSE BY THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, IN "HARPER'S WEEKLY," ANALYZED AND REFUTED.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

THE "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" will not capture American universities for revolution and anarchy. Its scheme would have been impossible in any event, and it did not threaten any real danger to our social and political structure.

But that men whose names are generally accepted as standing for culture and good citizenship should be permitted deliberately to announce such a project without rebuke would have been to ignore their public challenge to patriotism. It was necessary to consider that there are people in this country who esteem at least some of the signers of the call for the formation of a society to teach Socialism as serious, disinterested, high-minded philanthropists. It may be conceded that the signers are endowed with a large share of these qualities, but with them is now revealed the added fact that in so far as they are Socialists they are opposed to the institutions of this Republic.

A multitude of letters, received from university and college presidents and professors, from ministers of the gospel and from representative men in the professions, have thanked THE REVIEW not so much for its disclosure of the real aim of the projected society, which is generally ridiculed, but for its information as to the vigorous and successful opposition of organized labor to Socialism.

That exposure has called forth another kind of response—a response of mingled consternation, evasion, and abuse. The revelation in cold type of the unequivocal and undeniable purposes of Socialism has caused a fluttering among the flock of dilettante sympathizers with the effort to "undermine all society"; to "enact a terrible retribution upon the capitalist class, comparable to the French Revolution and the Paris Commune"; to "fire the heart and nerve the arm of rebellion"; to "confiscate all the possessions of the capitalist class"; etc., etc.

It was to be expected that the signers fully committed to the creed of Socialism would respond with vicious attacks upon the article. It was a plain, straightforward exposition of the doctrines which such a society would undertake to instill into the receptive minds of American youth, in the course of training for positions of leadership in the rising generation. It placed the signers of the call in the position of subscribing to those doctrines, since its language explicitly stated that the "undersigned" regarded the "aims and fundamental principles" of Socialism "with sympathy" and believed that "in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far reaching economic evils."

But it is not what most of the signers may say that concerns the general public. The one man in the list whose signature was a surprise to those familiar with his standing in the literary and ethical circles of New England was Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

It is alone with his reply to a criticism in *Harper's Weekly* that we shall deal in this article. We reprint in full his response:

DUBLIN, N. H., July 14, 1905.

To the Editor of *Harper's Weekly*:

SIR,—I observe in a recent number of your valuable journal an expression of surprise that my name should be united with others in the formation of an "Intercollegiate Socialist School" which "aims to imbue the minds of the rising generation with Socialistic doctrines." This last phrase is your own, for I at least am connected with no organization for the purpose you here state. As to the names with which mine is united I am not concerned; as Theodore Parker used to say, "I am not particular with whom I unite in a good action." As to the object in view it is clearly enough stated in the call itself; the movement does not aim to produce Socialists, but to create students of Socialism.

It is based on the obvious fact that we are more and more surrounded by institutions, such as free schools, free text-books, free libraries, free bridges, free water-supplies, free lecture courses, even free universities, which were all called Socialistic when first proposed, and which so able a man as Herbert Spencer denounced as Socialism to his dying day. Every day makes it more important that this tendency should be studied seriously and thoughtfully, not left to demagogues alone. For this purpose our foremost universities should take the matter up scientifically, as has been done for several years at Harvard University, where there is a full course on "Methods of Social Reform—Socialism, Communism, the Single Tax," etc., given by Professor T. N. Carver. This is precisely what the "Intercollegiate Socialist School" aims at; and those who seriously criticize this object must be classed, I fear, with those medieval grammarians who wrote of an adversary "May God confound thee for thy theory of irregular verbs!" I am, sir,

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

We regret, Mr. Higginson, to be compelled to prove that most of the statements in your letter are wholly incorrect. We shall give you credit for not knowing the facts when you wrote it. The whole scheme of the Intercollegiate Socialist School—as you should have known before you signed that call—is promoted in this country by the Collectivist Society, whose purpose is not the scientific study of Socialism, but "the spread of its propaganda among the professional classes." The scheme has its root among Socialist groups that day and night are plotting revolution in European cities, as we shall proceed to show you.

First, as to the origin and purpose in this country of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society:

Upton Sinclair, a Socialist writer, whose name appeared with that of Mr. Higginson as one of the signers of the call, recently wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Worker*, an official organ of the Socialist party, with the request that it be reprinted promptly by "the rest of the party press." His letter strips all disguise from the purpose of the proposed Society:

To the Editor of *The Worker*:

I beg to say a few words to the comrades concerning the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, a call to which was sent out recently. The work of this Society will be the organizing of those college men and women who believe in Socialism, to aid in propaganda clubs at our colleges, to select and distribute literature, to furnish speakers, and to aid in every way the work of inducing college students to take an interest in Socialism. That this is a most important movement, capable of wide growth and usefulness, all comrades must admit.

In commenting upon this letter, the *Worker* remarked:

While the majority of the students in the colleges and universities are probably children of capitalists, large and small, and while the majority of the children of capitalists are either fanatical believers in the Gospel of Getting-on or else hopeless devotees of the Senior Prom. and the Sophomore Cotillion, yet there remains a number of real men and women—young and full of energy and capable of great things—who belong of right to the Socialist movement.

Again the *Worker* published on August 5 a call "addressed to all those interested in the formation of an Intercollegiate Socialist Society"—addressed, therefore, to Mr. Higginson. This highly interesting document reveals that it is intended to send the original call for the formation of the Society to "the secretary of every institution of learning, with request to put on bulletin." The announcement continues:

Here is submitted an outline of the ideas of those who have been instrumental in sending out the call:

"The Society should be open to all who are or ever have been students in any American college or are engaged in educational work.

"Its purpose should be the interesting of college students and teachers in the subject of modern Socialism.

"Its methods should be the bringing together in one body of all persons interested in this work, the discussion of plans, the establishing of an agency for their prosecution.

"The forming of clubs for propaganda work in all college and high schools.

"The selection and distribution of literature suitable for college men."

In reply to this communication kindly state name and address, college and high school and year; Socialist organization of which you may be a member, dues you would feel able to pay, any work at which you could help; speaking, organization, correspondence; a list of all persons who would be interested in this plan."

(Signed) M. R. HOLBROOK, Secretary,
P. O. Box 1663, New York.

An application was addressed to the Secretary for information and literature. Promptly in response came several Socialist pamphlets, all issued by the Collectivist Society, and revealing that its Secretary and headquarters are the same "M. R. Holbrook, P. O. Box 1663, New York." Among the enclosures was a printed request for a contribution, with this added assurance of a secrecy quite appropriate to a conspiracy to "undermine society": "No mention, except by permission, will be made of the name of any one who writes to us." This was signed, as above stated, "The Collectivist Society," with the same address as was affixed to the "Intercollegiate" call. The identity of interests and purposes of the two organizations is thus clearly established.

As to the Socialism of the Collectivist Society, let us again quote the *Worker*. The recognized mouthpiece of the Debs Socialists stated the purpose of the Collectivist Society to be that of "disseminating Socialist literature among the professional classes, persons not ordinarily reached by the party propaganda, particularly. Originally a kind of Fabian society, this organization has since proclaimed itself as frankly accepting the fundamental tenets of scientific Socialism"—a term of the cult which signifies outright revolution.

So much for the relation between the Collectivist Society and the Intercollegiate Socialist Society; so much, also, for Mr. Higginson's denial that he is connected with an organization that "aims to imbue the minds of the rising generation with Socialistic doc-

trines." His denial is thus brought face to face with the official announcement of the purpose of this Society: "The forming of clubs for propaganda work in all colleges and high schools; the organizing of those college men and women who believe in Socialism, to aid in forming propaganda clubs at our colleges."

But this proposition to hold what Mr. Higginson would have considered as a harmless academic discussion, in peaceful college classrooms, of Free Bridges, Free Water, Single Tax, and Irregular Verbs assumes another aspect when its real origin is disclosed. This scheme was not conceived amid the tranquil shades of Cambridge nor yet at a tea-party of the Collectivist Society. It is in reality a cis-Atlantic outcropping of an ambitious international enterprise, whose purpose is to sow the seeds of Socialism in all the universities, colleges, normal schools and lecture-rooms of the world. This movement has manifested itself in the form of three international Congresses of "Socialist Students and Graduates" at Brussels, Genoa, and Paris. At the last Congress, students were present from universities in Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Armenia, the West Indies, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Hungary, Germany, Austria, and France. A report of this Congress in the *International Socialist Review* says:

"The Socialist students of the great American universities, Harvard, Columbia, Brown, and Chicago, had joined the Congress. These comrades showed great activity during several months, and even established an intercollegiate Socialist bureau. For reasons unknown to us, they could not, as expected, be directly represented."

Prof. Enrico Ferri, now of the University of Palermo, Italy, addressed the Congress upon the question of "how to bring into Socialism the greatest number of students." A recent Socialist publication describes this professor as "undoubtedly the greatest living figure in the Socialist movement," and adds the uncomfortable statement that he received, not long ago, "a sentence to sixteen months' imprisonment for a political offense, in the name of the King of Italy." His advice to the Congress may, therefore, be accepted as that of an expert in teaching Socialism both in the lecture-room and the cell. Prof. Ferri said:

"We should introduce Socialism into the students' minds as a part of science, as the logical and necessary culmination of the biological and sociological sciences. No need of making a direct propaganda which would frighten many of the listeners. Without pronouncing the word Socialism once a year I make two thirds of our students conscious Socialists. Among workmen it is necessary to add the Socialist conclusions to the scientific premises, because the workman's psychology permits it, and indeed requires it; before an audience of bourgeois intellectuals, it is necessary to give the scientific premises alone, and let each mind draw its own conclusions."

This Congress made a formal call, says the *International Socialist Review*, "on the groups of Socialist students to make an active propaganda among normal school professors, who will, in turn, transmit their Socialist convictions to the teachers they will have to train, and who thereby may do a work of capital importance throughout the country."

A further evidence of wily strategy appears in the following resolution adopted by the Congress:

"That the best means of propagating Socialism in the universities is to organize, along with clearly Socialist circles where they are possible, neutral circles for the study of social sciences."

M. Boucher, in a report presented to the Congress in the name of the Group of Collectivist Students in Paris, invited:

"The Socialist students to enter the People's Universities, either as professors or as voluntary critics; there is, apparently, the real battle-field for the Socialist students, there is the role which is most suitable to them in the whole range of the movement; that which will excite the least antagonism, and where they will be the most useful."

The announcement was made at this Congress of the forthcoming of the *Socialist Student*, edited "by our Brussels comrades," and "designed as the international organ of Socialist students." Doubtless this valuable periodical would be included in the "literature" which Mr. Higginson's proposed Society would consider "suitable for college men."

Here we have, stated in detail, the program of the international organization of "Socialist Students and Graduates." This program includes precisely the insidious device of forming "neutral groups" for the study of social sciences, which Mr. Higginson would

(Concluded on page 20.)

WELFARE DEPARTMENT
OF

The National Civic Federation

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WELFARE WORK IN MERCANTILE
HOUSES.

Previous articles in this Department have shown what can be done for the welfare of employees in large factories. It is now proposed to show by typical examples how Welfare Work has been introduced in both large and small mercantile houses. This statement must be more or less general in its scope, but detailed information in reference to the work described may be had upon application to the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. The articles that follow are supplied by officials of the several establishments

A CHICAGO EXAMPLE
OF WELFARE
WORK.

The distinctive characteristic of the Welfare Work of Marshall Field & Co., Chicago, is to be found in the pervading spirit of the place. To have the several thousand employees "intelligent, loyal, happy, and progressive" has been the company's primary aim. Just dealing with the employees has established relations of genuine friendliness.

This design is well and concisely expressed in the following rule:

It is the wish and purpose of the house that no employee, no matter how unimportant the position may be, shall be forgotten or lost sight of, but that instead every one whose name is on the pay roll shall be recognized as a part of this great force, and that individual effort shall be carefully and frequently considered by the one above in authority.

Several methods are actively used to appeal to the intelligence and enlist the interest of all the employees without regard to their length of service. Little leaflets are freely distributed containing useful information, attractively presented, for their direction and encouragement. One of them, for example, contains terse precepts gathered from memoranda of meetings between the manager and the heads of departments and their assistants. Another is the letter written by Marshall Field to a prominent clergyman upon "The Virtues that make for Commercial Success." The idea is that the readers may find something peculiarly pertinent to themselves or to their work.

The pay envelopes which employees receive each week are variously imprinted with suggestive quotations bearing upon some of the most familiar and essential practical rules of conduct in daily life. One enumerates more than twenty reasons "Why He Was Not Promoted," some of the statements being:

He watched the clock.
He was willing, but unfitted.
He didn't believe in himself.
His stock excuse was, "I forgot."
He learned nothing from his blunders.
He chose his friends among his inferiors.
He never dared to act on his own judgment.
He did not think it worth while to learn how.
He did not learn that the best part of his salary was not in his pay envelope.

Another explains the "Value of a Mistake," while a third gives a table showing the way savings and interest accumulate when systematic deposits are made. Here and there in the rooms devoted to the employees are posted attractive placards setting forth injunctions helpful to those struggling for self-improvement, and homely but pertinent proverbs. One containing the caption "DEVELOPMENT" reads: "Push steadfastly against the boundary lines of to-day's limitations and your scope will be wider to-morrow"; and another headed "SALESMANSHIP" states: "The essentials are: integrity, courtesy, tact, knowl-

edge of merchandise, judgment, accuracy, energy, personal appearance, and dignity."

In order to develop initiative and bring about improvement in details, the firm invites criticisms from all employees upon any point in system and method, in either their own sections or elsewhere which, in their judgment, can be bettered. Whenever such suggestion is regarded as practicable by the manager and is adopted, a reward of one dollar is paid. This system, besides bringing to the firm the improvements caused by accepted suggestions, causes the employees to be watchful, studious, and interested in the general improvement of the store. Section managers or assistant managers are not rewarded for suggestions for improvements regarding their own sections, as such suggestions are regarded as included in the duties of their positions. The firm pays a reward of one dollar for all corrections of errors (other than typographical) in its advertisements. It is considered an error in the advertisement when there is any exaggeration; when the price is wrong; when a word is misspelled; when the language is grammatically incorrect; or when a false statement occurs. The effect of this is to increase the interest of employees in the advertisements, and to cause them to be able to answer intelligently questions asked by customers, whether the goods inquired about are in the employee's section or not.

Library. A subscription bureau enables the employees to enjoy the benefit of special prices for periodical literature which the firm is able to obtain.

Employees may purchase goods for their own use at special prices, the discount ranging from six to twenty per cent.

Employees detained at home because of illness receive half pay.

A vacation of two weeks is allowed, each summer, to those employees who have been with the firm twelve consecutive months, beginning before September 1, and one week is allowed those who have been employed six consecutive months, beginning before March 1.

When men employees are called upon for jury service, as they frequently are, the firm protects them against financial loss. They are expected to spend all spare time, during business hours, at the store, as jury duty rarely requires the entire day. All jury vouchers are turned over to the paymaster. The pay for jury service is \$2 a day. Those whose wages are less than this sum receive the full amount of jury money. Those whose pay exceeds jury wages are paid the difference by the house. The time given to the business by employees during their term of jury service is also recognized by the manager.

The firm encourages enlistment in the militia, and allows, to the young men who join, the extra week necessary each summer for the annual encampment, at half pay.

New features of Welfare Work are added from time to time, the company aiming to do all in its power for the general good.

SCOPE OF THE WORK
IN A NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT STORE

About three thousand five hundred of the five thousand employees of R. H. Macy & Co., New York City, patronize its lunch room daily. The employees' lunch room occupies a large space, of which one portion is partitioned off for the men. It is possible to buy all that appetite demands for eight cents. A sample menu contains:

Tomato Soup	3c.
Beans and Pork	3c.
Potato Salad	3c.
Sandwich	4c.
Quarter of a Pie	4c.
Ice Cream	3c.
Tea, Coffee or Milk	1c.
Oranges	2c. or 3c.
Different kinds of Cakes	1c., 2c. or 3c.

In the winter roast beef and other hot dishes are served. Fruit may be purchased at cost.

Tea, coffee, or milk is given free to all minors, such as cash girls, bundlers, and stock girls. All are expected to buy tickets for other articles on the menu desired, unless they are without money. Then upon application the minors receive free tickets for lunches. Whatever is left in the lunch room at the close of the day is supplied free to the night porters.

Employees are allowed to eat in the lunch room their lunches brought from home, and to supplement them with anything for sale. Very few, however, do this, as they can get lunch so cheaply that they prefer to buy it. The allowance of time for luncheon is three-quarters of an hour. The employees go to luncheon in shifts which begin at 11 a. m. and extend to 2.30 or 3 p. m. The first shift numbers usually about seven hundred, and is the most popular because many employees are hungry as early as eleven o'clock, and some of them think they will be better served then than later; this, however, is an erroneous impression, as the same quality of food is served to the last as to the first shift.

Large locker rooms are provided containing wire lockers. Two employees share a locker, and each pays twenty-five cents for a key upon taking employment with the company. When the employee leaves the service, the money is refunded upon the return of the key.

There are separate toilet rooms on every floor for the men and women. Each contains wash bowls, closets, and shower baths which may be used at any hour by obtaining permission. The baths are more in demand in summer than in winter. Facing the shower baths are curtained, individual dressing-rooms.

The company supplies soap and towels, and there are two fine large mirrors in each toilet room. The



YOUTH'S GYMNASIUM.
EMPLOYEES' WRITING AND READING ROOM.
EMPLOYEES' LUNCH ROOM.
GIRLS' GYMNASIUM.
GIRLS' MUSIC AND RECREATION ROOM.

The educational work includes, during the busy months, beginners' meetings to which all, employed mornings, are sent at four o'clock each afternoon. A little talk is delivered relative to the business methods of the house and its policy and wishes concerning the employees. These talks are illustrated with charts.

It is endeavored to throw about the girls employed in the establishment an atmosphere of protection. To that end the young men begin work at 8 a. m. and the girls at 8.30, while the girls leave at 5 p. m. and the young men at 5.30.

An abundant supply of drinking water that has been twice filtered conduces to the health of the employees.

The toilet room facilities are exceptionally good. One entire floor, the ninth, is devoted to the interests of employees.

There is a large lunch room where they may eat their luncheons brought from home, or may be served at the lowest possible cost.

An adjoining room is fitted with individual wire lockers.

A hospital, also on this floor, affords speedy relief for any one who has met with an accident or who has been taken ill suddenly.

There is a boys' gymnasium with shower baths, and also a gymnasium for the girls. This serves as a playroom for the young girls, who thus do not disturb the more mature, when occupying the resting and music room adjoining the gymnasium.

There is a library and reading room, with writing desks, for the use of all employees. All the daily papers are on file, as well as magazines selected because of their probable interest to the readers, and there are two cases filled with books. The firm signs slips which entitle the employees to the use of all books which they desire to draw from the Chicago Public

individual wash bowls are provided with special cans made to granulate the soap.

There are drinking fountains throughout the store, the water being filtered and cool.

Special elevators are provided for the use of the employees.

Fire apparatus is placed throughout the building. Drills are held upon short notice to ensure their efficiency in the event of an actual emergency.

Three rooms are set apart as hospitals on different floors in the store. In attendance are two doctors, one of them a woman, and there is a trained nurse to assist. One of the hospital rooms is adjacent to the recreation room, where the Secretary of the Relief Association is in constant attendance. She refers all cases requiring treatment to the physicians. The man doctor visits the homes of all who are ill, and is required to make a formal report upon every case. From five to seven thousand cases a year are treated. Sometimes the physicians will have from fifty to one hundred cases a day, perhaps for a week, and then there will be fewer for a period.

Improvident employees were generally the ones who failed to join the relief association when membership was voluntary, and it has recently been made compulsory. When urged, the employees were glad to join, because they have known so many who have been helped through the association. The dues are nominal.

The mechanism of the association is such that no employee can be ill without the fact becoming known and immediate relief being extended. Every employee has a postal card, addressed to the company, which must be mailed as soon as illness occurs. If an employee is absent for a single day, the company sends a representative to see the absentee.

Under the former system a case occurred where an employee was very ill and unattended in a lodging house for three days. She did not belong to the relief association, but the company sent to inquire the reason for her absence, and learned that she had been entirely alone and that, consequently, nothing had been done to provide relief or food.

A recreation room accommodating three hundred at one time is set apart. The four tables in the room are well filled with reading matter. The floor is covered with large rugs, and there are comfortable chairs.

Upon the top floor there is a beautiful exhibit hall where the company contemplates giving employees' dances.

In the summer the company entertains all of the junior help—the cash girls, stock girls, bundlers, and packers—in the country. It makes arrangements with churches of the various denominations represented by the affiliations of the employees, maintaining summer recreation homes, such as Sea Cliff, and others on the Hudson. The company pays the board of each for one week. It also bears the cost of transportation and cares for their baggage from the time of departure from home until their return. When these parties start on their vacations, a luncheon, an orange, and a box of candy are provided for each traveler.

From three to four hundred go each year in parties of from twenty to fifty between July 1 and September 1.

Every employee who has been with the firm for a year is entitled to a vacation of one week with pay.

The company presents to every married employee a Thanksgiving turkey weighing from twelve to fifteen pounds.

Each of the junior help receives a Christmas remembrance of one dollar and a box of candy.

Every three and every six months premiums are paid, in addition to the regular salaries, upon all sales exceeding the amounts of sales by the individuals concerned in the previous year. This distribution of time brings one of these premium payments at the Christmas season and one at vacation time. An interesting illustration of its operation shows one sales girl who was quite overwhelmed with joy at Christmas when she found \$35 in her envelope, and another starting on her vacation with \$116.

Twice each week at 9.30 a. m. one of the superintendents gives a talk of twenty minutes to employees from the various departments. Sometimes as many as three hundred are in attendance. A notice is sent to each head of a department requesting that as many of the employees as can be spared shall be present on

a certain morning. In the course of a few weeks every employee in the store will have had the benefit of one of the talks. The superintendent, who delivers them, discusses all complaints that have been received from customers, and makes special reference to such topics as the appearance of the employees, tardiness in arrival, courtesy to customers, how to keep stock in good condition, and the requirements for successful salesmanship.

Other talks are given frequently to the floor-walkers and the heads of departments. They are delivered in the recreation room at 6.30 p. m., lasting ten minutes. Included are such topics as attention to customers, discipline, personal appearance, leaving counters or floors without permission, and other defects in service and their remedies.

The hours of work are from 8 a. m. to 6 p. m. Upon a stormy morning the company does not insist that every employee must arrive exactly at 8 o'clock. Any one in the store may have permission to go home at four o'clock, upon application, for any reasonable cause, without loss of wages.

The company believes that good discipline can be maintained without fines. The only fine inflicted is for lost checks, if occurring twice. For losing checks a third time the penalty is dismissal. The money collected from these fines goes into a fund for

of all ratings is the "store average," and misconduct marks reckon so much off. Upon the store average depends promotion and increase of salary. If the first upward step is not taken within two months, the conclusion is reached that the boy is unfitted for the business and dropped from the ranks.

These record cards secure discipline without the harsh word and impulsive discharge. They are carried home for inspection and signature by parents and guardians.

The six hundred young people which include the cash boys and cadet corps are assigned to duty in the various divisions of the business, according to their natural aptitude and fitness, and are under the direction of their respective department heads; but always, also, and until graduation from the cadet corps, they are under the care and discipline of the chief of the corps and a woman assistant. The young people are not lost sight of individually, but are known and studied by the managers with view to advancement.

They are placed as early as possible where some distinct branch of the business or class of merchandise will be learned thoroughly. Stock boy, salesman, stock-head, buyer's assistant, is the usual line of advancement. Development in clerical lines makes the bookkeeper, the auditor, the office assistant, the stenographer. In trades lines grow up, for example, the milliner, the dressmaker, the paper shade and flower worker, the plate engraver and printer, the designer, show-card painter, draftsman, decorator, and the mechanic to repair bicycles. Exceedingly numerous and varied are the paths open, and, in so far as possible, an early and definite selection and patient, reasonable progress along some one of them is insisted upon. Their natural abilities, however, are not found sufficient to bring about normal development, unless trained and added to by knowledge in the common branches of education. It has been found practicable, therefore, to bring into the business lives of the young people most of the activities usual in the schools.

The smaller boys are organized into school and military companies. Each company assembles in the school room on the fifth of the store building two mornings in the week, where regular instruction is given in arithmetic, grammar, spelling, writing, composition, and singing. On two other mornings they have setting-up exercises and military drill, with some other features of

physical culture. The boys elect their own military officers, except their chief, and these officers become successful disciplinarians. A fife, bugle and drum corps of these boys has been pronounced the best junior organization of the kind in the city.

The girls also have a school organization, each division being taught two mornings in the week. In addition to the branches taught to the boys, the girls are instructed in business correspondence, stenography and typewriting and bookkeeping. Attention is given to singing and physical culture. An elocution class and a mandolin club are successful outgrowths of this branch of the store school.

The older boys, numbering about three hundred, have supper in the store, and remain for their school two evenings in each week. The branches taught are arithmetic, spelling, writing, commercial correspondence, English, stenography, bookkeeping, the metric system, mechanical and free hand drawing, and rapid calculation. Military and gymnastic training is given. Among these boys are a club for debate and literary exercises, an orchestra, a field music band, a mandolin club, a glee club, an elocution and dramatic class and a minstrel troupe.

A monthly report of the standing and progress of each pupil is made to the parents.

Each of the three branches of the school has its separate annual commencement. The graduates receive certificates which have a double significance. They testify to the attainment of a certain standard in the school work proper, and also to the actual number of years of satisfactory service in the business with promotion from the cadet corps to positions in the regular ranks of the store's departments.

Thus there has grown up in practice a system of civil service promotion. The higher positions are being filled continually with those who have grown up in the business from childhood. It sometimes happens



WASH ROOM.



LOCKER ROOM.



EMPLOYEES' LUNCH ROOM.



RECREATION ROOM, WITH HOSPITAL ADJACENT.

the bundlers, used to make up losses. While such losses are charged against the employees for the moral effect, they are never obliged to pay.

A PHILADELPHIA EXPERIENCE.

In the Philadelphia establishment of John Wanamaker, emphasis is placed on commercial education.

The young people in the store are organized into three classes which, united, are known as the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute. These classes typify a systematic effort to meet responsibility for the future of the junior employees.

What is styled "The Cadet Corps" includes girls, up to about seventeen years of age, and boys, other than cash boys, from sixteen to eighteen. Into this corps cash boys go by promotion. With the exception of the Christmas season, the cash boys average two hundred in number and the cadets four hundred, of whom about one hundred are girls.

Besides excellence in school work, cultivation of good manners, neatness, elevated personal habits, and efficiency in store service are elements considered in promotion, and are emphasized by a system of monthly averages. To illustrate: Each of the cash boys has his record card which he must carry for a month and keep in a state of cleanliness. A sign of progress is an increased average whiteness. The boy reverences and guards this card. On one side are rules to be committed to memory. On the other is an array of spaces to be filled with weekly ratings by his department manager for neatness, promptness, truthfulness, etc.; a weekly rating at morning "inspection" by his general chief; daily strokes of the pencil for misconduct or neglected duty, called by the boys, without levity or disrespect, "bluies"; and the monthly figures for school work. Protest against an undeserved "bluie" is accorded a patient hearing. The average



EDUCATIONAL CLUB, CHRISTMAS.



VACATION COTTAGE.

that a young man fits himself for a high position before there is an opening here, and assumes one elsewhere, with the approval of the firm; but a faithful worker need not look outside for a business future.

The graduates of the school have organized alumnae and alumni associations which maintain, in addition to their social features, a debating and literary club, a dramatic club, and a mandolin class.

Other features in the Welfare Work are separate lunch rooms and resting rooms for women and men.

In the lunch rooms, besides service a la carte at low rates, a special luncheon is served each day for ten cents, consisting of meat, one vegetable, bread and butter, coffee, tea or milk, and dessert.

A porch connecting with each of the lunch rooms gives opportunity for rest in the open air, where the men may smoke.

The resting room for women is fitted with numerous couches, easy chairs, and a piano.

There is a private room for the sick in charge of a matron, with a trained nurse, who can be called if required.

A beneficial association provides for the care of those who are ill, and it includes death benefits.

Two savings funds are conducted, one for men and women, and the other for boys and girls of the establishment.

The library for the employes, in charge of a librarian, contains about five thousand volumes.

A "Women's League," composed of a large number of the women employes, was organized for social and educational purposes. It carries on classes for chorus singing, physical culture, dancing, sewing, and instruction in English, German, French, and the mandolin.

There is a baseball club consisting of young men.

The firm maintains at Island Heights, N. J., camping grounds and a headquarters house. The boys enjoy an annual encampment at this place, and the house is used by such of the women employes as care to arrange club outings there during their vacation.

All employes receive two weeks' vacation with pay.

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE AT KANSAS CITY, MO.

The George B. Peck Dry Goods Company, at Kansas City, Mo., maintains a lunch room for employes, in charge of a competent man and woman, with a force of assistants. An abundance of wholesome food is served at the lowest possible cost.

The store is equipped with an ample number of wash rooms. There are provided also lockers for the employes' wraps.

A physician is regularly employed at a fixed salary to attend any employes when ill, either at the store, at their homes, or at his office. The firm furnishes the greater part of the medicines used.

A rest room and a library adjoin the lunch room. Books are taken from the library without fee on a ticket and retained for two weeks, or renewed, as desired. This library contains all the standard works of fiction, and is supplied from day to day with current publications as they are received.

The cash boys and girls are organized in an "Educational Club." Its members attend a school each morning, where they are instructed in the regular elementary branches by a competent teacher. All books and supplies are furnished free.

Every summer the cash girls and boys and all the younger help are sent for a vacation, with pay, to a

camp in one of the large suburban parks. The camp contains a cottage, in charge of a competent matron, which is equipped with conveniences for comfortable and happy summer life. This camp is highly appreciated by the employes, and has proved of great benefit to them.

The sales people and other employes, who are not sent to this camp, are allowed vacations with pay, according to the number of years they have been in the company's service.

There are also various summer excursions.



WOMEN'S RESTING ROOM AND LIBRARY.

Every Christmas there is a Christmas tree for the cash girls and boys' educational club.

SACRAMENTO AND SAN FRANCISCO.

In the stores of Weinstock, Lubin & Company, at Sacramento and San Francisco, there are good lunch rooms and rest rooms, the latter being provided with magazines, newspapers, and small libraries.

There are modern wash and toilet rooms.



EMPLOYEES' RESTING ROOM.

All work rooms are well lighted, have plenty of window space, are well ventilated, and are thoroughly sanitary.

Above the San Francisco store there is a roof garden.

All employes between fourteen and eighteen years of age are organized into classes for systematic instruction in the usual common school branches.

There is a savings plan for employes. The firm

allows interest at four per cent. on ordinary deposits, which the depositor may withdraw at any time. Upon term deposits, requiring a notice of six months before they can be withdrawn, six per cent. is allowed. There is a profit-sharing plan which applies to all heads of departments.

THIRTY YEARS OF WELFARE WORK.

In the establishment of Bloomingdale Brothers, New York, Welfare Work has been developing continually since the formation of the firm thirty years ago. Its distinctive feature is the education of the employes with a view to their promotion in accordance with demonstrated merit. This difficult task is met by constant instruction in their respective duties. Upon a large blackboard are written, daily, instructions, rules and regulations, alternately addressed to sales clerks, floor walkers and others. There is ample proof that these notices are productive of good results. They are the subject of conversation each day among the employes, who often make suggestions of new topics to be placed upon the blackboard.

Prominently placed and accessible to all employes is a box wherein they may drop suggestions. It is labeled "Suggestion Box to Encourage Suggestions from Employes." It is a medium through which injustice may be righted, while those who are thoughtful and ingenious enough to make useful suggestions may thereby receive their first and immediate introduction to the firm and secure early recognition.

An employes' merchandise department enables them to purchase goods and pay for them in weekly instalments. The weekly payments required are determined by the amount of the purchase and the salary received. This has proved a blessing to hundreds who have been in the employ of the firm a reasonable time, and were thus entitled to make necessary purchases, upon easy payments, avoiding instalment houses which extend credit, but charge exorbitantly. This convenient method also saves the time necessary to make trips, in the limited leisure of employes, to the instalment houses.

The firm encourages employes to save, beginning with pennies. There is in the store a branch of the "Penny Provident Fund." The clerk required by this branch and the necessary space is furnished the Provident Association without charge by the firm. Any employe who has saved one hundred pennies may begin making deposits with the banking department, receiving 4 per cent. interest. Occasionally texts are written upon the blackboard to encourage saving for "rainy days."

The "Bloomingdale Brothers Employes' Mutual Aid Society" was instituted in 1881 and incorporated in 1888. Its officers are the heads of various departments throughout the store. Before the formation of this Society, it was necessary to bring all cases of sickness and distress to a member of the firm for financial aid, always generously extended, but now these cases are cared for through the machinery of the Society.

All employes are members. There are three grades of membership: Employes in the first grade pay monthly dues of ten cents, entitling them to \$2.50 per week sick benefit, and \$30.00 death benefit.

In the second grade dues of thirty cents entitle them to \$4.00 a week sick benefit and \$40.00 death benefit.

(Concluded on page 20.)

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

(Continued from page 9.)

lected because it is the best, and by those who want the best. A head-tax of twenty-five dollars was not desirable years ago. It becomes more and more necessary as the increasing facilities of land and water transportation make it easier and cheaper to come here. The tax would not act as a permanent and insuperable barrier to desirable aliens, for a hard-working and ambitious man or woman who wanted to come here could earn the extra money. It would doubtless deter many of the shiftless and incompetent, and it would prevent such shipments of paupers and criminals as are now known to have been made with the connivance, if not at the expense, of the authorities abroad.

2. *"Assisted" immigration should be further restricted.* * * * Congress some years ago very properly recognized the danger in "assisted" immigration when it debarred from landing "any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come." But in order to make it possible for the members of a family to send for one another, the following words were added: "But this section shall not be held to prevent persons living in the United States from sending for a relative or friend, who is not of the * * * excluded classes." The motive of Congress was excellent, but the phrasing of the law is too loose to meet present conditions. At present about fifty per cent. of our total immigration is "assisted," and, for an "assisted" immigrant, any one is a "friend," and any one up to a fifth or sixth cousin several times removed is a "relative." The time has come, with our present enormous immigration, to restrict to the immediate family the privilege of "assisting" other aliens. As a rule, it is safe to say that the less desirable immigrants are those who can not pay their own passage. We should certainly allow fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, and husbands and wives and children to prepay each other's passage. Beyond that, "assisted" immigration should be stopped. Therefore, the clause concerning "assisted" immigration should be followed by some such words as these: "But this section shall not be held to prevent citizens of the United States from sending for their fathers or mothers, wives, sisters or brothers, or minor children who are not of the excluded classes." A bill introduced by Senator Lodge into the Fifty-eighth Congress (S. 1376) embodied an amendment along these same lines. In his last annual report as Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, Hon. William Williams said on this matter: "I believe that assisted immigration should be prohibited, subject to reasonable exceptions in cases of very close and otherwise eligible relatives, such as fathers, mothers, children, brothers and sisters of responsible aliens who have already resided here a sufficient length of time." There would be no permanent hardship in such a provision, because any alien, otherwise admissible, could come as soon as he had been able to pay his own passage money.

3. *We should debar immigrants of poor physique.* The immigration question is racial, rather than economic. One of the most potent factors in decreasing the American birth-rate has been the immigration of aliens of lower standards of living. American fathers and mothers, as the late Gen. Francis A. Walker pointed out, and as leading authorities have since reiterated, naturally shrink from exposing their sons and daughters to competition with those who are contented with lower wages and lower standards of living, and therefore these sons and daughters are never born. The stronger the competition, the greater the effort to maintain and raise the standard of living and the social position, and the greater the effort, the greater is the voluntary check on population. * * * It is of the utmost importance that we should keep the new blood pure, and that we should keep up the American race standard.

One of the essential points in regard to our recent immigration is that much of it is not voluntary in the true meaning of that word. It is an artificial selection by the steamship companies of many of the worst elements of European and Asiatic populations. Steamship managers and agents deny this most emphatically, but those who have had to do with immigration matters have learned to be very cautious about accepting any evidence which is given by steamship people, railroad officials, and other "interested" persons. In such matters the statements of our own Government officers are the sole evidence which is trustworthy. The social responsibility which rests upon this country in this matter is overwhelming. We may decide upon what merits, physical, intellectual, or moral, the fathers and mothers of American children shall be selected. But we have left the choice almost altogether to the selfish interests which do not care whether we want the immigrants they bring, or whether the immigrants will be the better for coming. Steamship agents and brokers all over Europe and eastern Asia are to-day deciding for us the character of the American race of the future. * * *

4. *The Illiteracy Test.* No plan for further selecting immigration has had more general support than the illiteracy test. This requires that adult immigrants,

with exceptions in favor of wives, minor children and parents, shall be able to read a few lines in their own language. * * *

There is no danger that the exclusion of illiterates would cause a scarcity of labor in this country. If there is a demand for laborers, the supply will be forthcoming from Europe. If the steamship companies can not bring illiterates, they will fill their steerage with aliens who can read. And with the stimulus thus put upon education, the illiteracy in many of the countries of Europe would soon show a notable decline. There is plenty of labor now in our cities which would be better off in the country, where there is great need of farm "help." But the cities attract, and the farmer waits for his help. So it would be under the illiteracy test.

It is urged that our native population, as well as the better class of immigrants, will not do the hard work needed to build our railroads and develop our mines, and hence we must continually import lower grades of aliens to do this work. The usual course of reasoning in this matter is fallacious. Americans abandoned the harder kinds of manual labor, not because they despised these occupations, but because they found that these occupations brought them into competition with aliens whose standards of living were much lower than their own. The same is now true of the Irish, who have largely been replaced by the Italians, and will later be true of the Italians, when other newer immigrants come in whose standards of living are so low that the Italians will not wish to associate with them. But meanwhile,



G. GUNBY JORDAN,
Cotton Manufacturer.

if we continue to admit lower and lower grades of immigrants in this fashion, the general standards of living of the whole community must inevitably also be lowered. It is often said that the crowding out of native Americans and of the older nationalities of immigrants is all for the best; that they all go up into higher occupations. This is not so. While some doubtless do rise in the social scale as the result of being displaced, some are crowded out and move elsewhere, and many are crowded down, becoming paupers and swelling the army of American tramps. * * *

To sum up: We need intelligent distribution from our congested districts of physically fit aliens over the country districts, where these aliens are wanted, and where they will be given work which they are physically and mentally qualified to perform. We need a public backing for our immigration officials in enforcing the laws we now have. We need new legislation to sift the immigrants whom we receive. We need a higher head-tax: a restriction of the privilege of "assisting" immigrants to come here; a physical test. And we need that limit to the present unwieldy numbers of immigrants which would be best furnished by an illiteracy test.

THE SOUTHERN NEED OF LABOR.

Several Governors Propose Concerted Action to Divert the Tide of Immigration.

(From an Address by G. Gunby Jordan, before the Georgia Industrial Association.)

I AM aware of the fact that very many of the older mills are making large and important improvements in their properties, adding more, and substituting new for old machinery. But in thoroughly new textile enterprises, the South seems to be now at a standstill.

The main cause of all this is that we have exhausted the available labor of the South which is capacitated by birth and adaptation for textile work. Hence there is in several of the Southern States much idle machinery. A telegram from New Bedford, Mass., in the last few days conveys the intelligence that the Mississippi Mills, at Wesson, Miss., has just made a contract with one hundred or more weavers at New Bedford, and is moving them to Wesson because weavers could not be found in Mississippi.

This telegram further vouchsafes the information that these weavers are under a contract for a year at \$2 each for each working day.

Speaking solely for our corporation, as a matter of certainty I can truthfully say that there are now, and have been for some months, a good many openings unfilled for competent mill help. Information which I believe to be reliable convinces me that practically all other mills South are in like condition. We, therefore, are to-day discussing a condition, not a theory.

No investment in manufacturing can ever prove attractive so long as there is any large portion of the machinery idle. It is a fact beyond controversy that idle machinery in the South at the present time is caused solely by the lack of competent labor.

I have just read in a New York newspaper under a headline which says: "Louisiana calls for 100,000 men," a communication saying that there is an absolute labor famine in Louisiana, and that there is employment enough waiting now for 100,000 men who are able and willing to work.

Clerks, bookkeepers, and people seeking for soft jobs, wholly within the shade, are not needed there, as probably they are not needed at any place, because there always seems to be a large surplus of people willing to work at such vocations in the South and North, the East and the West. But people who are willing to go into the fields, the factories and the mines to do manual labor, are needed in Louisiana and in Georgia as well.

South Carolina, recognizing this condition of affairs, has established a Bureau of Immigration, and has an actual office in New York looking toward the movement of immigrants to that State.

A cablegram from London, April 30, says that Donald Rose, General European Representative of the Illinois Central Railroad, has just returned from a trip to Austria and Italy, where he met the governmental authorities, with whom he discussed the possible diversion of Italian and Austrian settlers in the United States from the Eastern to the Southern States.

Mr. Rose states that he does not represent his railroad in this matter, but the governors of the States of Louisiana and Alabama.

The Italian government has thought sufficiently of this matter to have her Ambassador make a personal visit of investigation into the Southern States for the purpose of reporting upon the welfare of forty settlements of Italians already in the South, and asking for his recommendation as to the further movement of Italians to that section.

His report has been quite favorable, and with very few exceptions, advises that Italians do better by going on lands in the South than in Eastern States as miners and as laborers. This is upon the theory largely that in the South the Italian becomes a permanent land owner where land is cheap.

It is understood from high authority that the governors of several of the Southern States propose to carry on a propaganda of education respecting their several States, with a view to inviting European immigrants to them.

We learn that the manufacturers of South Carolina have met together and resolved for their own protection, and for the purpose of starting up idle machinery, that they will furnish representatives of their own to try to divert some of the immense hordes of immigrants now landing in this country to their own State.

Recently in interviews with the representatives of the Southern railway lines, Commissioner Sargent expressed himself as anxious to distribute the immense throngs of immigrants which are reaching our shores in a scientific and sensible manner, and that he believed, with the representatives of the Southern roads, that very many of these immigrants, so badly needed by it, could be diverted to the South.

Among his recommendations, which he will urge before Congress, is an appropriation sufficient to have attractive buildings on Ellis Island arranged so that each State in the Union can have a display of the products of the soil, of the manufactories and the mines, and, if desired, a capable representative to explain these and the other attractions of the respective States to immigrants, so that they can intelligently make up their minds as to the point that they may eventually choose as a permanent home.

As it is now, the ports of Alaska receive scores more of people than do all the important ports in the State of Georgia, and we certainly have two very important ports in this State—one of them sufficiently so to receive this year about 1,750,000 bales of cotton.

In the five years since the last Federal census was taken there has been an increase of the population of this country, as shown by the monthly estimates of

the Treasury Department, of 6,613,000 people, for on May 1, 1905, the estimated population of this country was 83,026,000.

Of this increase during the past five years over one-half, say 3,255,000, came from Europe.

By 1910 it is easy to see that this country will have 90,000,000 of population.

We need not anticipate; but taking what has already occurred during the past five years, we see that the gain is 8.7 per cent.

Even as discerning and conservative men as manufacturers generally are do not take sufficient account of the increased population when estimates are made of the business outlook, for every addition to our population adds just so much to the consumptive demand upon every productive industry.

It is a fair estimate to presume that the average amount needed by every person to maintain life in this country is about \$200 a year. Then, the actual increase in the United States, as based upon the last five years, means an annual increase of the consumptive demand of \$264,000,000.

This fact alone sufficiently explains the enormous vitality displayed by this country, its immense power of recuperation and the constantly growing and intense pressure upon its producing energy.

It may interest you to know that either Michigan or Minnesota, in this good year of 1905, has more foreign horn population than fourteen Southern States combined; that either Pennsylvania or Illinois has twice as many as these fourteen States, and that New York alone has four times as many as the whole of the fourteen States named. That in the State of Massachusetts there are forty-five cities of 10,000 inhabitants or more, and that the entire Southern States have only thirty-eight; that it would take several Southern States in population to equal that of New York City or Chicago alone.

There were 23,000,000 immigrants in round figures received in this country up to the year 1905, and these all, or nearly all, went to the Northern, Eastern, and Western States. This has been one of the great underlying causes of the failure of the South to develop in an adequate way.

For comparison let us take for a moment our own State of Georgia and that of Iowa. In selecting Iowa for an object lesson, it is done mainly because the area is almost identical with that of Georgia, Georgia being larger, however.

First, Georgia was one of the original colonies, and hence one of the original thirteen States.

Iowa was not admitted to the Union until 1846. In the census just prior she had 43,112 people within her borders. Georgia at that time had 691,000 people, of which 407,695 were white. To-day Iowa has outstripped Georgia in population, and hence in all other commercial and financial advantages.

To emphasize this fact, let us compare Georgia with Illinois:

	Georgia.	Illinois.
Square miles	58,980	56,000
Population	2,216,331	4,821,550
Density	37.6	86.1
Agricultural products, value.....	\$104,304,476	\$345,649,611
Agriculture, per capita, value.....	\$47	\$72
Manufactured products, value.....	\$106,654,527	\$259,730,168
Manufacturers, per capita value.....	\$48	\$261
Engaged in agriculture.....	522,848	462,781
Engaged in manufacturing.....	85,385	481,550

In other words, if Georgia had as many persons to the square mile as Illinois, its population would be now 5,080,000, or about twice the present population.

But this comparison is valuable in that it shows how rapidly this large population in Illinois has increased the agricultural products instead of decreasing their values, as some of our misguided friends fear. In other words: In Georgia we receive \$47 per capita and Illinois \$72 per capita for the value of agricultural products.

The contrast in manufacturing products is still more intense, being \$48 in Georgia and \$261 in Illinois.

There are, with all this immigration into Illinois, 60,000 more people engaged in agriculture in Georgia than there are in the State of Illinois, and on the other hand nearly 400,000 more engaged in manufacturing in Illinois than in Georgia.

There can be no race question in any country where the intelligent race is largely in numerical excess. If no other incentive existed than this, every white man in Georgia should be desirous of bringing into his State good, sound, white immigrants from any section and from any country.

Let us then take up the two decades beginning in 1880 and ending in 1900. In that time in agriculture, the balance of this country increased 65 per cent., the South 72 per cent.; in manufactories the balance of the country 242 per cent., the South 348 per cent.; in the value of manufactured products the balance of the country 135 per cent., the South 219 per cent.

In mining, lumbering, railroad building, and general industries the South stood much higher than did the balance of the country. And to-day West Virginia mines more coal than does Belgium, nearly as much as France, and these two European countries have the reputation of being great mining countries.

To-day Alabama is showing a vitality and growth in the production of iron, steel, and coal which pro-

phesies that in the next twenty-five years she will exceed the Pittsburg district in this regard.

In 1880 the South consumed one-seventh only of the cotton spun in this country. In 1900 and since she has consumed 50 per cent. of it. All of this in the face of the fact that the Southern States were increasing in population, and hence in human energy, only through the natural birth rate.

Let us take our own State for example. Where 46.7 percentage of the population is negro or of negro origin, it is a lamentable fact that the last census shows that during the preceding ten years the population of Georgia increased at a less rate than the birth rate in the State. Out of the American born population of 2,203,928, only 193,520 were natives of other parts of the country, while at the same time 412,453 natives of Georgia were living in other States, 78,000 Georgians being in Texas alone.

Thus there was a balance in the exchange of 218,933 against Georgia, which was diminished but very slightly by the incoming of only 12,403 persons born in foreign countries.

So that it is true that we are not holding our own, even from the increase that nature gives us.

Adam Smith says there are only two factors known to produce wealth—land and labor. Within our State there are millions of unused acres of land. What we need is the labor to till them.

The South has grown rich from enormous crops, so that the prodigality of nature has left much for



JOHN WILLIS BAER,
Secretary Presbyterian Board of Missions.

investment in banks, in manufactories, in opening mines and developing the wonderful natural resources in the Southern States.

Now we have reached the apex of that development, unless we bring in people sufficient to continue the work. Machinery can not operate itself. Mines are not automatic in their development. People are needed, and from some source and from somewhere they must come.

If we continue to progress, these people must be brought within our borders. Cotton consumption has doubled in the world in the past fifteen years. By 1920, if things remain in a normal condition and the peace of the world is assured, the annual consumption of cotton should be equal to twenty-five millions of bales.

The thinking men of the South have long ago concluded that it was suicidal for the bulk of this crop to leave our shores in its crude condition. The markets of the world are open to us, and manufactures should increase in the South more rapidly than in any other section of the world.

OUR GREAT ALIEN INVASION.

Its Regulation, Distribution and Evangelization Measures of High Interest and Duty.

(By John Willis Baer, Assistant Secretary Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, in the *Christian Herald*.)

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said:
This is my own, my native land?"

THERE may have been a time when men who could not give a hearty "Amen" to that sentiment were called men "without a country." If ever true in its full meaning, and I doubt it, it is not true to-day. Let me remind you that there are loyal and royal citizens of the United States who gladly give full allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, who are not "to the hanner born." America is not their native land; it is the land of their adoption.

Let us together look into this subject of Emigration and Immigration. It is now an international problem. That man who views the situation from an exclusively national aspect needs to broaden his horizon. Don't you remember the old truth familiar to our boyhood days—"What goes up must come down, upon the head or the ground"? By the same natural law the tide of migration must find its level. The tide goes up in one place, it goes down in another. I believe that nationally we are too selfishly concerned about what comes upon our head and upon our ground. We give too little constructive thought to the other fellow's head, and the other fellow's ground.

Let me at the beginning declare my position on Immigration from our own national standpoint. I am with President Roosevelt, who said in one of his messages to Congress: "We can not have too much immigration of the right kind, and we want none of the wrong kind." I had occasion to write that sentence in a letter recently to Mr. Jacob A. Riis, and in reply by letter, among other things, he said:

I agree with you thoroughly, and further, the "wrong kind" of immigration is in my mind easily identified with the kind that wants to do wrong, not with any class or race. I know no better material for the true American than the one who came from abroad, but with appreciation of what freedom may be made to mean for the race.

Jacob A. Riis is such a one, and Jacob A. Riis is right. Now go back in our thoughts to this great restless force moving upon the map of the world. Let us consider some facts, some figures, some fears.

Whelpley, in his new book just from the press, *The Problem of Immigration*, says:

Like a mighty stream it finds its source in a hundred rivulets largely in Northern, Southern, and Eastern Europe. It's an army moving at the rate of nearly two millions each year, and is invading the civilized world. Its tongue is polyglot; in dress all climes, from pole to equator, are indicated; all religions and beliefs enlist. There is no age limit; young and old alike travel side by side. There is no sex limitation, for the women are as keen, if not more so than the men. The army carries its equipment on its back. Throughout Europe the word America is synonymous in all classes with freedom, prosperity, and happiness. The desire to reach America is the first sign of awakened ambition; the first signal of revolt against harsh environment; the dream of age and youth alike.

Gaining in volume and momentum each year, without apparent regard for the law of supply and demand, the pressure of this army has already made itself felt upon communities in which it finds its destination. The cry of protest has gone up from those who find themselves crowded from their occupations and their homes by the new arrivals, and the peoples are asking also, What steps are to be taken to check this alien invasion?

Personally, I should be glad to see this whole question taken up seriously and constructively by the governments of the world. Would that President Roosevelt, the great international policeman and peace-compelling executive, might take the initiative in calling together such an international conference.

A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* has suggested some such programme as this for such a conference. Give it careful thought:

First, To encourage a high moral, physical, political, and educational standard of admission into any country.

Second, To guard against the spread of disease from one country to another.

Third, To check undue activity on the part of transportation agents.

Fourth, To maintain a world-wide system of police identification and restraint of criminals.

Fifth, To persuade each nation to live up to its full responsibilities in the care of its dependents.

Sixth, To induce the amelioration of political or economic wrongs in given areas. Such influences are driving people from one country to another to the discomfort of the latter.

By all means let us have such a conference. This great question of migration is viewed by some with too much alarm, when they consider it purely from a selfish and national standpoint. It demands "team work" by the nations of the world. The people of the United States gladly welcome the choice of Europe; Europe desires to retain its worthy sons. Europe, however, is willing to miss from among its numbers its undesirable citizens. The United States very properly objects to receiving them, and vice versa. At present it is a great game of chance—a game of give and take. Many of the world's governments are aroused—some are passing laws restricting immigration, others making laws restraining emigration.

Now for some figures. This ever restless moving from one land to another; this apparent all too easy snapping of national ties—let us view it from our own shores. The United States received during the fiscal year ending June, 1904, a total of 812,870 aliens, 30,000 of these came to us through Canadian ports—a decrease of 80,600 over 1903, which was the year registering the largest number of immigrants ever received into our country. You ask very naturally, "From whence did these aliens come?" Let me quote from the government's official report as follows:

A striking and significant feature of these figures is that the chief diminution in immigration for the year was shown in the arrivals from Austria-Hungary amounting to 28,855, and from Italy to 37,326. These two countries aggregating 66,181, or twenty odd thousand more than the total net decrease of the fiscal year, 1904. The countries of Northern and Western Europe, with one notable exception, show increases, Great Britain's increase being 18,643. The one exception to the foregoing statement is shown by the decrease of 18,265 in the arrivals from Sweden.

It appears that during the year there arrived 549,100 males and 263,770 females, an increase in the females as compared with last year of 19,870, and a decrease in the males of 64,046. As respects age, 109,150 were under 14 years; 657,155 were between 14 and 45, and 46,565 were 45 or over. 3,953 could read but not write; 168,903 could neither read nor write. It

is presumed the remainder, 640,014, could both read and write. It also appears that 103,750 of these aliens had already been to this country. That 95,575 brought with them fifty dollars or more each, while 501,530 brought each less than fifty dollars. The total amount of money shown to officers by these 812,000 aliens was \$20,894,383, or \$4,776,870 more than was brought by the 857,000 of the year before. This fact, taken in connection with the circumstance already referred to as to countries from which the increase of the year under consideration came, furnishes assurance of a marked improvement in the character and thrift of the more recent immigration. The 28,451 English immigrants brought with them, in 1903, \$1,405,000. This year the 41,479 of the same race brought \$2,736,000. The 35,366 Irish had \$796,000, while the 37,000 Irish this year showed \$1,920,000. 71,700 German immigrants last year had \$2,480,000, this year, 74,790 possessed in hand \$3,622,000.

It is further shown that there were excluded at the seaports of the United States during the year a total of 7,994, indicated as follows:

Idiots	16	Women for immoral purposes	9
Insane	33	Assisted aliens	38
Paupers	4,798	Contract laborers	1,501
Diseased persons	1,560	Anarchists	1
Convicts	35	Procurers	3

While considering our own national immigration statistics, let us have in mind the movement to and from Canada. Keep in mind, too, that Canada has more land than the United States, though we still have millions of acres to be occupied by the immigrant after irrigation has done its necessary work of transforming the desert into a garden. Canada now has a population of about six millions, and more than three millions and a half square miles of area. Canada has more area than the United States, but we have a population of more than eighty millions. I am informed from good authority that the emigration from Canada during the last one hundred years or less has been one million. Her immigration last year was 100,000, fully half of it going across the imaginary line from the United States. Seventy-five per cent. of her total immigration is from the agricultural classes of foreign countries.

Now, what are the real reasons for this great movement of peoples from our shores to North America? The reasons are very well stated by Whelpley, to whom I have already referred.

Leaving out of consideration the movement of all undesirable people, such as criminals and paupers, Whelpley refers to four distinct causes of migration.

First, the natural cause which arises from the restlessness and ambition of youth and middle age, apparent in all peoples. As a rule, these people make acceptable citizens.

Second, the economic wrongs that are causing the exodus from Italy, and in a less degree from Austria-Hungary. Sicily is practically depopulated. From some of the Italian villages over eighty per cent. of the people have come to the United States, to escape what really amounts to slavery and mental and bodily starvation.

Third, the political cause is best illustrated in the case of the Hebrews of Russia (permit me to say, however, that we can afford to drop the curtain over Russia at this time. It's as bad to hit a nation as it is to hit a man, when that nation is down.)

Fourth, the artificial cause is the abnormal activity of Transportation Companies to secure business.

Now, for some fears viewed also from our own national standpoint. I prefer to state them in the language of Commissioner Sargent. He says:

It is impossible for any but the most recklessly and foolishly optimistic to view the situation without realizing very seriously its bearing upon our well being. It is not alone that virtually nearly a million aliens have been added to our population within the short space of one year. I think that fact is one of large dimensions. All the constituent elements of this great army of invasion are to be considered—their individuality, character, and capacity for useful work, their respect for law and order and their ability to stand the strain, moral, physical, and mental, of the life of their new surroundings. In other words, the power to assimilate with people of this country, and thus become a source of strength for the support of American institutions and civilization, instead of a danger in periods of strain and trial. To doubt that they possess such ability is to discredit unvarying human experiences. The problem presented, therefore, to enlighten intelligence for solution is, how may the possibility—nay, probability—of danger from an enormous and miscellaneous influx of aliens be converted by a wise provision and provision into a power of stability and security?

Now for some remedies, to be summed up in two good words, distribution and evangelization.

First.—As to the practical question of distribution, take in the words of an expert. "These congested alien centers within our cities and States become a menace to physical, social, moral, and political security." As Commissioner Sargent has said, "These colonies become hotbeds for the propagation and growth of those false ideas of political and personal freedom whose germs have been vitalized by ages of oppression under unequal and partial laws, which find their first concrete expression in resistance to constituted authority, even the occasional assassination of lawful agents of that authority. Above all, they are congested places in the industrial body which check the free circulation of labor to those parts where it is most needed, and where it can be most benefited. Do away with them, and the greatest peril of immigration will be removed."

The problem of the distribution of immigration must be carefully thought out. Commissioner Sargent suggests that the government establish a Bureau of Information. A splendid suggestion, when we take into consideration that thirty-two per cent. of the immigrants remain in New York. This problem of distribution is not, however, to be easily settled at the seaport where the immigrant lands. It must be handled at the point of his debarcation. Thus, again, I believe I am proving that the whole general question is one of international importance, and demands

most careful consideration by accredited representatives from various governments.

The question of evangelization, thank God, is now being taken up by many of the evangelical denominations and societies having headquarters in our own land. We must keep in mind, however, the fact that a very large proportion of this alien population, whatever their life may have been politically or socially, as compared with our own, is composed of loyal adherents of Christianity as expressed in various forms. The steerage of many a ship contains devout Christian men and women, loyal to the work of God, whose motive power is swayed by the deep fundamental truths of Christianity. My heart often burns with indignation when many a speaker unconsciously, in his appeal, which often seems self-righteous eloquence, urges that the Gospel of Christ be carried to these immigrants as they come to us, assuming that they are pagan, and that Christianity is unknown to them. We must give the Gospel to those who do not have it, and we must surround with proper influences those who have already espoused it in their home lands, and thus strengthen and deepen their faith.

Unless the question is thoughtfully considered and the problem solved, the alien invasion into this country of ours "may be the rift within the lute which, slowly widening, will make the American music mute." Instead, however, of placing undue emphasis on the menace of this invasion, I consider it a mission, not only for the loyal disciple of Christianity,



WILLIAM S. WAUDBY,
Special Agent U. S. Bureau of Labor.

but a mission for every loyal American. We must Americanize the immigrant, or he may Europeanize us. We must lift him up, or he may pull us down.

SHALL THE UNITED STATES SUSPEND IMMIGRATION?

(By William S. Waudby, Special Agent U. S. Bureau of Labor.)

Nearly two-thirds of the entire immigration of the world is directed to the United States!

The invasion and successful capture of the United States has been accomplished. None of the horrors of war were visible, and we provided the means of transporting the millions of invaders to our hospitable shores during the past decades. These invaders are very skillfully disguised under the form of "immigrants," and the railroad and steamship companies make a profit of \$50,000,000 per annum in landing them.

Financial and industrial depressions in Europe, and prosperity in the United States, increases year by year the number of these invaders.

"Restriction" has been tried for twenty years, and still the immigration increases year by year, until it has arrived at that period in the country's history when it becomes not a question of "restriction" that confronts this nation, but the question of exclusion (for a term of years at least) of these immigrants. It is now the question of self-preservation.

The influence of immigration upon wages is large and complex, and there is no doubt at all that wages have fallen since the great tide of immigration set in; the only thing that has acted as a counterbalance being the solidarity of the labor organizations in resisting wholesale reductions in wage rates. Immigrants do make, and have made, first-class trades unionists, but in too many instances these migratory personages have been brought into the country for the purpose of taking the places of native labor, and are without trades union affiliations.

The first immigration law was passed by Congress in 1864, and was for the purpose of encouraging immigration—being entitled "An Act to Encourage Immi-

gration." This act was repealed in 1868. From that time until 1882 (August 3) there was no statute bearing upon immigration.

After much discussion and agitation upon the part of the labor organizations then in existence, the local Federation of Labor of the District of Columbia (Washington City) succeeded in having a bill passed by Congress, which took effect February 26, 1885, and was the first step taken for protection against the "pauper labor" of Europe, and was known generally as the law "to prevent the importation of foreign labor under contract to perform labor or service of any kind in the United States."

Under this law it has been almost impossible to apprehend contract laborers in the casual examination to which they are subjected at the various ports of entry—and they are only arrested after they are actually engaged in the labor for which they have contracted to perform. The law has never been sufficient to accomplish the object of its enactment.

The United States has full power to exclude aliens altogether, as the Supreme Court has decided that question beyond all controversy. In May, 1895, Justice Harlan delivered this opinion of the Court: "The power of Congress to exclude aliens altogether from the United States, or to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which they may come to this country, and to have its declared policy in that regard enforced exclusively through executive officers, without judicial intervention, is settled by our previous adjudications."

Each of the leading steamship lines has several thousand agents engaged in working up immigration traffic.

In one of the Senate committee investigations it was shown that the Italian bankers of New York City send to Italy in an average year from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000. This is a permanent injury to the labor and capital of the United States surely.

The Italians were the first to be exploited by the "padrone system"—now all nationalities are fair spoils: employment agencies (?) now take the place of the padrone in the large cities. It is possible for a contractor to secure any number of Italians or other laborers, at short notice, at about one-half the wages of the American standard, for sewer, railroad, mining, clothing trades, etc. Thus native labor suffers many hardships by this displacement. This system exists among the Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, Armenians, Russian Jews, and others. Many Armenians and Greeks are employed in the cotton mills of New England, especially in Massachusetts, having been brought in to break strikes and to reduce wages.

The immigration question is a national one.

"Immigration" is an economic as well as a political question.

In one day in May (the 8th) ten steamship companies landed 12,039 immigrants at Ellis Island. Never before have so many steerage passengers come into this port. During the month of March, 1904, the total number of immigrants was 78,225—or an average per day of 2,523. For the month of March, 1905, the number was increased to 126,932—or an average daily number of 4,094.

Where do they all find work? The labor market can not expand rapidly enough to provide for all of these new arrivals, so that the labor already here must either be displaced or compete with this daily influx and at pauper labor rates.

The monthly statements issued by the Bureau of Immigration are well worth the careful study of every class of our citizen voters, and especially that of every workingman. The statistics therein are clearly set forth as to the nationalities represented, and it is readily observable how few are the English-speaking arrivals. These reports also indicate the occupations and probable destination of the immigrants, and give a mass of information that is of great value to the student, as well as to the investigator after knowledge.

In the March (1905) report of this bureau, out of 126,932 arrivals for the month, there were 97,786 from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Russian Empire alone. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark threw in 7,334, with 1,433 from Finland as good measure. Greece contributed 349, and Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro's quota was 295. Should the March average hold out we will have a record for 1905 of a million and one-half immigrants, or double that of the highest period (1903), with its score of 857,046 arrivals.

By decades the problem stands as follows:

1820-1830	128,392
1830-1840	539,351
1840-1850	1,423,337
1850-1860	2,799,423
1860-1870	1,964,061
1870-1880	2,834,040
1880-1890	5,246,613
1890-1900	3,694,298
1900-1904	3,255,149

It will be noticed that in the first half of the last decade the immigration nearly approaches that of the entire 1890-1900 decade.

At a recent meeting of the patrons and members of the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews, New York City, Edward Lauterbach made the statement that 90,000 Russian Jews were preparing to emigrate to the United States, "turning their backs on tyranny and persecution, and coming to the land of freedom and liberty. The time is coming, and you engaged in charity work necessarily must face it, when the care of

thousands of your Russian brethren will be in your keeping."

Is it not time for the nation to take serious thought over this vital matter? Why waste so much time over trifles like "tainted money" or "frenzied finance," when questions like this immigration problem confront us?

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Departures and Arrivals Should be Regulated by Countries of Origin and Destination.

(By Gino C. Speranza, Lecturer on Italian Immigration.)

IT has been justly said that the United States immigration law is "the most far-reaching measure of its kind in force in any country," and a most competent foreign observer has recently declared that "it is thoroughly and intelligently enforced."

Why then, despite such severe statutory provisions and their strict enforcement, do our immigration laws fall short of their purpose and leave much to be desired? The answer seems simple enough, yet it appears to have escaped many of our sociologists and legislators. *Our immigration laws fall short of their purpose because they seek to control by national means such a movement of population as can be disciplined only by international action.*

It has been generally recognized that the *source of supply* is the strategic point for the control of immigration; yet we have centered our efforts in pushing back the migratory tide *after* it reaches our shores; in other words, after it has reached this point where it is hardest to check it, and where, at times, we must resort to methods savoring of cruelty in order to enforce the letter of the law.

But it will be argued that our laws can have no extra-territorial application; that we can not legislate for people not subjects of our government and outside of our jurisdiction. This is true, as far as it goes. But to-day the old international demarcations are becoming obliterated. Commercial interests and improved methods of transportation and communication are not only drawing countries into a closer community of interests, but increasing the causes and occasions for international action. Shipping has been, from ancient times, regulated by international agreement. The apprehension of fugitives from justice has necessarily been the subject for international conventions or treaties. To-day international cooperation is resorted to not only where commercial interests are involved, such as posts, telegraphs and patents, but in the interest of health, such as quarantine regulations and the enforcement of laws against the adulteration of certain food stuffs.

Why, then, recognizing that the problem of the immigrant is an international one, and having many striking precedents for joint action among different countries, have we made little, if any, attempt to reach some international agreement?

I say it with the utmost respect, but with no less serious conviction, that it is because we have allowed certain preconceived notions and prejudices to blind our judgment and our powers of observation. We have allowed the notion to gain currency that foreign governments were using our land as a dumping ground for the worst elements of their population, and that they were, directly or indirectly, encouraging such noisome exodus for their benefit and to our detriment. With such notion firmly established in the popular mind, we approached the problem of the immigrant in a spirit, if not of prejudice, certainly of narrowness. Our legislators sought legislative measures which savored more of *defense* against an invading horde than of adjustment of what is, in its essentials, a natural phenomenon; so, likewise, our officials enforced those provisions more in a spirit of suspicion against probable evaders of our statutes than as impartial magistrates.

This is not said in a spirit of criticism. It is set forth rather as showing one of the causes that have prevented international action. For, obviously, if we think, for instance, that Austro-Hungary or Italy is dumping her refuse here, how can we even propose that those countries agree to certain regulations to be mutually enforced? So we send Secret Service men to spy on officials of friendly Powers to get at their "plots" for exporting their *Mafiosi* and their incapables, instead of sending or inviting delegates in an open, frank, businesslike manner *as we should do if we wished to arrange about our postal rates, or the protection of our trade marks.*

I plead in all earnestness for a juster attitude, and one more in harmony with the facts, toward the problem of the immigrant, as only thus can we pave the way for that international action which alone can be effective in the solution of such a problem. More in harmony with the facts I say, for we must free ourselves of the idea that the problem of the immigrant is a problem only for us, and not for the country of the immigrant's origin. We must recognize the fact that any large movement of population, such as that represented by the annual flow of aliens to our shores, is not, and can not be, looked upon with pleasure, still less encouraged by the countries of origin. Italy, for

instance, can not well afford, in the long run, to lose thousands of her able-bodied sons every year. Sicilian wheat fields are becoming pasture land from lack of hands to till them; the old men left at home can not take care of the farms. Italy needs strong men in her factories, in her fields, and for her army.

Looking upon the problem in this light, What are the chances for international action?

I can only speak as regards Italy, and yet the example of Italy may be most instructive. Even to-day the Italian government allows American medical examiners at Italian ports of departure. This of itself is some evidence against the popular belief that that country seeks to evade our laws on immigration. Her Emigration Department, about which so little is known here, exercises a positive check rather than an encouragement to emigration. The Italian emigration law has been called the finest example of modern social legislation, and if it were better known here many popular ideas regarding governmental encouragement to emigration would be quickly disposed of. Official documents are on record showing a serious desire on the part of the Italian government to have our immigration laws respected. The annual reports of its emigration department, and its official instructions to the mayors of Italian cities, might be cited. A circular of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued last April at Rome, reaffirms an earlier provision that no passport be issued to an intending emigrant who would be excluded by the laws of the country to which he intends going. "It is in the public interest," reads the circular, "that a



GINO C. SPERANZA.
Lectures on Italian Immigration.

migratory current should not be tainted by elements considered undesirable by the country of destination." The last annual report of the Italian Emigration Department makes a strong appeal to Italian emigrants against crowding in American cities, and urges their settling in agricultural States. Recently, while in Italy, I had many interviews with political men and leaders of thought, such as journalists, writers, professors, and magistrates. Their opinion was practically unanimous that Italy would consent to cooperate with us in the regulation of her emigration, provided the subject were approached in the proper way.

In that last statement lies, in my opinion, the secret of successful international action. If we approach a foreign government in a spirit of suspicion, treating it as an inferior who is trying to evade our laws or as a poor cousin who wants to burden us with its numerous and incapable children, our endeavors are foredoomed to failure.

But let us call an international conference as between political equals, inviting delegates and asking for suggestions and frank discussion; let us bring together men really cognizant with existing conditions and laws, instead of relying on peripatetic observers who give us picturesque but superficial observations, and we can be tolerably sure of achieving some substantial results regarding the regulation of immigration.

In conclusion I would suggest:

First—That foreign legislation regarding emigration, and its enforcement, be more carefully studied with a view to reaching a juster idea of the attitude of foreign countries toward emigration, its regulation, and control.

Second—That an international conference on immigration be called by our government, to which delegates from every European country be invited to discuss international regulations of the movement of population between different countries.

Third—That, in the meanwhile, as regards Italy, closer direct relations be established between our immigration department and the Italian emigration department, looking especially to the possibility of a rational distribution of Italian immigration.

As regards this last suggestion, the Italian government is officially on record as desirous of cooperating with Commissioner General Frank S. Sargent in his plans to induce Italians to settle in our Southern States, where there is a great demand for farm hands. This would be an excellent beginning in that cooperation which would result in benefit both to ourselves and to the strangers within our gates.

CHINESE BOYCOTTS AND EXCLUSION.

An Historical Review of our Legislation against Asiatic Immigration.

(By Earle Ashley Walcott, in *Collier's Weekly*.)

ON both sides of the Pacific there appears to have arisen an organized attempt to break down the exclusion policy that shuts out the Chinese from free admission to the United States.

"Boycott American goods," or the Chinese equivalent, has been raised as the war-cry of China's commercial leaders, if we may believe the despatches from China, and under official encouragement has united the dealers and consumers in a non-importation league for the punishment of America. Even the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Manila passed the boycott resolution, but on second thoughts rescinded it. The reason for this attempt to cut off America's growing trade in the Orient is said to be the indignation roused by the American policy of excluding certain classes of Chinese.

Simultaneously with the boycott agitation in China, a chorus of complaints has been raised in the American press against the harshness with which the exclusion laws are administered. The examination of merchants, students, and travelers of Chinese birth has been criticised as on a level with the examination of a suspected criminal seeking to enter the country. The case of a Chinese, claiming to have been born in this country, denied admission by the immigration bureau, and refused relief by the Supreme Court of the United States as a matter outside its jurisdiction, has also been used to excite sympathy for the excluded Chinese and to cast discredit upon the exclusion policy.

The demand for the exclusion of the Chinese took its rise in the hard times that followed the panic of 1873. There had been sporadic agitations before, but they had no force. With the hard times, employment became scarce and business suffered. The pinch came, as usual, hardest on the laboring man. He looked about him for a cause of his troubles, and saw the Chinese, employed, prosperous, growing in numbers. Every steamer from the Orient brought a thousand or more immigrants from China. In 1872, 10,642 came; in 1873, 18,154; in 1874, 16,651; in 1875, 19,033; in 1876, 16,879. These added to a city whose population was less than 200,000, and to a State whose population was less than 800,000, produced industrial disturbance. Chinatown grew and prospered while the white men were in distress, because the Chinaman could live and thrive on wages that would not support a white man.

The workmen of California, having decided upon the cause of their woes, promptly organized to demand the exclusion of their competitors. They made such a noise about it that Congress sent out investigating committees, who took much testimony that is buried in the cellars of the Capitol. The committees found that the Chinese roused hostility by both their virtues and their vices—the virtues being a little ahead in the competition.

The testimony of both friends and foes of the Chinese justified the following conclusions: The Chinaman is of extraordinary industry, docile, faithful to a bargain, not addicted to intoxicating liquors. He worked for low wages, lived in quarters that a white man could not occupy, was content with a little boiled rice and a cup of tea when he could get nothing better, and was able to master any industry known to the white man. Hence the Chinaman was employed while the white man was left idle.

Possibly the difficulties of the white laboring man under Chinese competition would have excited but indifferent sympathy had it not developed that the competition of the Chinese against the American employer was quite as keen and successful as that against the American workman. The American shoe manufacturer, for instance, who filled his factory with Chinese workmen to cut down the wage bill, presently found that a Chinese manufacturer had learned the business from him and was running a plant on a closer margin than he himself could afford. Having taught the business to the Chinese, a Chinese capitalist, with Chinese foremen, Chinese laborers, and a Chinese office force, was underselling him in his own market. The same was found to be the case in a number of other lines—notably ready-made clothing and cigar making, which were largely controlled by Chinese. It was evident that under the operation of the natural laws of trade a large part of the manufacturing and commercial business of the city would eventually pass to the yellow man as the one best fitted to survive in the struggle for existence. There-

fore employers as well as employed became vigorous opponents of Chinese immigration.

Besides economic objections there were others. The large Chinese population of the Pacific Slope was formed almost exclusively of young men; and these men, removed from the influence of home ties and traditional public sentiment, developed a combination of Oriental and Western vices demoralizing to the communities about them. The importation of women for immoral purposes early became a recognized traffic that forty years of vigorous effort on the part of the officers of the law has scarce sufficed to stamp out. Gambling and opium-smoking are ineradicable vices of the race, and they have introduced the opium habit among the white people with lamentable results. Blackmail and murder are a recognized business in Chinatown. Large organizations live by collecting money from merchants, gambling houses, and haunts of vice. They enforce their contributions by the knife, the hatchet, and the revolver. Private disputes are also settled by murder, the Highbinders, so-called, attending to the business for a cash payment. The price for killing a man runs from \$50 to \$2,500, according to his social or business position. These crimes have the saving grace that they are committed by Chinese upon Chinese for Chinese. It is rare for them to attack a white person. But within their own quarters they have a large number of bold and desperate criminals, requiring an extraordinary police service to maintain order.

Thus, from all causes, the friends of the open door policy in California were reduced in numbers to those inspired by the duty of saving the Chinaman's soul, and the large landholders who found Chinese labor, which could be hired in gangs for a few months in the year and turned off to shift for itself for the rest of the time, the only labor that could make the great ranches profitable. So when it was put to a vote in California, in 1879, only 883 voted for Chinese immigration, while 154,638 voted against it.

All these matters were laid before Congress, and Congress sympathized. Impressed by the deadly earnestness of the Pacific Slope, the legislative body became dimly conscious that there was a real danger to white supremacy in the outposts of our own land. So in 1878 both Houses passed the Fifteen Passenger bill, limiting the number of Chinese that could be brought by any one vessel to fifteen. President Hayes vetoed it, and advised a treaty with China as the first step in restricting immigration.

In 1880, James B. Angell, John F. Swift, and William H. Trescott were sent to China and negotiated a treaty agreeing that the United States might limit or suspend the coming of Chinese, but might not prohibit it.

Then in 1882 Congress passed a bill suspending the coming of the Chinese for twenty years. President Arthur vetoed it on the ground that the twenty-year limit was prohibition, not suspension. Congress cut down the limit to ten years, and Arthur signed the bill. The act forbade Chinese to enter after ninety days from the passage of the act, but permitted the Chinese in America to re-enter the country after returning to China. They were required merely to take out return certificates on leaving the United States, and present them on re-entering.

The act came up against a hostile court and was punched as full of holes as a sieve. It was held that the act applied to those who left the country between the adoption of the treaty of 1880 and the ninety days after the passage of the act, when it went into effect; and as it was impossible for these to have obtained return certificates, they should be permitted to enter upon parol evidence of prior residence. Court procedure became wonderfully simplified. Chinese seeking to enter the country without certificates were denied landing by the customs officers. A writ of habeas corpus was thereupon issued by the Federal Court, returnable before a court commissioner. The Chinese were thereupon landed, taken before the commissioner in express wagons without guard. A few questions were asked as to the geography of San Francisco and the time they had lived here. The coaching was not very good, and the answers were often ridiculous, but the commissioner usually reported to the court that they were prior residents. The District-Attorney would protest, and the court would sign an order turning them loose. Under this procedure 8,031 were admitted in 1883. It was a source of bubbling indignation to San Francisco. The press roared. The United States District-Attorney said to me one day with tears of anger in his eyes: "Every day I go to the limits of contempt of court, but nothing I can say will move those men to enforce the law." The three judges were kept busy ordering discharges under habeas corpus writs.

The protest reached Congress, and in 1884 the law was amended to make the return certificate "the sole evidence" on which a Chinese laborer could establish his right to land. The Federal Courts paid no attention to this enactment. The act by its terms admitted the right of all who had left after the ratification of the treaty of 1880 to return, and the judges held that the provision that the certificate should be the only evidence to entitle laborers to land did not apply to

those who left before certificates were issued. Therefore they continued to hear parol evidence, and to land Chinese on testimony that was for the most part flat perjury.

But the perjury of the bogus "prior resident" was not the only ground of complaint. It soon became evident that the certificate business itself was being overdone. Investigation showed that certificates were articles of merchandise. Every Chinese who left America took out an authorization to return, and promptly sold it to some one who wanted to cross the water to make his fortune. Brokers bought up certificates, schools were maintained in Hong Kong and even on shipboard to teach the Chinese immigrant to answer the few questions that were asked by the customs officers. Then a "ring" was uncovered in the custom house itself that had been issuing forged certificates by the thousand, and selling them to the Chinese brokers. Some of the gang were sent to prison. The others fled. With "prior residents," forged certificates, and other devices for evading the law, coolie immigration grew rapidly—7,704 in 1885-86, 11,162 in 1886-87, 12,816 in 1887-88.

The indignation roused by these exposures brought the passage of the Scott act of 1888. The circumstances were these: In March, 1888, the Senate requested the President to negotiate a treaty with China, providing that no Chinese laborer should thereafter enter the United States. The treaty was negotiated through the Chinese Minister and sent to the Senate on the 17th of March. The Senate added a provision that Chinese laborers who had left this country and had not then returned should not be permitted to return, even though they held return certificates. The treaty was sent to China for ratification, and on the report that it had been rejected by China a bill carrying out substantially the same provisions was brought into the House on September 3, passed at once without division, and sent to the Senate, passed by that body on September 7, and was signed by the President when official confirmation of the rejection of the treaty was received.

This measure cut off all the frauds of the "prior resident" testimony, the sale of certificates, and the forgery of certificates. The pleas under which a laborer could make his way into the country by sufficient perjury were reduced to two—the first being to swear that he was a "native born," who, under the court rulings, could establish his birth in San Francisco by parol evidence and enter as an American citizen, and the second was to play successfully the part of a merchant. Some hundreds dribbled in by these chinks in the exclusion wall.

Then in 1892 the whole subject was opened afresh. The Restriction Act of 1882, on which all subsequent legislation hung, expired by limitation in May of that year, and fresh legislation was sought. The famous Geary Act was framed by a Congressman from California, and in modified form was accepted by the Senate. It continued all former legislation for another period of ten years, made illegal entry into the United States a crime punishable by imprisonment and deportation, ordered all Chinese lawfully within the United States to take out certificates of identification, and made failure to produce such certificate a cause for deportation. The intent of these severe provisions was to make it easy to identify the smuggled Chinese who were drifting across the northern and southern borders in large numbers, lack of a certificate being presumptive evidence of unlawful entry into the country. Bail was by this act forbidden in habeas corpus cases. Congress modified the act in 1893 to permit the Chinese to comply more readily with the provisions for registration, and to strengthen the administrative features of the act.

This legislation ended most of the abuses against which the upholders of the exclusion law had contended. By the successive acts the handling of the Chinese seeking admission had become committed almost exclusively to administrative officers. The grounds on which a landing could be sought by the habeas corpus route had been so cut away by the successive enactments that the courts found little opportunity to interfere.

China, however, was not satisfied with this final legislation, and in 1894 sought a modification of the restrictions that had been thrown about the movements of her subjects. A treaty was framed permitting a Chinese having wife, child, or parent in the United States, or owning property to the amount of \$1,000, or having solvent credits to the same amount, to take out a certificate, giving him the privilege of return within one year after leaving the United States. This treaty was made for the period of ten years, and at the end of that time China signified her wish to abrogate it.

In 1902 the Geary Act expired by limitation, and was re-enacted with a few additional provisions to strengthen its administrative features. It extended the restrictions of the law to the island possessions of the United States, required the Chinese in the Philippines to register, and provided that the island Chinese should not be permitted to come to the mainland. Then, in 1904, when China denounced the treaty, it became necessary to re-enact all prior legislation,

and this was done without change. Here the legislative history ends, with China seeking a new treaty that shall reopen the doors to her people.

If the Chinese stand firm in their reported resolve to forego the advantage of buying the goods they want in the cheapest market, and shall decline to sell their products to Americans, no part of the United States will regret their policy more than the Pacific Slope. We are counting on the development of Oriental commerce as one of the chief elements in the future growth of our cities and the establishment of our manufactures. But if we must choose between the loss of this valuable trade and the surrender of white to yellow civilization in the Western seaboard States, we will relinquish the trade rather than sacrifice the ultimate interests of our land and our race.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM IS SERIOUS.

But Serious for the Foreign Countries, Not for Us.

(Editorial in New York Evening Journal, June 8.)

Small-sized Americans, so much excited about the arrival of immigrants in this country, would be enlightened if they knew the attitude of the foreign countries toward emigration to America.

Every one of the foreign countries is doing its best to PREVENT such emigration.

Years ago, in South Germany, the newspapers printed dark and gloomy warnings, inspired by the government and intended to frighten the peasants.

These warnings told how emigrants to America were lured into barber shops here and had their throats cut—the chair and the murdered one subsequently sinking through the floor. Much ingenuity was used to convince the would-be emigrant that a trip to America was suicide.

In Spain, whence emigration has increased very rapidly, the newspapers and the government are much disturbed and are making every effort to keep the population from moving to America.

A similar crusade is made in Hungary, in Austria—in fact, everywhere throughout Europe.

The European nations, who lose the citizens that come here, are well aware that EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA ARE AMONG THE BEST CITIZENS OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

The emigrant has imagination, enterprise, and will power—otherwise he could not make up his mind to tear up his home, however humble, and move to an unknown country.

It is the character of the immigrants who reach this shore that has made the character of the American people.

If we are a nation of inventors, a nation of nervous activity, working on new lines—IT IS BECAUSE THE OLD COUNTRIES HAVE SENT THOSE QUALITIES TO US, giving us the best of their citizenship.

The Americans that oppose immigration are narrow-minded and ill-informed. It is proper to keep out professional criminals, diseased classes and idiots, since selfishness is the first law of "civilization."

But practically the entire body of immigrants add to the wealth of the country, the wealth of everybody in it.

We have untold millions of acres of land uncultivated. We need people to cultivate them.

All the people of the United States could live in comfort in the single State of Texas—and there would be room and food there for eighty millions more, even under our inferior processes of agriculture.

The United States needs a thousand millions of inhabitants. It needs more HUMAN BEINGS, as a great farm of the West needs horses and agricultural implements.

The country is lucky in having the enterprise, courage and manhood of the Old World to draw upon.

Remember that we get from Europe not only some of our best workers, some of our men of strongest ideas and personality, but also men BEST FITTED TO LIVE IN A REPUBLIC AND MAINTAIN A REPUBLIC.

Europe sends millions of men who know by experience what it is to live in a land where men are not free. These immigrants know by experience what the ballot means and what it should be worth.

Their influence is needed in a country where already republicanism is becoming a matter of course and the ballot more or less of a joke, a mere question of partisanship or financial advantage.

The European countries know that every immigrant arriving here is a loss to them and a gain for us. And we should be intelligent enough to realize that also.

But leaving out all question of gain, what right has the United States to act like a great international dog in the manger and presume to reserve this great section of the earth's surface for a small population, less than one-tenth of the number it can comfortably support?

LABOR AND THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

(Concluded from page 8.)

President to discuss with him the possibility of Chinese reprisals or of possible Chinese animosity toward us, the danger to American manufactures and American commerce if this policy of ours of excluding Chinese labor is not changed in some way or other. I don't believe they mentioned the possibility of the repeal of the exclusion law, but it was openly hinted at in the newspaper interviews immediately following, and was so known to every observer.

We all know our very genial Ambassador from China to the United States, who returned to that country about a year ago, Mr. Wu Ting Fang. He was said to be very "charming" in his way in cajoling Americans, in telling them funny stories, and in trying to impress on the people of the United States that all the Chinese were of the mental caliber of the Ambassador. That Mr. Wu was a clever man, all the Americans who talked with him say. He judged the temper of some of our American methods at the first glance. And there is not a particle of doubt in my mind that this bright heathen Chinese, when he went back to China, carefully planned this scheme of a pretense to boycott American goods with the end to secure first, action such as is indicated by the issuance of the President's recent order, and second, to stimulate an agitation with the view of the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law.

In an address delivered recently by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, he referred to an increase in the exportation of American manufactures and mechanical and agricultural implements to China of nine millions of dollars in the last year. I ask any candid man, with this fact in view, whether there is good ground, even taking the dollar as the only consideration, to change the policy of our country in regard to Chinese immigration and exclusion? There is not even that semblance of an excuse. I deny that this is sufficient ground, even if China should cut off every dollar of Chinese business. American manhood and American civilization are too dear to us, too sacred to us, even to take a chance at what Mongolian immigration into our country would mean.

You and I in New York can not tell what Chinese immigration is, in spite of the fact of Pell Street and that little district there. They say that comparisons are odious under any circumstances. It is impossible to make a comparison between Chinatown in New York and Chinatown in San Francisco. The Chinatown of New York and the Chinatown on the Pacific Coast stand in direct opposition to each other. Can you imagine for a whole mile around in the heart of the city, three stories underground, people living, living there the whole day and night, the whole night long, some of them never coming up to the surface at all? The entire place is unlike what we have here. Thousands are living there—not living, but existing. But even that could be endured if there were a possibility of their ever becoming Americanized. But to understand Chinese life and Chinese immigration, you have to understand this fact, that the Chinaman regards himself as possessing an entirely higher civilization than ours; that what we have is what they call barbarism, and our commercialism is entirely at variance with their considerations of human life. I shall not undertake to discuss whether ours is ideal or perfect. Every man agrees that it is not; but they think that their civilization is far above and beyond ours. I take it we don't want to become Chinaized, no matter how much more they may believe in their civilization than in ours.

The settled policy of the American people is that Chinese laborers, whether skilled or unskilled, must not come to the United States. Inasmuch as the Federal Government has by solemn treaty declared that the canal strip in the Isthmus of Panama belongs to the United States, the Chinaman must not come to Panama to build the canal. The danger of their coming by millions to the United States and undermining or overwhelming our civilization, not in my time—well, think what it means for others outside of you and me. We love our children; we love our country; we hope to perpetuate and improve this civilization which our forefathers have developed, and which we have brought to its present stage, and hope to make the conditions such that our children and our children's children shall make of this fair land of ours a haven for life and liberty and right and justice and humanity, which shall be manifest to every people everywhere.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has discussed this very question, and we have had several interviews with the Panama Canal and other Federal authorities. I want to say that you, of course, know—at any rate some of our enemies make it quite conspicuous—that I am a member of the Civic Federation. It is my pleasure to help in the suggestion of things that may be useful to the interests of labor. Those representing other interests have able men enough to look after their own interests. Whenever there is anything that can be said, or done, or suggested, in the interests of labor, that is my chance; and I have never permitted it to pass without taking advantage of it and turning it to the account of labor.

We all know that Brother Moffett is a splendid

fellows. We are all proud of his friendship, his sterling qualities, and character; and we all have the feeling that his appointment to visit the Canal district and make an investigation and suggest improvements will be productive of great good; will convey useful knowledge to laborers all over the United States, as well as to the workmen who shall go to Panama. We shall learn the truth from him. He will be helpful to us and to the Commission. He is going to tell them what he believes to be true, and he will have wonderful opportunities of observation. He goes with the good will of organized labor everywhere.

I may say that the appointment of Mr. Moffett and the appointment of Mr. Nazro is the result of an idea of the welfare of labor in industrial plants wherein we have been helped whenever that idea came to the front.

We want the Canal built and built well, under American conceptions of right, justice, and humanity. So that when completed without tears or wails it may stand as another perpetual monument to the skill, the genius of American science, American labor, American manhood and grit.

STATE MEDIATOR R. W. HAWTHORNE.

Robert W. Hawthorne, recently appointed the New York State Mediator of Industrial Disputes by Commissioner of Labor P. Tecumseh Sherman, is a native of New York City, where he has been actively employed



ROBERT W. HAWTHORNE,
N. Y. State Mediator of Industrial Disputes.

since leaving school. After valuable experience as Executive Secretary to Judge Greenbaum, he was for several years engaged in reporting important cases in the courts. Three years ago he became Assistant Secretary of the National Civic Federation and Secretary of the Conciliation Committee of the Civic Federation of New York. In those capacities he developed unusual tact and readiness in averting and settling disputes between labor and capital, participating in several important negotiations. Commissioner Sherman selected him for his present public position entirely because of these qualifications.

WELFARE WORK.

(Concluded from page 14.)

In the third grade dues of fifty cents entitle them to \$6.00 a week sick benefit and \$50.00 death benefit. All fines, the total never amounting to more than \$200 a year, are turned over to the Society.

The regular sick benefits are paid upon receipt of the attending doctor's certificate.

To all members living in Manhattan the services of a physician are free.

The physician employed by the Society devotes two hours daily to medical attendance of the employees in the store. He is provided with a well equipped office for immediate dispensary work. This is proving of great benefit. Prompt attention to illness in its first stage often prevents its serious development.

To any member in urgent need the president of the Society may give outright a sum not exceeding \$25.00. Thus everyone throughout the establishment knows that any honest case of genuine want can be immediately relieved without red tape or delay.

The Society loans to a member when pecuniarily embarrassed, temporarily, an amount not exceeding \$50.00. This loan, without interest, must be paid back in weekly instalments.

The benefits of the Mutual Aid Society extend, under its by-laws, only to members in good standing, but the Society administers the "Fannie Myers Fund,"

which is devoted to the assistance of the families of employees who are not members, and, therefore, are not entitled to aid from the Society. Its beneficiaries include ex-employees and members of the Society, who have received all the benefits to which the by-laws entitle them.

Thanksgiving Eve, every employee who desires it is presented by the Society with a fine turkey.

The restaurant for employees has ample space, air and light. Moderate prices are charged to enable the lowest as well as the highest paid employees to secure luncheon, and the restaurant is used each year by an increasing number. It is conducted at a loss to the firm.

An annual ball, with a special entertainment, is given by the Mutual Aid Society. This ball is one of the prominent features of the winter season, and is highly popular.

The junior help is not permitted to attend the annual ball. For the entertainment of the juniors and of their friends, the firm gives a May Party on Decoration Day. This party is in charge of about one hundred chaperons, women and men employees, selected because of their fitness. The young people who attended the last May Party consumed one thousand quarts of milk, five thousand sandwiches, four barrels of sweet crackers, and three hundred and fifty quarts of ice cream. To add to their enjoyment, there were distributed five hundred bean bags, two gross of rubber balls and two gross jumping ropes.

Women employees who have been with the firm for one year or longer are sent every summer for a week's vacation to a hotel at Far Rockaway, L. I. Sometimes in the case of girls of more delicate physique, this vacation is extended to two weeks. They are paid their full salary; receive their transportation to and from Far Rockaway, and their board is paid, while many amusements are provided free of expense. Among these is a weekly Tally-Ho ride through the beautiful surrounding country. The increasing popularity of these free vacations is shown by the fact that three hundred and fifty are listed for this year, while two hundred and fifty enjoyed the trip to the country last year.

The chaperons who gave up a day of rest and pleasure to attend and entertain the junior employees at the May Party on Decoration Day are remembered with a special outing on Labor Day. They are then the guests of the firm at Far Rockaway, where they are entertained at breakfast, dinner and luncheon and enjoy a ride in the Tally-Ho.

The term "Welfare Work," in the view of the firm, has proved most happy, in that it conveys no suggestion of charity. Many employees avail themselves of advantages offered who would never accept them in the form of personal charity, which was the only method of rendering benefit before the present system was organized.

"INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY."

(Concluded from page 11.)

persuade himself and his perturbed friends is a wholly innocuous form of mental culture. In its systematic treachery, the plan is in thorough accordance with the Socialist plot to scuttle the ship of organized labor by "boring from within." Socialist students are to be stimulated to "enter the people's universities" for spreading their propaganda in dark and devious ways that will "excite the least antagonism," just as Socialist workmen are urged to join the unions of their crafts, there to promote, in the phrase of one of Mr. Higginson's fellow-signers, their "insidious propaganda." Teachers are to imitate the example of Prof. Ferri, who does not "frighten" his listeners with frank, plain language; who does not whisper before timid youth the startling word "Socialism," but subtly instills into their ears all the poison of its creed of revolution.

We think that Mr. Higginson can no longer complain that the editor of *Harper's Weekly* overstated the case in saying that the Intercollegiate Socialist Society "aims to imbue the minds of the rising generation with Socialist doctrines."

Assuredly, Mr. Higginson can no longer plead ignorance of the facts as an excuse for his surprising association with an organization whose purposes and whose origin are utterly at variance with his distinguished record as an American soldier and patriot.

The Civic Federation of New England has issued a bulletin setting forth its scope and purposes. This association, although an independent body, is patterned after the National Civic Federation, and hope to be of assistance in settling industrial disputes in its particular locality. Frank K. Foster, of Boston, one of the International Typographical Union delegates to the American Federation of Labor, is a member of the executive committee of the federation.—*Typographical Journal*.

Under the agreement system the best judgment each side will control the situation; under the rough and tumble system the most pugnacious element will control.—*Coast Seamen's Journal*.

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TEN CENTS

CONCILIATION'S GREATEST VICTORY.

ITS SUCCESS IN PRODUCING THE PEACE OF PORTSMOUTH STRENGTHENS ITS POTENCY
IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF GREAT INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES.

THE principle of conciliation and conference has received the most profoundly impressive exercise that the world has ever seen in the signing of the treaty of peace by the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Japan.

The historic event at Portsmouth, N. H., on September 5, was the successful culmination of an effort, pronounced without precedent, to end war and restore peace through their employment. This effort was made in the name of civilization and humanity. The race has been incalculably benefited, and its moral and material progress has been immensely forwarded by the cessation of the "terrible and lamentable conflict" between Russia and Japan, brought about through the initiative and dignified endeavor of the President of the United States.

The results to humanity and civilization are not only of immediate but of cumulative benefit. Not only are the waste of blood and treasure and the interruption to economic production brought to an end, but it has been demonstrated to every government on this planet that it is practicable to adjust international disputes amicably, through frank discussion between their authorized representatives around the conference table, instead of upon the battlefield. The demonstration has all the lasting force and weight, not only of the theories of students of international relations, but of practical execution. This concrete result appeals to the imagination of the world and impresses itself as a fact accomplished that must influence all the future evolution of human history.

The lesson goes even further. If war, with all its grim enginery in full activity, with all its passions fiercely inflamed, with all its energies at their most intense strain, can thus be ended; if armies can be halted in the very midst of murderous combat, if their guns can be silenced and their charges checked with hand upon lanyard and with sabers in air, if the bristling area of carnage can be converted into a smiling region of peace, all through a verbal process between plenipotentiaries, then

surely the peoples of the world, upon whose productive capacity the burdens of all wars fall, should be increasingly open to the conviction that it is possible to settle industrial wars through similar processes of negotiation.

International diplomacy thus points the way that industrial diplomacy should tread. As humanity has paid in the blood and tears of centuries the frightful cost of the "last argument of kings," so have "count-

less thousands" mourned because of the inhuman elements enlisted upon either side in the perennial dispute between capital and labor over their just shares in the product of their united efforts. If national conciliation and conference can lessen the red stain of battles upon the pages of history, it is an irresistible inference that the application of the same sane methods can lessen in increasing ratio the friction attending the incessant readjustments between employer and employed, and that the progress of civilization, which must include simultaneously greater economy of production and a higher standard of living, can be carried forward with fewer of those industrial battles known as the lockout and the strike.

In the world of industry, when capital and labor are at war, it has been demonstrated repeatedly that personal, face-to-face conference between their representatives, when duly authorized and clothed with power to treat, has no equal for establishing mutual respect and confidence and bringing about a settlement which, without such a conference, would have seemed impossible. The terms of such a settlement are often formulated in a trade agreement, which thus may be entitled an industrial treaty, which representatives of both capital and labor declare should be held sacredly inviolate.

In the world of international politics, diplomacy has for centuries striven to prevent or to provoke wars, as the policy of sovereigns might dictate; but diplomacy has been always the channel through which war was prevented or peace restored. The foundation of diplomacy is communication or conference between the direct representatives of sovereign powers; and its most pacific results are embodied in treaties, which are the highest law in the participating countries.

When conflict actually exists between capital and labor in an industry, there is



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
THE GREAT CONCILIATOR.

as much opportunity for the exercise of methods of conference as there is in war between nations. The opportunity in each case is strikingly similar. Who is to act as conciliator? Who is to persuade the belligerents, whether national or industrial, to consent to a conference, with a view to the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace? Obviously, if neither party to the war is crushed, it must be some outsider; and that outsider must be possessed of certain qualities. The outsider, if his attempted mediation is not to be rejected peremptorily and resentfully by one or the other or by both the combatants, must first of all be disinterested. His motive must be above suspicion. He must also possess a dignity and prestige that entitle him to the most distinguished consideration of each side. He must command respect as well as confidence.

These were precisely and essentially the conditions that surrounded the action of the President of the United States which resulted in the cessation of the war between Russia and Japan. He impersonated a government of strict neutrality. It could not be suspected of self-interest. There was historic warrant for confidence in the disinterested and sincere friendship of that government for each of the warring powers. Simultaneously, the Government of the United States commanded the respect of each. Its intervention was in behalf of the largest "general public," that is, of humanity and civilization. All this was represented in the identical note of the President to Russia and Japan:

"The President feels that the time has come when in the interest of all mankind he must endeavor to see if it is not possible to bring to an end the terrible and lamentable conflict now being waged. With both Russia and Japan the United States has inherited ties of friendship and goodwill. It hopes for the prosperity and welfare of each, and it feels that the progress of the world is set back by the war between these two great nations.

"The President accordingly urges the Russian and Japanese Governments, not only for their own sake, but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with one another.

"The President suggests that these peace negotiations be conducted directly and exclusively between the belligerents; in other words, that there be a meeting of Russian and Japanese plenipotentiaries or delegates without any intermediary, in order to see if it is not possible for these representatives of the two powers to agree to terms of peace. The President earnestly asks [the two governments] to agree to such meeting. While the President does not feel that any intermediary should be called in in respect to peace negotiations themselves, he is willing to do what he properly can if the two powers concerned feel that his services will be of aid in arranging the preliminaries to the time and place of meeting.

"But even if these preliminaries can be arranged directly between the two powers, or in any other way, the President will be glad, as his whole purpose is to bring about a meeting which the whole civilized world will pray may result in peace."

The student of industrial economics and the student of international relations may read this letter with the same eyes and may read it above, below and between its lines with the same conclusion. That conclusion is that there has been applied, with a success without precedent, but with a success that establishes a precedent, the identical methods of conciliation and conference between warring states that have been proved to be most efficient when invoked to end conflicts between capital and labor. These mighty forces within the boundaries of any country should find in

the President's illustrious achievement the inspiration to infuse renewed energy into efforts for just reconciliation of industrial differences through mediation.

ADVANTAGEOUS TO LABOR OFFICIALS.

Their Participation in Civic Federation Gathering Conduces to the Interests of Unionism.

(The Shoe Workers' Journal.)

There isn't a class of men in the country to-day whose duties bring them into public prominence whose actions are more closely scrutinized than so called labor officials. This is especially true of those officers

and presence of labor's ablest advocates. It is to the interests of the workers that their friends and advocates be heard at the meetings of this organization, and it is in the interests of the workers that they are there.

Where the cause of labor is given every opportunity to be heard it never suffers, and it has been ably defended and advanced by its representatives in the National Civic Federation and at its meetings. However, the unreasonable element within trades unions takes occasion after each one of these meetings to raise the utterly nonsensical cry that labor officials attended a non-union meeting. Labor officials attend non-union churches, walk on non-union streets, and drink non-union water, and breathe non-union air. Non-union conditions demand the presence of labor's advocates;

it is there that their greatest and best work is done. It is from the non-union places, the non-union conditions and situations and the non-union workers that the ranks of unionism are recruited. The duties of labor officials take them into non-union factories and work places fully as much as into union shops. They can not preach or teach the doctrines of trades unionism from afar, but must carry it to the non-union places. If it could be shown that their presence in those places was opposed to or not in the interests of unionism, there would be some sense in criticizing their union principles. At a recent dinner of the National Civic Federation the question, practically, of the relations of organizations of labor or capital to individual liberty was discussed. Employers, unionists, lawyers, educators, and publicists took part in the discussion. It would be to the advantage of the unreasonable to devote considerable time to reading and pondering over the addresses delivered on the above question.

The labor officials who attended that dinner accomplished then and there more in the interests of unionism and the workers than the unreasonable element of objectors.

UNIONISM AND ITS MERITS.

(Chicago Chronicle.)

Without abating in the slightest degree the opposition which is due to lawlessness under the cloak of trades unionism it is fair and proper to concede the advantages of unionism without lawlessness.

The business houses which are taking back their old teamsters are doing so because the old men are more efficient than the temporary substitutes who were hired during the strike. There can be no doubt of that.

Membership in a union involves a certain sense of responsibility, and while this responsibility has been disregarded by a proportion of

unionists it is recognized by a larger proportion of them.

Union men are, as a general thing, actual citizens and permanent residents of the places where they are employed. Non-union men are more likely to be unsettled in their habitation and consequently less to be relied upon in the long run.

This is a free country, and every man is entitled to earn his living whether he is a union man or a non-union man. There is no reason why the open shop principle should not be accepted by unionists because, other things being equal, the unionist will always enjoy an advantage over the non-unionist in securing and retaining work.

This is one of the benefits of organization. The average employer will prefer union labor because, if the union be wisely and honestly conducted, he has to deal with a centralized, responsible authority instead of with individual workmen who are responsible to no one save themselves.



M. Witte. Baron Rosen. The President. Baron Komura. Minister Takahira.
FIRST MEETING OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATORS ON BOARD THE MAYFLOWER.

of labor organizations whose unswerving fidelity to the workingman's cause for years has given them national prominence. They have been pilloried by the opponents of trades unionism and emissaries and hirelings, but by none more severely than the unreasoning and unreasonable element within the ranks of unionism. The objects of the labor movement are the same, but changed conditions and changed sentiment change its direction.

The change in sentiment is most notably illustrated in the formation of such an organization as the National Civic Federation. These changes, so closely related to the labor movement, naturally introduce changes in the work and duties of or adds new work and duties to prominent labor men. In the opinion of the writer a most profitable work in the interests of the trades union movement is the thorough education of the public to its real work and objects. The National Civic Federation is promoting this work, and an organization of this nature demands the membership

THE DIGNITY OF LABOR ESSENTIAL TO NATIONAL MORALITY.

ITS ORGANIZATION NEEDED TO SECURE REASONABLE HOURS, JUST WAGES AND ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS WITH CAPITAL.

(ADDRESS BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN, AT OMAHA, ON LABOR DAY.)

INSTEAD of delivering a set speech, I desire to submit a few suggestions which seem to me appropriate to the day. In the first place, I am glad to participate in a labor day celebration because I believe it to be the duty of all of us to emphasize in every possible way the dignity of labor. No sentiment is more dangerous to the nation or more destructive to the morals of the people generally than the belief that labor is a dishonorable thing from which men should seek to divorce themselves and their families. We should lose no opportunity to propagate the idea that labor is respectable, and that idleness ought to be despised. The young man who, with brain and muscle, adds something to the wealth of the country and contributes to the welfare of his fellows is engaged in a worthier work than the young man whose only ambition is to spend the money that some one else has left him. Our schools have sometimes lent themselves to the theory that education ought to lead one away from manual labor. The result has been that many have gone out from school ashamed to come into contact with dirt and dust, and have sought only that kind of work which enables them to wear good clothes all the time. A contempt for manual labor is naturally followed by indifference toward those who engage in manual labor. The establishment of classes in society is largely due to this antipathy toward labor. Carl Hilty, an eminent Swiss statesman, in a book recently published, presents the theory that labor is necessary to health; and Tolstoy is a champion of the doctrine that bread labor—actual contact with the soil—is necessary to restore sympathy between man and man. The first suggestion, therefore, that I desire to leave with you is that the doing of something useful ought to be the ambition of every life and that the idler should be shunned rather than envied.

I am also glad to take part in your exercises to-day because I believe in organized labor. I do not mean to say that organized labor will always abstain from mistakes or will always be wise in its decisions. To expect that would be to expect perfection, and perfection is not within the reach of any of us. But I believe that organization is not only necessary for the protection of labor's rights, but useful for the advancement of the interests of those who toil. While it may be the primary object of members of labor organizations to secure benefits for themselves, it is impossible for them to confine the benefits of their organization to themselves. Those outside of the labor organization, even those laboring men who most bitterly oppose the labor organization, profit by the organization. When organized laboring men secure better wages, shorter hours or improved conditions for themselves, they secure them, as a rule, for those engaged in the same work outside of the organization. This point was brought out in the Chicago street car strike. The union men insisted that only union men should be employed and the employers insisted that they ought to be allowed to employ non-union men. The union men replied that they would consent to the employment of non-union men provided the non-union men were employed at the former rate of wages, while the union men received the advanced rate which the strike had secured. The employers said that that was impossible, because they could not get non-union men to work at a less rate than that received by the union workers.

There are certain things which the laboring man has a right to ask of society. Let me enumerate a few of these. First, he has the right to ask for reasonable hours, and I believe that the eight-hour day is a reasonable request. When we remember that eight hours are required for sleep and something like an hour and a half for eating, and a considerable time for going to and from labor and removing from the person the stains of labor, it will be seen that an eight-hour day does not, after all, give a man an unreasonable amount of time with his family. The wage-earner is not a heast of burden; he is a human being. He has his family, and time must be given for association with his family. Besides, he is an intelligent being, and time must be allowed for mental recreation. He is a political factor also, and time must be allowed him for preparation for the proper discharge of his political duties. He is also a moral being and a member of society, and he has the right to claim a sufficient time for the discharge of his obligations to his fellow man and to his Creator. We can not expect the laboring man to be what he ought to be physically, mentally, morally, socially, and politically if he is driven from his couch to the shop and from the shop back to his couch. While this question primarily affects the laboring man, it, in a broader sense, affects us all, for we are so knit together that we can not separate ourselves from each other or, without danger to ourselves, subject any portion of the community to injustice.

The laboring man has the right to ask for arbitration of differences between labor and capital. This phase of the labor question is not fully appreciated on the farms and in the smaller towns, for the reason that there is a sympathy between employer and employe which regulates the conduct of both, where the number of employed is so small that there can be personal acquaintance. But where one man employs a thousand, or ten thousand, personal acquaintance is impossible, and the sympathy that rests upon acquaintance is likely to be absent. There must be some way of establishing justice between employer and employe, and arbitration is the only method that has been proposed. The employer who arbitrarily insists that he has the right to run his own business without consulting his employes does not state all of the case. So long as in running his business he does not attempt to regulate the lives and the conditions that shall surround his employes, nobody will question his right, but when he includes in the



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.
Editor of *The Commoner*.

running of his business the right to determine the material, the social, the intellectual, and the political standing of his employes, he is claiming that which he can not defend. There ought to be in every city, in every State and in the nation a permanent arbitration board with power to investigate and report upon any labor trouble at the request of either party or upon its own initiative. The compulsory investigation of a labor trouble must be distinguished from the compulsory enforcement of the finding of the board. It is far more important that the investigation shall be compulsory when either party desires it than that the finding shall be binding, because public opinion will surely enforce a fair and impartial finding.

I believe that this plan can be applied to differences between nations. We are all rejoicing that our nation has, through the efforts of the President, been instrumental in bringing peace between Russia and Japan. We have won more moral prestige by playing the rôle of peacemaker than we could have won in a generation by wars of conquest. If we had an international board of arbitration, with an agreement that all the leading countries would submit their differences to the board for an impartial investigation before entering upon war, nearly if not all wars would be avoided.

The laboring man also has a right to ask for reasonable compensation, and the reasonableness of compensation must depend upon the conditions which surround him. When the cost of living increases he has a right to expect increased wages; if his business requires a high order of skill, he has the right to expect a larger pay than when engaged in work that requires less skill. The longer the preparation for work, the higher the compensation as a rule. Then, too, a business in which one can engage but a portion of the time must furnish a larger per diem than a business in which the work is constant. These are only a few of the conditions that enter into the determination of wages.

Having mentioned some of the things which the laboring man has a right to demand, let me add that society also makes demands upon the laborer. Our obligations in this life are mutual ones. None of us stand

in a position where we can demand without making return. The laboring man owes faithful services to his employer, and the labor organization will commend itself to the employers in proportion as its influence upon the members tends to increase their efficiency.

As public opinion is the all-controlling force in this country and the powerful factor in any country, the members of any labor organization will find the public inclined toward them in proportion as the organization proves its claim to the public confidence and respect. While a man's right to a reasonable wage and to reasonable hours is a legal one that ought to be recognized no matter what use a man makes of his money or of his time, still the laboring men will find that their claims will be reinforced in proportion as they demonstrate the usefulness of the organization in promoting virtue and character among its members. A few members who make a bad use of surplus money or surplus time throw discredit upon the order, and such waste of time and money will be used to answer the demand for increase of wages or more leisure.

The members of the labor organizations also owe to society a respect for law. No one can afford to be lawless, and no one can long expect public sympathy who attempts to substitute force and violence for reason and persuasion in any controversy. The labor organization ought to be swift to punish violations of the law among its members, for such violations, when unpunished, bring odium upon the entire body. The laboring men might point to some distinguished instances of lawlessness on the part of men who are quick to find fault with labor organizations. For instance, the Chicago Board of Trade recently repealed a rule which provided for the expulsion of a member who violated the law against grain gambling. If a labor organization were to announce, as the Chicago Board of Trade virtually did, that it would not require the expulsion of a member for the violation of the criminal law, there would be a loud outcry against the lawlessness of the labor organization, and there will be an outcry against the lawlessness of the Chicago Board of Trade. A bad example like that is better rebuked than followed.

It is natural that the members of a labor union, who tax themselves and contribute from their earnings to improve the conditions of labor, should complain if the very ones who profit by their action act as strike-breakers and attempt to defeat the plans and purposes of organized labor. And yet, irritating as this is, the laboring man must remember that he is not the only one who is sometimes thwarted by the persons whom they try to benefit. That is the common lot of those who try to improve the world, and the laboring man must content himself with making such progress as he can by the use of moral suasion. Force may seem attractive to one who is angry, but the peaceful methods of example and argument commend themselves to those who will consult their better natures and take time for reflection. Progress is often slow. Those who are most eager to do good are apt to be most impatient. Satisfied of the righteousness of their own efforts, it is hard to understand how others can be indifferent or even antagonistic. But patience and persistent effort accomplish much. The labor organization has contributed mightily to the welfare of the wage earner. It has won him the confidence of the public generally, and in its coming contests it can count upon increasing support as it proves itself a worthy champion of worthy men and women.

LABOR DAY DISTINCTIVE.

(*American Federationist*.)

The trade union movement may well look to it that the first Monday in September be maintained with its distinctive characteristics of demonstration and power, protesting against wrong, and agitation in the demand for right. Otherwise it, like many other holidays, will lose its distinctive characteristic and simply become a holiday for jollification without other purpose or design.

The newspapers of the country for several days in advance of Labor Day, Labor Day itself, and particularly the day following, devoted pages concerning local and general demonstrations and observances of Labor Day, and, incidentally, discussions of the aims and purposes of organized labor. If Labor Day was observed simply by holding meetings at which addresses were made, does any one imagine that so much space and attention would be given it?

The Sabbath preceding Labor Day is becoming more and more devoted by ministers of the different denominations to preaching sermons upon the significance of Labor Day, the rights and wrongs of labor, and the purposes of the labor movement.

WHAT JOHN MITCHELL REALLY SAID TO ANTHRACITE MINERS.

AN ACCURATE REPORT OF A TYPICAL ADDRESS WHICH HAS RECEIVED MISINTERPRETATION AND CAUSED UNWARRANTED APPREHENSION.

Many of the reports published in the daily press of the speeches delivered by John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, during his tour of the anthracite fields, have represented him as either predicting or urging a strike, and as appealing to the mine workers to present to the operators an "ultimatum." In order that our readers may know exactly what Mr. Mitchell is saying to the miners, THE REVIEW presents the following verbatim report of an address which he made to a mass meeting of miners at Shamokin, Pa., September 16:

You are, of course, aware that I have been in the anthracite region for the past three months, assisting your district officers and our international representatives in the work of perfecting the union and making preparation for any contingency that may arise upon the expiration of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. During these months I have addressed fifty-three meetings in various parts of the anthracite field, at which I have spoken to approximately 190,000 people. It is a pleasure to report that, largely as a result of these meetings, the organization has increased in numbers, and that the prospects are that before the close of the year our membership will be greater than at any previous time in the history of coal mining in the anthracite regions.

It is, of course, a source of keen regret to me, as I know it is to every loyal and constant member of the union, that so many of our fellow-workers who sacrificed and suffered uncomplainingly during the long, weary strike of 1902, should at its termination, when victory had been achieved, disconnect themselves from their organization, and abandon the movement which had done so much to raise to a decent standard of life the multitudes of people dependent upon the coal industry.

I have sought in every manner possible to ascertain the cause which prompted the wholesale desertions that followed the strike and continued up to the middle of this year, but, so far, I have been utterly unable to find a man who could give good reason for his action, and, indeed, very few offered any defense at all.

I have tried constantly to inculcate the world-wide accepted principle enunciated by the immortal Washington, that "To be prepared for war is the most effectual means of preserving peace;" and in the elucidation of this idea I have consistently announced my earnest desire to see such a relationship established between the workmen and their employers as would insure peace and tranquillity in these anthracite fields. But I have discovered that owing to misconstruction of the arguments I have presented, the press of the country has interpreted my language to mean that an ultimatum was delivered, and that we would refuse to maintain peace except upon terms dictated by ourselves.

I have no hesitancy in saying that those who are familiar with my views, or those who know the policies I advocate, have given little credence to the erroneous reports sent broadcast through the country by the public press. I am now—as I always have been—unalterably opposed to the issuance of an ultimatum until every reasonable effort has been made to reach an agreement and to adjust relations by conference, conciliation, or other honorable and peaceful means.

It is true that I have presented the conditions upon which I believe a permanent peace to be possible. I have said that, in my judgment, permanent industrial tranquillity could not be maintained until the union is recognized as a contracting party with the employers and until an eight-hour workday is established in these fields. I repeat and reiterate these views now, but by no fair construction of language can these views and expressions be interpreted to mean that an ultimatum as to our position has been delivered. Both of these principles are fundamental to trade unionism; they are not exclusively the desires of the men in the mines; they are the demands of the workers of the entire civilized world. And so far as I am concerned, I shall continue to advocate their adoption so long as I am connected with the United Mine Workers of America.

I, of course, recognize the fact that we can not hope in a few short years to remove all the wrongs and correct all the abuses which have accumulated during the past half century; but I hope that we shall be able to present such arguments to our employers, when we meet them again, as will convince them of the justice and equity of our position.

In some of my addresses I have called attention to the fact that labor is practically the only commodity on the market upon which the purchaser names the price. In drawing the analogy between labor and other commodities, I have used this illustration: If a man went to Mr. Baer and said to him, "Mr. Baer, I desire to purchase a hundred (or a thousand or a million) tons of coal," Mr. Baer would very courteously say, "All right. The price is \$4.50 a ton on the first day of April; \$4.60 a ton on the first day of May. It will increase ten cents per ton per month until it reaches

\$5, where it will remain stationary for six months. How many tons shall I send you?" If the purchaser were disinclined to pay the price named by Mr. Baer, he would be told that coal was for sale only at a fixed figure; he could take it or leave it. In my arguments to the miners, I have said that if labor were as well organized as capital it could, with equal consistency, say to the employers, "Here's our labor, it's worth so much. We've fixed a price upon it just as you fix a price upon coal. If you want it at our price it will be sold to you, if not, we shall keep it until you need it badly enough to pay our price for it."

In using this illustration of the difference between labor and other commodities, I have simply sought to demonstrate the idea that human labor is entitled to at least as much consideration as coal or other inanimate products. But either through misunderstanding or design, the impression has been conveyed to the public that we were going to New York next spring, and walk up to Mr. Baer and his colleagues and defiantly assert: "Here, Mr. Baer, we have the labor of 150,000 men to sell; we want so much wages for it; you can take it



JOHN MITCHELL,
President United Mine Workers of America.

at our price or leave it alone; we'll keep it until you need it badly enough to pay our price for it;" while, as a matter of fact, our whole ambition is to be able—when we do meet the anthracite operators for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement—to say, "We are here as the spokesmen and representatives of all the men and boys employed in the anthracite mines; we wish to confer with you upon the question of our joint relations. We are desirous of entering into an agreement fixing wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment. We have certain claims which we desire to present, among them the recognition of our union as a contracting party and the establishment of a maximum eight-hour workday." If we are in a position to speak for all the employees of the various coal companies, I am quite sure we shall be able to negotiate a better agreement than if we represent only a portion of the men.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have gone into this matter in detail, not because I care particularly for the criticisms of myself, but because I am desirous that the cause of organized labor shall not suffer through misunderstanding or through misrepresentation.

At no time in my life have I felt so keenly the gravity of the labor situation in the anthracite fields. While it is true that I hope for an adjustment of our relations with the anthracite operators upon a basis that will be satisfactory to us and at the same time fair to them, there are, nevertheless, many evidences that the employers are preparing either for an aggressive movement against us or to resist any reasonable demands we may make upon them. Our organization in these fields is honeycombed with spies employed by the Thiel Detective Agency. In the early part of last month fifty of these emissaries were shipped from Chicago and have been distributed among the local unions of the entire region. These men were supplied with transfer cards fraudulently obtained from our locals in various States in the Central West. We know where they are located and we know the work they are doing.

The operators have also attempted to nullify the mine certificate law. This law was enacted by the legislature

some years ago, and was intended to protect the life and limb of the man in the mines. It is indicative of their lack of regard for the welfare of their employees when the operators seek by subterfuge to remove this safeguard, which affords us some small protection against the hazard of our employment. It may be important at this time to say that there is no employment in America more dangerous than that of mining coal. And if the operators are permitted to employ the careless and incompetent to fill the responsible positions now held by those who have demonstrated their ability by passing a rigid examination, it will result in a further increase in the number of men who shall be killed and maimed in the anthracite mines.

It is my earnest hope that the coal mine workers of America will unite in one solid phalanx, being prepared to defend what they have gained, and, when opportunity presents itself, constantly to ask for more.

To those unfamiliar with the conditions of our life and labor, it may appear that we are unnecessarily or unreasonably extravagant in the demands we make, but, my fellow workmen, we should not cease our efforts until the coal mine workers of our country are in such a position that their earnings shall be sufficient to enable them, by the exercise of reasonable frugality, to supply themselves and their families with all the necessities of life, to live in comfortable homes, properly to educate their children, and to make provision for their own declining years. There is nothing that I can imagine so sad as to see an old man, after a whole life of industry, and when he is no longer able to work, cast adrift to become an inmate of the almshouse or a burden upon his friends.

The task we have before us may seem stupendous, but if each man will do his part I have no fear as to the final result. It is, of course, unreasonable to suppose that at times we shall not meet with repulses; there have been and there will ever be victories and defeats, recessions and progressions; but we must see to it that every forward movement carries us further on than the preceding or the succeeding step may carry us back. We should ever keep in mind those two well-known Americanisms, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and "An injury to one is the concern of all."

The trade union movement has proved itself to be the greatest institution ever founded among men. It has raised wages, reduced hours of labor, taken the child from the mill and the factory and sent it to school. It has elevated the manhood and the womanhood of the working people of the world; it has raised the standard of citizenship, sobriety and integrity of the workmen of our own country.

(Concluded from page 16.)

population of either. Yet Wisconsin and Minnesota have been largely settled by what are known as the "desirable" Germans and Swedes. New York is preeminent for the large number of "undesirable" Italians and Russians; but the "undesirables" seem to be more fond of and better able to grasp the English language.

Now, the final generalization is an appeal to racial pride. The Germans and the Irish who came over in the '40s and '50s were of "our" Anglo-Saxon stock, or kin to it. But the Italian and Slav are entirely foreign elements. Moreover, they come from conditions at home which are so miserable that they are unfit for our social and industrial life! But, alas for the argument, the conditions from which the Irish came in the days of their great immigration were infinitely worse than those of the Slav and Italian of to-day. Descriptions of Ireland during the days of the famine show that the people were living at the very lowest possible level of existence. And still more striking is the fact that the Know Nothings of the '40s and '50s made the same arguments against the Germans and Irish that are now being made against the Slav and the Italian; yet to-day the German and the Irish are "desirable" and the Slav and Italian are said to be "undesirable."

The truth is that modern ethnologists do not recognize the racial differences made by the opponents of immigration, and in fact they say that these so-called races have been so blended in Europe that the racial influence is very difficult of discovery or determination. But, above all, as was so tersely said by M. Taine, the three great influences in history have been environment, epoch, and race. Whatever racial traits are brought to us are so strongly molded and modified by our environment and the spirit of our times, by the influence of our political institutions, by the effect of individual manhood and self-reliance which these institutions have created, that year by year the immigrant is swallowed up in the body politic. After a while he becomes an American, that American who has been made up out of the blend of all Europeans, and who will continue to grow greater and greater as the new blood constantly filters through his veins.

"MUTUAL GOVERNMENT" OF INDUSTRY BY ORGANIZED EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

EQUAL POWER IN CONFERENCE ENABLES CAPITAL AND LABOR TO ADJUST DIFFERENCES WITH RARE RESORT TO ARBITRATION.

(BY A. BEVERLY SMITH, SECRETARY LITHOGRAPHERS EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION.)

THE history of industrial conflicts shows that there are three methods by which the contending parties reach a conclusion. These are (1) abject surrender by one side or the other, without an open rupture; (2) opposition leading to open conflict, which continues until one side is exhausted; (3) preventive measures, which derive their effectiveness from equality and fairness.

The first of these methods usually and logically leads to the second, which has resulted in the many upheavals in business and checks to general prosperity which have occurred in the past. The conclusion reached by either the first or the second method is never permanent, but is always upset by a recurrence of hostilities as soon as the losses of conflict have been recouped. This statement applies equally to the forces of capital and labor.

Efforts to regulate the relations between capital and labor have lacked a practical plan of execution. These efforts, when exerted on the part of individual employers and individual unions, have, indeed, wrought betterment, but not as generally as could be wished. Arbitration has appealed for approval as a universal method of settling industrial disputes. But trials of arbitration have found it wanting, because arbitration as heretofore practiced almost always results in compromise; and no one respects compromise, especially of questions of right and wrong. Arbitration is a last resort, and it should be preceded by the exercise of mutual and equal power by capital and labor in an organized process of adjusting industrial conditions. It is this process that is termed Mutual Government.

Mutual Government involves: *first*, joint action between capital and labor upon any disputed question, in which each has equal representation, influence, and power; this joint action being broader in scope, as will appear, than a trade agreement; *second*, arbitration, to be employed only when joint action has failed to solve the difficulty. Both of these actions are to be employed **before any difference between capital and labor has developed into strained relations**; it being trite, but none the less true, that prevention is better than cure.

In the practical application of this theory in any industry, both capital and labor reach a preliminary agreement that during a certain period the conditions of the trade shall be determined equally by both parties. For this purpose, business offices are established on the part of the employers, who must have an organization with power to enforce its policies and decisions upon members; and on the part of unions organized with corresponding power. To these offices are committed the enforcement and administration of all agreements, so as to prevent any difference from growing into open war, or even disturbing friendly relations; it being kept in mind, above all, that in the adjustment of every question capital and labor are accorded equal weight and power.

Under this system an individual or local question is taken up at once by the business representatives with equal representation from those concerned. If the effort to adjust the difficulty is successful, the subject is considered by the organizations of both capital and labor to be finally settled.

Should a question arise between the two organizations, or of paramount interest to the industry at large, even though of individual or local origin, a joint commission is formed, consisting of an equal delegation from the organizations of employers and of workmen. No one is eligible for membership in this commission who is personally or directly interested in its decision, other than in its general relations to capital and labor. The business agents of the two organizations, as attorneys, present their sides of the case, with evidence and arguments. The commission decides the issue by vote. Usually this vote is unanimous, although provision may be made that a majority vote shall be decisive. In the practice of Mutual Government in the lithographic industry, into which it has been progressively introduced during more than three years, there have been less than six cases which were not decided by a unanimous vote of the joint commission.

Should the joint commission fail to reach a decision, the case is referred to a board of arbitration, consisting of three arbitrators, one selected by each organization, and these two selecting the third. The arbitrators selected by the organizations of employers and of workmen are not connected with the industry, although they may be employers or workers in another industry. Either side may refuse to accept an arbitrator selected by the other, if there has been any attempt to make such arbitrator a partisan. The decisions of a board of arbitration thus constituted are not compromises. It decides the question upon the arguments and evidence presented upon a purely business basis, all sentiment

being excluded upon the principle that the object sought is the conservation of an industry which affords the means of livelihood to both employers and employed.

In 1902, the employing lithographers of the East and of the Pacific coast, representing about 75 per cent. of the entire industry, formed an organization to carry into effect this plan of Mutual Government. The seven unions then in the trade had for ten years dominated the industry, having met with only sporadic or individual opposition. The employing lithographers began a campaign of education, which resulted in the establishment of Mutual Government early in 1904.

As showing the conservative power and force of Mutual Government in the handling of delicate or important questions the experience of the trade in meeting the question of the shorter work week is valuable. In the lithographic trade the organizations of employers and of unions have agreed that this is a question to be presented to a national joint commission, its deci-



A. BEVERLY SMITH,
Secretary Lithographers Employers' Association.

sion is to be final and binding on both parties. Thus this question, which has disturbed other trades, is well in hand in the lithographic industry. While decided opinions upon the advisability and practicability of the shorter work week are held by each side, the question is not to be allowed to interfere with the livelihood of all concerned. It is probable that a national joint commission will decide this question this year or early in 1906. Meanwhile, the lithographic industry, under Mutual Government, is undisturbed by the turmoil surrounding it. Thus in San Francisco, during a typographers' strike, in July, 1903, for a shorter work week, the lithographic departments of the printing establishments were entirely unaffected. This was in accordance with the unanimous decision of a joint commission for the lithographic trade, sitting for San Francisco, that this question was national, not local, and should not be taken up at that time. This experience was repeated in a strike of the typographical unions in San Francisco in July, 1905.

Hundreds of cases in the lithographic industry are decided every year. Nearly all individual grievances are readily adjusted by face to face conferences between those immediately concerned, aided by the business representatives of the two organizations. Of the questions that have been brought before joint commissions since May 1, 1904, only one failed of settlement there and went to arbitration. The decision in that case was against the employers, who put the decision into effect immediately upon its verbal announcement, without waiting for its receipt in written, official form.

Convincing evidence of the success of Mutual Government is found in the fact that no question decided under its methods of procedure has ever again become a source of contention. Moreover, all parties concerned have not only abided by every decision, but have uniformly expressed satisfaction with its results.

The millennium has not arrived, but common sense is always with us. The unanimous judgment of a body, equally representative of both sides, on any question

must be closer to the truest interest of all concerned than can be the opinion of any individual or group arrayed on one side alone. The way to see both sides of the shield is to reach a point of view whence both sides are visible.

Such are the general results of Mutual Government in the lithographic industry. One of its applications, not originally contemplated, is to the education of apprentices, a question that lies at the root of any trade.

The apprentice left entirely to the control of the employer is too often a subject of exploitation for profit. Although all employers are deeply concerned in the evolution of workmen of good ability, but few interest themselves in this aspect of apprenticeship, and workmen's organizations have not attempted to interfere. Thus, in every line of trade, skilled craftsmen are scarce, the great bulk of apprentices becoming most commonplace artisans.

The apprentice left to the control of workingmen, whether individual or organized, is too often treated as an interloper, and his development hindered under the mistaken idea that he will rob the workingman of his livelihood. This has a deleterious effect upon the ability of the apprentice when he becomes a workingman.

These two adverse influences have hindered the progress and increase of many industries.

In lithography, Mutual Government has established a joint apprentice system. A joint apprentice board, with subordinate local boards, controls the apprentice during his entire term. It is the prerogative of the employer to nominate the apprentice. After his nomination, the apprentice belongs to the entire trade that must support him and in turn derive from him its continuance.

The nominated apprentice must present to the joint board a physician's certificate as to general health and an oculist's certificate as to eyesight, with particular reference to the branch of the industry he elects to pursue. This being satisfactory, he is admitted to a probationary period, at the end of which he is again examined as to progress. If that comes up to the standard, he is indentured, with the proviso that the joint board may cancel the indenture at any time. During his entire term, the relations between apprentice, employer and workmen are under the control of the joint board, whose object is to secure for him full instruction and protection, and for the employer willing service and due diligence. Under this system, future lithographic workers will be both skilled artisans and good citizens; for lukewarmness, laziness, and bad personal habits in the apprentice are not tolerated by the joint board. This one result alone more than repays to the trade all the expense and trouble of Mutual Government.

PRESBYTERIAN INTEREST IN ORGANIZED LABOR.

The new Department of Church and Labor, of the Presbyterian Church, of whose formation and purposes *The Review* has published an account, now represents over seven thousand ministers and over one million members. There was manifested special interest in the work of this new department during the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Winona Lake, Ind., which adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"Appreciating the increasing importance of the industrial problem, and realizing that the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis, we recommend that the Presbyterian Home Mission Committees appoint subcommittees for the purpose of making a systematic study of the entire problem in their respective localities.

"These committees shall cooperate with the newly-organized 'Workingmen's Department' of the Board of Home Missions, thus establishing, in connection with the organized Presbyterianism of every city in America, a Board of Experts, who may be able to inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor, and to inform the workingmen concerning the mission of the Church.

"These committees shall also assist in the already successfully inaugurated plan of securing for the churches fraternal relationships with workingmen in their organizations; become responsible for the distribution of the literature issued by the board for the membership of the Church and for the great mass of workingmen outside of the Church, and to push aggressively whatever methods may bring about a more cordial relationship between the Church and labor."

SOME CURIOSITIES OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA.

EXCERPTS FROM ITS LITERATURE, WHICH "THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY" WOULD DISTRIBUTE, RANGE FROM REVOLUTION TO INANITY.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose name among the signers to the call to form an Intercollegiate Socialist Society excited surprise among the admirers of his distinguished and patriotic career, was conspicuously absent from a recent meeting at which some of his fellow signers and a group of sympathizers with that call, representing even more than "fifty-seven varieties" of socialism, formed an organization. It is reasonable to attribute to his absence a certain significance. He may be representative of others who have innocently lent the weight of their names to a movement of whose sinister origin and unpatriotic purpose they had been ignorant.

It was quite fitting that this aggregation of "impossibilists," "revolutionists" and all-round economic freaks should elect "eat-en-alive" Jack London as their president. He is the "barker" who invites the crowd to walk inside and feast upon garish cataclysms eclipsing "The Fall of Babylon" or "The Destruction of Pompeii." Hear him at the gate:

Socialism is distinctly revolutionary and in scope and depth is vastly more tremendous than any revolution that has ever occurred in the history of the world.

I know that anarchy, civil war, death and crime will be the results of the revolution I prophesy; but what are you going to do about it?

The rest of the official staff of this organization are: First vice-president, Upton Sinclair, newspaper writer; second vice-president, J. G. Phelps Stokes, settlement worker; secretary, M. R. Holbrook, secretary of the Collectivist Society; treasurer, Owen R. Lovejoy, secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

It has been shown in a previous article that the origin of this dilettante cult of revolution is foreign. Its sinister source lies among those who plot in European cities to overthrow governments. The chief activity of this imported school finds vent in printed matter. This constitutes the "literature suitable for college men," which it is the purpose of the new society to distribute. It will be interesting to look at a few samples of this literature, of which these disciples aspire to become collegiate apostles. It ranges from violence to inanity, and of its making there seems no end.

Few persons outside the circles of avowed socialism are aware of the zeal and ingenuity exerted to multiply the productions of its pens and presses. The *International Socialist Review*, the most pretentious periodical of the movement in this country, is published monthly by a cooperative house. The same house publishes much other Socialist literature, including a series of more than forty booklets. The house is in debt, and each issue of its *International Review* contains an appeal for stock subscriptions, together with an acknowledgment of subscriptions received. Some of the names in the list are of well-known persons, who, as have been the friends of Mr. Higginson, may be surprised to learn to what end their subscriptions are devoted. One of the recent appeals reads:

America is ripe for Socialism. Whether genuine international Socialism is to come at once to the front, or whether we are to have a long and painful siege of opportunism, depends largely on the amount and the kind of Socialist literature circulated in the near future, and this again depends to a very considerable extent on the financial position of this publishing house. Comrade, it rests with you to say whether the growth of our work shall be rapid or slow.

A few extracts from the literature provided by this cooperative house will suffice to indicate its character, which the Intercollegiate Socialist Society would consider "suitable for college men." The editor of the *International Review*, in the course of an address to the Socialist convention held in Chicago last June, to form an organization to fight the American Federation of Labor, said:

The proletariat of America stands ready to grasp any weapon, the ballot, the strike, the boycott and the bullet, if necessary.

The cheers that greeted this outburst encouraged him to add:

This is the beginning of the greatest battle in history.

The following are some excerpts from issues of the *International Review*:

The Socialist movement differs from Trades Unionism in this, that per se it has nothing whatever to do with anything short of the Revolutionary solution of the labor or industrial problem.

The only hope of an adequate representation of the Socialist movement in the field of journalism is the establishment of a Socialist press, frankly revolutionary.

While Tolstoi would have peace even at the price of liberty, Socialists prefer war for freedom to the peace of slavery.

The Social tinder now on hand needs only some violent clash of classes to strike the spark to ignite it, and with the ruling classes ready to fan the flame, we have all the elements essential to a Social conflagration.

The coming revolution will be much less of a sudden uprising against the authorities than a long drawn out civil war.

All indications point to the probability that American Socialism will be the champion who will batter down the walls of capitalism.

The Socialist party of America stands in the most intelligently revolutionary and uncompromising position of any Socialist party in the world.

Three interesting epochs in the story of the world are the English revolution of the 17th century, the French revolution

of the 18th century, and the approaching World Revolution of the 20th century. The third will see the final overthrow of the autocratic, aristocratic and plutocratic forces of government.

There is no Socialism that is not Revolutionary Socialism. This is a Revolutionary Ideal to be attained by a Revolutionary Class, preaching a Revolutionary Propaganda, through the agency of a Revolutionary Party, and by which the workers are to secure the general ownership of the means of production and distribution for all the people.

Interspersed through some of the other literature distributed by publishers of the *International Review* are such gems as the following:

From Ferdinand Lasalle: The revolutionary method, terrible as are the drawbacks with which it is accompanied, has in spite of them the one advantage of attaining speedily and energetically a practical result.

The Rev. T. McGrady, of Kentucky: The assassin of Humbert is an angel of innocence compared with those who elect Bryan or McKinley.

From Eugene V. Debs: The day of crisis is drawing near and Socialists are doing all in their power to prepare the people for it.

From the *Communist Manifesto*: The Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order.

The Communists openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the aforesaid overthrow of existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at the Communist revolution.

When the reader has ceased trembling at these fulminations, it will be a diversion to turn to the other extreme of grand and lofty tumbling. The most freakish of Socialistic publications, which would possibly add to the gaiety of the moments of relaxation in Socialist classrooms, is *Wilshire's Magazine*. This periodical attempts to increase its circulation through making its subscription price ten cents a year, twenty-five cents for three years. This low price, its editor frankly explains, is only possible through receipts from advertisers, and its advertisements are, of course, solicited from the abhorred capitalists. In a recent issue, the editor publishes a page advertisement of his own headed: "Have you Money to Invest? 17 per cent. and Socialism." He announces that the advertising receipts will be such as to promise this highly capitalistic return to all who will buy stock, and makes this delicious argument:

What better can a Socialist do than to invest his money in a Socialist magazine that is paying a profit? Every dollar invested in a capital concern helps perpetuate capitalism. Every dollar invested in *Wilshire's Magazine* helps to kill capitalism.

The editor makes, of course, the quantity of his circulation the basis of the advertising rates, which are to furnish the sinews of war against capitalism. As a highly finished "nerve proposition," this may be said to merit a medal. "Kindly give me your gun and I will use it to blow off your head" would be a parallel proposition.

This extraordinary phase of a Socialist business policy leads to some amusing and embarrassing complications. One of the advertising supporters of this organ of Socialism is the president of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, an organization formed to destroy trade unionism. As Socialism also plans to destroy the movement of organized labor, there is a natural alliance between the two in their common hatred of a force of industrial conservatism and progress. Just how the president of the Citizens' Industrial Association squares his avowed detestation of Socialism with his financial support of a Socialist publication is not clear, unless it be the result of their common enmity to organized labor. But this alliance places the editor of *Wilshire's* in a ludicrous position, whence his efforts to extricate himself form one of the most amusing exhibits in the Socialist performance.

In order to sow the seeds of Socialism among the unions, this editor seeks subscribers among their members. Some of these subscribers complained at his publication of the advertisements of a foe to labor unions. The editor thus explains:

I replied to the complaints that it must be taken for granted that all our advertisers are advertising with us to make money out of our subscribers, and not to subsidize *Wilshire's* in order to advance Socialism. If I should attempt to look into the politics of our advertisers and only insert their advertisements upon the result of such investigations, I would probably find that every one was dead against Socialism, and, therefore, would be compelled to either stop the publication of *Wilshire's* altogether or run it at a very heavy loss, for it can only be published at the present price by running the advertisements of capitalists, who are logically naturally averse to Socialism.

Everybody should know that Mr. Post is the most violent opponent of trade unionism in the United States, so there is no danger of any one buying his goods under any misapprehension of his politics. Therefore, when we run his advertisement in this journal, no one can make a mistake in the matter. However, as before stated, we must have the money of capitalist advertisers in order to run this journal at the present price of 10c. per year. The question to decide is whether it is better to advertise capitalist goods and propagate Socialism or refrain from such advertising and give little or no propaganda, remembering always that the people of the United States are mostly bound to buy goods made by capitalists because nobody else can make them. We ourselves think it would be foolish to stop the publication of this journal for any such silly sentimentality.

Another Socialist writer whose essays its advocates would spread before college students is Clarence S. Darrow, himself one of the signers of the call for the Intercollegiate Socialist Society. He teaches:

To violate law is often the highest, most sacred duty, that can devolve upon the citizen.

Some of you people are perhaps plying the profession which is called burglary. . . . It always requires experience and education for this profession, and people who fit themselves for it are no more to blame than I am for being a lawyer.

All prosecutions are malicious, and all judgments are meted out in anger and hatred. Our own judges are constantly showing this.

Such statements as these are in accordance with the broad assertion by George Bernard Shaw, a Socialist author whose works the new society would present to collegiate students, in one of his plays that the convicted criminal, when listening in court to his sentence, may regard the judge as guilty as himself. The same play, Mr. Shaw himself defiantly states, "contains an explicit attack on marriage as the most licentious of human institutions."

The ingenuous mind of youth might leap to the conclusion that it is the mission of juvenile chivalry to save society from the slavery of wrongful statutes by constituting itself a generic John Brown. Similarly, the clever flippancy of a Shaw might pervert a callow mind into indiscriminate disrespect for the entire judicial system; or his wanton attack upon the domestic unit of civilized society, revolting though it be, might shake the faith of youth in the sanctity of the home and impugn the divine command to "honor thy father and thy mother."

The keynote of most Socialist literature is that of despair. It leaps from individual cases of social wrong to general denunciation of the entire social system, and advances revolution as the only remedy. The evil and impractical theories favored by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society may appropriately be relegated to the shelves sought only by explorers into the esoteric curiosities of literature or the imaginative ingenuities of the fourth dimension.

EXPERT ECONOMISTS APPRECIATED.

Rochester, N. Y., *Times*.

The trend toward municipal ownership is interestingly evinced in the determination of the executive council of the National Civic Federation to investigate the movement. If the declared purpose of the Federation in examining the subject is fulfilled to the letter, a valuable contribution to economic progress will have been made.

It is encouraging to find in the list of members of the commission appointed to investigate the subject such able, sincere, and thorough political economists as Professor Frank Parsons, of Boston; Professor Edward W. Bemis, of Cleveland; Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, who occupies the only trades unionism pedagogical chair in the United States, and Albert Shaw, editor of the *Arena*. They have a valuable especial knowledge on the subject which ought to make a strong impression upon the prominent corporation lawyers, business men, and conspicuous captains of industry on the commission, naturally against limiting private enterprise, if the latter sincerely seek for light and are capable of a broad conception of public interest.

EVERY INTEREST REPRESENTED.

Scranton, Pa., *Scrantonian*.

The Civic Federation, recognizing the widespread interest now manifested in the problem of municipal ownership, has decided to investigate the whole subject, and with that end in view has appointed a large, representative commission, which will begin work early in the fall. The commission consists of capitalists, manufacturers, labor leaders, lawyers, educationalists, engineers, etc., and that the subject will be probed to the bottom and thoroughly discussed from every point of view, may be taken for granted, as every conceivable interest is represented on the committee by men who are both able and willing to express opinions.

Municipal ownership is an easy and pleasant thing to talk about, but in the United States its adoption involves so many other considerations that it is well to look before we leap.

Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and other noted labor leaders have been appointed on the commission to look after the industrial interests, and nothing that is worth while considering is likely to escape their notice.

A man is morally bound to waste no time and to do his work right whether the boss is looking or not. To shirk or to do work wrong is stealing, though the wrong he undiscovered.—*The Carpenter*.

Trade unionism nowadays can take no harm in the broadest of economic discussions. The full and free presentation of the truth is what the best friends of trade unions desire most.—*Labor World*, Pittsburg.

THE SMASH-THE-UNION MOVEMENT OFFERS TO SAVE THE NATION.

IT ASSUMES MONOPOLY OF PATRIOTISM, LIBERTY, ET CETERA, AND MAGNANIMOUSLY VOLUNTEERS TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

What is generally termed the smash-the-union element in the employing world has been indulging of late in a series of manifestoes designed to prejudice public opinion through misinformation. No economic doctrine can flourish, however persistently advocated and however strong its financial backing, which is based upon misstatements of fact, and whose purpose is not for the greatest good of the greatest number. The group of writers who assail the movement of organized labor tacitly recognizes this truism in its attempts to make it appear that the admitted misdeeds of members of labor unions are universal instead of exceptional; that all labor leaders are radical advocates of violence; and, above all, that the trade agreement, the most practical device that modern industrialism has evolved for peaceful relations between capital and labor, is destructive of the constitutional rights of the individual citizen. While asserting that they favor organizations of wage-earners that are "properly conducted," these writers betray the fact that their idea of "proper conduct" is absolute surrender to the will of the employer, and that they would deprive the labor union of all power to elevate the condition of its members by dealing with employees only as individuals, and never in a body. They oppose violently the closed shop, but they reveal that their conception of the open shop is a place where no union men can work and live.

This anti-union school of writers puts forth its literature in its own periodicals and in the form of addresses and advertisements in the daily press.

A characteristic of this type of literature is its brazenly complacent appropriation of all the virtues of patriotism and all the glories of American history.

To the great number of economists, divines, publicists and editors who encourage and seek to guide the self-helpful efforts of wage-earners to elevate themselves through organization; to the largest employers in the United States, who make collective contracts with organized employees—to all these, this literature would deny any of those virtues and glories, while it accuses organized labor itself, not merely of a lack of patriotism, but of downright treason.

The typical writer of this literature wraps himself in the American flag, asserts exclusive possession of the Constitution, if not of the Decalogue, and claims to have a monopoly of that spirit of liberty which maintained with arms the Declaration of Independence, freed the slaves while saving the Union and expelled Spanish oppression from Cuba. He would pose as a Washington, a Lincoln and a McKinley all concentrated in a living model of perfect Americanism. By contrast, he would have the reader infer that the 2,500,000 citizens who are enrolled in the American Federation of Labor and the great railway Brotherhoods are composed of Arnolds, Booths and Weylers; that they are enemies of their country and foes of civilization. He would deny to them all patriotism, all love, not only of country, but of humanity; all allegiance to the Flag and all respect for the organic law framed by the fathers of the Republic.

This extravagance should defeat its own purpose. If there were a scintilla of truth in these charges or insinuations, the entire movement of organized labor would have been withered in its infancy by the burning blast of public condemnation. It could have no more chance of survival and growth in a land of self-government than has anarchy or polygamy. The very progress of organized labor in both strength of numbers and intelligence of policy, the very respect which it has won from the largest and best-informed employers, the very consideration it receives from economic scholars and writers form a body of convincing evidence that the movement is recognized as an important social force, meriting critical study, to be credited with having accomplished much in uplifting the mass of wage-earners and capable of increasing both the producing and consuming capacity of the nation. It is because the malicious and indiscriminate verbal assaults upon this movement could not find entrance into the news or editorial columns of reputable journals that they are frequently forced into the advertising columns, when they are paid for at so much a line.

These smash-the-union writers attempt to class the labor organizations with the most unpopular trusts, and accuse them with being conspiracies to increase the cost of living. They collate with an industry worthy of a better cause the most remote, abnormal and exceptional misdeeds of individual members of labor unions. They claim that the purpose of "citizens' alliances" is to create "a national power for general peace." But they would establish the peace of extermination. The Socialists say, "We have nothing to arbitrate with the employer; we would abolish the employer." So these writers say in effect: "We would not negotiate or arbitrate with the unions, but destroy

them." And this program they seek to justify by such exaggerated statements as these:

Tens of thousands of American citizens have been assaulted and hundreds have been murdered by these labor trusts in their bloodthirsty efforts to force all the rest of humanity to implicitly obey their orders.

What about the thousands of decent white men and women, tied hand and foot, unable to work, move or act, except by contribution to and with consent of the trust? Human liberty and constitutional rights of an American citizen are denied them.

Men who have regard for the sacred mantle of liberty fought for, won and handed down to us, are patriots enough to stand together and save this fair America from chaos.

This is not the proper time to talk conciliation. Neither is it the time to talk arbitration or joint agreement. To arbitrate questions of wages and hours is to introduce artificial methods of determining what they shall be. Arbitration is only putting off the day of reckoning.

No organization of men, not excepting the Ku Klux Klan, the Mafia, or the Black Hand societies, has ever produced such a record of barbarism as has this so-called labor society.

The labor leaders are trying to force upon the American people a universal system of slavery even more degrading and more damnable than that to which the negro was subjected.

An official journal of one of the organizations that would thus promote peace by invective and misrepresentation is not content with arrogating to itself all the patriotism and achievements of American history. It assumes that the functions of the American Government have now been paralyzed by the labor unions, and it magnanimously proposes that this anti-union organization shall take to itself all executive, legislative and judicial functions. It calmly announces:

This association is composed of citizens of the United States, organized for mutual protection of person and property.

It is based upon the same fundamentals [as the United States Government] and seeks to insure the personal liberty of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution.

This subsidiary organization of the people has been made necessary by the impotence of many local municipalities to furnish adequate protection and make good the constitutional guarantee.

This publication, after incidentally charging the "labor trust" with "setting up much actual slavery and robbing vast numbers of people of their liberties," naively remarks:

The judicial mind will inquire why the people are not now thus protected by the Government set up and maintained for their protection.

Theoretically they should be, but bitter experience proves that they are not, for the machinery of the Government is slow, inert and clumsy and its movements interfered with by the manipulations of the [labor] trusts until we see great damage done before its machinery gets into operation.

"All of the 780 citizens out of every 800 who are not members of any trust" are invited by this custodian of our liberties to join his would-be substitute for the political machinery that has been running since George Washington took his first inaugural oath. It must be news to 779 out of these 780 citizens that the Government at Washington does not still live, or that the State, municipal and township systems have broken down. Is it then possible that the nation has been plunged into anarchy by the labor unions and is all unconscious of its state of woe? Is the United States a lawless mining camp, in need of this proposed national vigilance committee to save its women and children from butchery and its property from destruction?

The attempt thus to inflame class hatred reaches the height of absurdity, when it does not sound the depths of misrepresentation and malice.

For instance, one of the stock charges of these assailants of organized labor is that the labor leaders and the labor press continually incite the unions to acts of violence. This is a libel, pure and simple. There is not a labor leader of any standing in this country, nor is there a labor journal, outside of the Socialist organs that are apparently acting in alliance with the anti-union agitators, that does not persistently exhort union wage-earners against the employment of force in strikes and advance earnest arguments to prove the folly of that criminal policy.

As an illustration of a labor lecture to labor, the *Typographical Journal*, the official paper of the International Typographical Union of North America, published a long article upon the lessons of the teamsters' strike in Chicago, of which it said the principal one is:

It is unwise, inadvisable and dangerous to pin faith in the outcome of a strike by relying on force and outlawry. . . . The attempt to win a strike by the pugnacious arguments of educational committees who rely on brick throwing and pop-bottle suasion as a method of demonstrating that the striker is right and the employer wrong, will sooner or later come to grief. . . . When a union declares no other man can work under penalty of death, it assumes a position that sooner or later will become its undoing. . . . Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness can be as well applied in union constitutions as in the Declaration of Independence. This is good unionism enough for a true American citizen by birth or adoption. . . . Unions that devote their energies to making union men instead of killing off the non-union ones are the organizations that are doing business with greater results and less trouble.

Another way in which organized labor has formally and collectively arrayed itself in the ranks of law and order is through its action as to membership in the militia. Great publicity has been given to a few iso-

lated cases where local and ignorant unions have forbidden members to belong to military organizations. A convention of one of the anti-union societies even went so far as to adopt and publish this declaration:

Whereas, Organized labor throughout the country seeks to discourage and practically prohibits membership in the militia.

This was in face of the fact that the convention of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, only two weeks before the anti-union convention rejected by an overwhelming majority a resolution opposing membership in the militia; and in face of the further fact that President Gompers of that Federation, which exults in its title "American," has emphatically declared it to be the duty of every able-bodied wage-earner to encourage the citizen militia. Both this action and this utterance were published broadcast. The resolution of the anti-union convention, therefore, could not have originated in ignorance but must have been founded in malice.

Another example of the wise counsel against all forms of coercion that organized labor is receiving from its own ranks is the contribution by Frank K. Foster, of the Typographical Union, to a symposium upon Labor Day, which we reproduce upon another page from the *American Federationist*, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, whose President, Samuel Gompers, is its editor.

The object of these vigilantes is the dissolution of organized labor and the reduction of wages to the lowest point consistent with the continuance of the race. Poverty, discontent, ignorance and crime would be the inevitable fruit of their propaganda, which is therefore unpatriotic as well as unphilanthropic.

The inspiration of the movement of organized labor is the elevation of the physical, mental and moral condition of the great mass of wage-earners. The movement has progressed from the medieval days and nights when workingmen were forced to meet in secret, subject to penalties for "conspiracy," up to the present time, when labor's right to organize for its betterment has undisputed legal status and when the unions make technical and general education, not violence and law-breaking, a part of their regular usages. This great advance has been long and tedious. Those who have done the marching have had to discover their leaders among themselves. Their progress has hitherto been made in the face of discouragement, derision, denunciation and even persecution. Until within a few years they have encountered the solid opposition of employers. If their aim be recognized as one for the benefit of all society, surely it behooves every element of society to stretch out a guiding and a helping hand to those who halt and stumble in their struggle upward. This is a duty that impresses itself with growing force upon educated employers, whose larger opportunities imply greater responsibilities toward the welfare of the mass. Labor should not be left to uplift itself alone and unaided. Yet more should it not be subjected to the rebuffs of would-be oppressors.

Organized labor is here and there guilty of law-breaking. Yet in every case its sins of violence react upon its own head. The lessons taught by its most advanced leaders are thus reenforced by bitter experience. There can be no doubt that labor is learning respect for the law. No one need doubt that it will use with growing wisdom the larger liberty, including just wages and proper leisure, for which its organization strives.

Assuredly, it is more in accordance with the spirit and the principles of American institutions to encourage than to repress an organized movement whose growth depends upon the development of individual character, including the qualities of self-control, self-improvement, fraternal aid and the care and elevation of the home. If organized labor makes for all these desirable ends, it is a factor for good citizenship. For wholesale denunciation of the movement because of errors incident to its progress, it would be more patriotic to substitute efforts looking to the correction of those errors, leading to a lessening of their repetition, and to guidance in the direction of those just and enlightened relations between capital and labor which experience has proved to be of most benefit to both and to the community at large.

A HEAD TAX DESIRED.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y., Eagle.

As we read the report of the debates upon immigration, initiated by the Civic Federation, we are more and more impressed with the value and importance of our own pet suggestion, namely, the imposition of a head tax upon the immigrants. It seems to us that that will furnish restriction of the undesirable. It will furnish a fund to be expended in the care of the dependent, in the distribution of useful information, and in the general supervision of the work.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR REGULATION OF PRICES.

HOW EFFORTS TO PREVENT DESTRUCTIVE COMPETITION LEAD TO PARALLEL METHODS IN LABOR UNIONS AND MERCANTILE COMBINATIONS.

(BY THE EDITOR.)

Much is said nowadays about the monopolistic tendencies of labor unions. Their critics charge that they are arbitrary and even tyrannical in their enforcement of such methods as placing restriction upon output; limiting the number of apprentices in a given craft; demanding the minimum wage; opposing the introduction of labor-saving machinery; boycotting employers who resist their demands; refusing to work or to have any relations with brother workmen who do not subscribe to their doctrines and conform to their practices.

It is not our purpose here to deny the truth of any of these general allegations, or to discuss the measure in which they may be defended or should be condemned. Accepting them, for the sake of argument, as facts, we would point out that each of them is the symptom of an underlying fear—the fear that excessive competition may impair for all or destroy for some the living wages or the steadiness of employment. The root of this fear of destructive competition lies as deep as the instinct of self-preservation. The limitation of apprentices arises from the fear that a craft may become overcrowded, inciting mutually destructive underbidding of wages to obtain work. The underlying motive becomes equally obvious upon scrutiny of each of the union practices of which complaint is made.

There is much less current comment upon the manifestations by capital of this same underlying motive—the fear of destructive competition. Nevertheless, precisely the same principle reveals itself in the proceedings of capitalists, large and small, who seek to regulate the market, both as to supply and price, in practically every branch of industry and trade in the United States. These methods vary widely in their details and their operation in practice, which are modified to meet the requirements and conditions peculiar to various markets and products. But they are all alike in their common object—the prevention of destructive competition. Their avowed purpose is to insure living profits (the union's "living wage") to manufacturer, wholesaler and retailer. Their evolution involves the formation of pools, "gentlemen's agreements," trade associations and other combinations. Here and there is involved resistance, through artificial devices, to the simplification of the machinery of trade on the ground that it would decrease or destroy the business of middlemen, such as jobbers. This corresponds to union opposition to the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Combinations to maintain prices through agreement between manufacturer and wholesaler to furnish goods only to retailers who belong to the organization, correspond in many respects to the union demand for the closed shop. The boycott to punish those who do not subscribe to such agreements is employed freely and openly by mercantile associations. There is little or no concealment of these operations, and their wisdom or legality need not concern us here. They are facts of economic importance, analogous to the corresponding set of facts manifested by some organizations of labor.

Examples of these systematic efforts to prevent destructive competition in business can be found in the press almost daily, and to describe them in detail would require more than a complete issue of this REVIEW. But there are here grouped, as illustrative of the general principle, brief accounts of the methods of regulating prices in use in the drug, the hardware, the dry goods and the grocery trades:

PROPRIETARY DRUGS.

The most persistent efforts are made and the most elaborate machinery is devised to maintain the prices of proprietary drugs, or so-called "patent medicines." The total sales of these goods in the United States in one year amount to between \$80,000,000 and \$100,000,000. They constitute from 60 to 65 per cent. of the drug trade. Three organizations undertake to regulate prices. These are the National Wholesale Druggists' Association, organized in 1882, representing 90 per cent. of the wholesale jobbing trade; the Proprietary Association of America, composed of the manufacturers; and the National Association of Retail Druggists, composed of delegates from affiliated State associations and local branches. The retailers' organization has been greatly extended, the most recent local branch formed being that in New York City. It now embraces 516 associations, comprising 39,915 druggists.

The three organizations named cooperate in their efforts to prevent price cutting through agreement to cut off supplies of goods from any cut-rate house.

A recent example of the rigor with which cutting of prices is disciplined is the case of McKesson & Robbins, a wholesale drug firm of New York. The case illustrates both the working of the plan and its frank and open recognition. The National Association of Retail Druggists placed the firm upon its "cut-off list," in other words, boycotted the firm. This was openly announced in the newspapers of May 26, and was admitted by the firm. This process resulted in a

complete and costly surrender by the firm, which was announced in the *New York Commercial* on August 14 under the headlines: "Big Drug Firm Makes Amends—McKesson & Robbins Pay for Error. Result of Bad Sale. On the Black List for a Time, but is Again in Good Standing—Explains to Trade. Carload of Patent Medicine Shipped to One House but Destined for Another Known as a Cut-Rate Concern—Goods Recovered After a Hot Fight and Expensive Litigation. Retailers with the Manufacturers of the Medicine Win a Notable Victory. Cordial Business Relations Resumed Between the Innocent Parties."

All this is stated in the most matter-of-fact way, implying the tacit recognition that the boycott is an every-day weapon in the mercantile world to compel adherence to prices, just as unions strike against or boycott employers who cut wages. The article goes on to explain that a contract existed in this case between the manufacturers, the wholesale firm, and a retail firm, C. H. Loveland & Co., of Binghamton, N. Y., which bound the parties to sell no goods to any druggist who cuts prices.

It appears that McKesson & Robbins shipped a carload of medicine to Loveland & Co. The size of the shipment aroused the suspicion of the manufacturer. Investigation revealed that the medicine was really intended for another and a cut-rate firm. The boycott and surrender followed. The terms of settlement showed the completeness of the surrender. They included the return of the goods, the repayment of cost of shipment, the payment of costs of litigation and expenses of storage, the payment of a fine to the Retail Druggists' Association, and the publication of a most contrite apology by the boycotted firm.

The most ingenious device in the drug trade for maintaining prices is called the Serial Contract or Serial Numbering plan. This plan involves an exclusive system of distribution. Only authorized wholesale houses handle the goods, and they are under contract to sell only to the retail agents of the company. Every retail dealer, before he can purchase the goods, must sign a contract by which he becomes an agent of the manufacturer, and agrees not to sell the medicines to any other dealer who is not an agent at any price whatever, and to sell to others only at the authorized retail price. Each dozen of bottles sent by the manufacturer to the wholesaler is numbered, and is accompanied by a postal card bearing the same number. When the wholesaler sells that dozen bottles, he mails the card to the manufacturer, with the name and address of the retailer to whom sold. The retailer must not dispose of a bottle until his firm name has been written or printed upon each wrapper. Thus the sale of a bottle anywhere at less than regular prices can be traced, and the cutter, by the terms of the contract, makes himself liable to the manufacturer for specified liquidated damages.

The *Pharmaceutical Era* of May 11, 1905, declared:

The plan has shown its ability to accomplish the purpose for which it was designed, i. e., the prevention of price demoralization. The more of these proprietary goods that are placed upon the market with the restrictions embodied in the plan, the better it will be for the retailers, for they are thereby assured of a profit on their sales, and consequently all branches of the trade are benefited.

No more effective plan has been devised for the enforcement of the minimum wage.

A pending suit has been brought by A. G. Loder, a retail druggist in Philadelphia, for \$100,000 damages against the National Association of Retail Druggists. The complainant avers that he has been blacklisted by the association for cutting prices, and that his business has been damaged by the boycott. He states that he is not even able to keep books, lest the association learn the names of those who sell him drugs, and boycott them also. This allegation could hardly be exceeded by any union boycott against an "unfair" employer, nor could any union carry further a system of espionage.

THE HARDWARE TRADE.

Especially efforts are made to control the price of products in the hardware industry by means of pools or "gentlemen's agreements." Estimates of the amount of the output of the entire industry, whose prices are thus controlled, vary from 60 to 95 per cent. This is remarkable, when it is considered that there are at least 500 different lines of goods in this trade.

"Price Restriction" was the subject of keenest interest at the joint meeting, early in June, at Hot Springs, Va., of the Southern Hardware Jobbers' Association and the American Hardware Manufacturers' Association. Coupled with this topic was the effect upon prices of manufacturers' selling goods directly to retailers, instead of through jobbers. The report of the proceedings of these two bodies, published in the *Iron Age* of June 15, shows that not only per-

suasion, but the more drastic method of the boycott is to be employed to prevent cutting prices in the hardware trade.

As to direct selling from manufacturers to retailers, the Southern Association took the position, conveying the threat of a boycott, that:

If the manufacturer thus ignores the legitimate channel of distribution through the jobber to the retailer and the consumer, the jobbers should hesitate about distributing the products of such manufacturer, even though he be not a distributing factor in their immediate locality. It was pointed out that when unoccupied territory has thus been taken possession of and the manufacturer becomes well established as his own distributor, it will be more difficult to correct the disturbance than if action were taken in time. The spirit of the suggestion was that if the manufacturers ignore the jobbers, they could hardly expect the active support of the jobbing trade.

The same report said:

A strong sentiment apparently pervaded the meetings of the Southern jobbers in favor of manufacturers extending the system of restricted prices with a view to not only permitting, but it might almost be said, **constraining the jobbers to market goods at a profit.**

A joint meeting of the two associations was addressed by W. W. Webber, on behalf of the jobbers, who said:

All of you are advised that we want you, where it is at all feasible, to arrange your methods of handling your product to the end that the jobber will be compelled to make a reasonable margin when he makes a sale. . . . Those of us who have no desire to make money should be compelled to cease our hush-whacking tactics to the end that those who do want to succeed may do so with some degree of comfort and pleasure and to an extent commensurate with the energy and annoyance required. Some of us have no more conception of commercial ethics or of the correct principles of money-making than has a hog of a holiday or a Senegambian of "Paradise Lost," and these are the fellows for you to handle. You will not be able to do so by any milk and water policy, but must make up your minds that nothing short of a *lignum vitae* club, loaded to scatter, will suffice in some cases. . . . To embark on the restricted system you must give all concerned to understand that there are to be no subterfuges, that you intend to be alert and firm in policing your plan, and that we all look alike to you; that you will not play any favorites, nor condone offenses, but that he who strays from the straight and narrow path in this particular will wander into the hogs and bric patches of your displeasure to the tune of the exact amount of rebate due him, plus a good, stiff fine. The fine might consist of a stated amount of "Uncle Sam's Illuminated Anguish Plaster" or, better still, drop the offender from your list.

The report of the executive committee of the Southern Jobbers' Association, as summarized by the *Iron Age*, said that:

One of the most important subjects was a satisfactory arrangement between the manufacturer and the jobber for the **enforced maintenance of stipulated prices upon a profitable basis.**

A joint convention of these two associations was held last year at Atlantic City, when an article upon the subject of "Price Maintenance" was read by T. W. Williams, Vice-President of the Bissell Carpet Sweeper Company. He defined "Price Maintenance" as meaning:

An honest, equitable system of uniform prices, that is based upon the sound principle that the manufacturer, the jobber, the retailer, are justly entitled to a fair margin of profit on the sale of any article and that the quality of an article can only be maintained so long as all parties concerned in its sale cooperate and rigidly maintain uniform prices.

The system of price maintenance carried out in this particular line depends for its legality upon the right of a manufacturer of a patented article to fix the retail price on his product. This right has been sustained by judicial decisions in both the United States and England.

Mr. Williams further said:

I want to point out a significant virtue of an honest system of Price Maintenance, namely: that while protecting and conserving the best interests of the manufacturer, the jobber, and retailer, it reaches out and fully protects the consumer by insuring to the purchaser a high standard of quality in the article, and a reasonable price. On the contrary, price cutting is a species of commercial dechauchery that rests upon the relentless doctrine of the survival of the fittest; upon the narrow, cold-blooded principle that merchandising is a sort of commercial warfare; that "all's fair in war" and "the devil take the hindmost." Price cutting lowers the commercial standing of the manufacturer, jobber, or retailer who practices it, destroys profits, breeds distrust, fosters prevarication, and finally robs the consumer by debasing the quality of the commodities, upon which prices are cut, if not actually driving many of them from the market.

Could any union leader make a stronger argument in favor of the closed shop?

DRY GOODS JOBBING TRADE.

The National Dry Goods Association is also fighting to preserve the business of the jobbers from extinction through direct sales from manufacturers and commission houses to retailers. Its executive committee has declared that if these direct dealings are permitted, the business of the jobber "will not be worth continuing."

The semi-annual meeting of this association was held in New York City on June 8, behind closed doors. No manufacturers nor commission merchants were present. After the adjournment, the official announce-

(Concluded on page 11.)

LABOR LEADERS DISCUSS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LABOR DAY.

THEY CONTRIBUTE A SYMPOSIUM TO THE "AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST," PRAISING WAGE-EARNERS' ACHIEVEMENTS AND URGING CONSERVATISM.

The official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, the *American Federationist*, published in its September number a symposium of articles upon the significance of Labor Day, which has now been made a legal holiday in practically every State in the Union, and which is recognized by the National Government in its dealings with wage-earners. Extracts from this symposium are here republished, as examples of the kind of literature that the thoughtful, conservative leaders of labor are producing for the guidance of their readers:

WORLD-WIDE TRADE AGREEMENTS.

(By James Duncan, First Vice-President American Federation of Labor.)

LABOR DAY is an American product; yea, it is of trade union origin, and therefore abiding and utilitarian.

There is a semblance of a May day demonstration in a portion of continental Europe, but it too often takes the form of discussing political vagaries some of them similar to the expressions heard on Sunday afternoons on Boston Common, week nights on "Growlers' Corner," Washington, and almost perpetually in "Bug House Row," San Francisco. Invariably the European celebrations take place at night or on the nearest Sunday to May 1, and have not the importance or prestige of our Labor Day. Our date is logical. May 1 is associated with heated discussions incidental to introduction to new trade agreements, which suggest partisan or technical debate. The first Monday in September calls for mature, cool-headed reasoning in which the speakers are untrammelled from ordinary shop talk, and by inspiration rise to the sublime in setting forth the philosophy of the economic evolution we are well into and in suggesting practical methods to be used for the betterment of mankind.

If this point is clear the suggestion follows—as night follows day—that at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor next November in Pittsburgh, action should be taken to send a message to organized labor of the world to adopt the first Monday in September as Labor Day, the same to be a holiday set apart for the dissemination of economic instruction, to the end that a correct entering wedge can be instituted to hasten and direct the way to the brotherhood of man.

To associate a universal holiday with one of the tenets of trade unionism would forever keep the purpose in healthy thought channels. The sequence, therefore, suggests "the trade agreement," and particularly that part of it which, when entered into provides the way for pacific adjustment by conference or arbitration of disputed points as a modus operandi for the ultimate reduction of strikes to a minimum. This subject would serve two purposes: First, suggesting constructive procedure, and second, disabusing the international mind of a bugaboo that unions are formed to cause strikes. Here, then, we have concrete material with which to greet labor everywhere, and the coming convention can do no better thing than to vitalize this spark and set in motion the universal labor movement, through and because of which the organized workers can become acquainted and the unorganized may be shown a development of their true interests, from which they could not long remain aloof.

When history is written our "trade agreement" idea will be given place in importance alongside of the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence. It partakes of the best in both without the shortcomings of either. It aims at getting the best possible conditions with the least possible injury to either employer or employee. It is sufficiently elastic to move with the times, so will not become obsolete or hamper progressive thought and action. It does not eliminate striking, for that would be a species of slavery, but it comes near doing so in that by voluntary action disputes can be settled by conciliation and arbitration which would otherwise require force, ending in favor of those best able to resist, whether or not they were in the right.

In this direction the American Federation of Labor—that is, trades unionism—leads the world. The Hague notion of settling international ruptures is copied from the adjustment clause of our trade agreements, only that we do the trick minus red tape, while The Hague machine is yet red tape, plus what they copied from our trade agreements. We agree to give disputes arising under a trade contract to five or seven practical men, with assurance we will abide the result, and we place in the paragraph a proviso that pending adjustment there shall neither be a lockout, strike, or suspension of work. Practice crowds the fact upon us that settlement of disputes can sooner be reached, and with better results, if all hands are working than during a suspension.

If these suggestions mature, our next international circular should be top-heavy with universal eight-hour workday propaganda. Watch for action along those lines by the Pittsburg convention.

COERCION CONDEMNED.

(By Frank K. Foster, of the International Typographical Union, Boston.)

THE recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the case of *Berry vs. Donovan*, which decrees that the agent of a trade union is personally liable in a suit for damages for his action in securing the discharge of a non-unionist working under contract, brings up the question as to whether the permanence of unionism is necessarily dependent upon what may be called a physically coercive policy against non-unionists.

Personally, I do not believe that such is the case, and my opinion is not based upon consideration of any theoretical injustice which may be done the industrial non-conformist, whose moral obligation, we all concede, is to join with his fellow craftsmen in their endeavors for craft betterment, but solely upon the question of the best general policy for the unions themselves.

If we are to maintain our own legal "right to work how, when, and where we please," and voluntarily choose to submit to the dicta of collective bargaining for the determination of this how, when, and where, does not the inevitable logic of our position appear to be that we should concede the non-unionist an equal legal right to do the same thing? If, as in the case above cited, the particular non-union man is working under contract, and does not choose to be a party to the collective bargain for labor, how, without inconsistency, can we demand that he be forcibly deprived of that right which we insist upon for our own members?

It is a truism that a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still, and the trade union movement has had ample opportunity of observing that the mere possession of a union card by no means makes its holder a genuine unionist. It is also true that in war times forced drafts are sometimes necessary, and the forced recruit is all too numerous in the union ranks, where he is apt to mutiny on the firing line, as did the unhappy conscripts of the Russian Czar during the battle of the Japan Sea.

There has been of late an unfortunate increase of the custom of compelling employers to act as union organizers, using them as agents for driving men into unions, a custom as reprehensible in principle as that practiced by other employers who instruct their foremen to disorganize unions by discharging union men. The unions have asked, and in many States have obtained, legislation for preventing discrimination of this latter kind. If we really believe in equality before the law, how are we to consistently object if the courts decree that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander?

So much for the purely legal aspect of the question. As an economic policy the coercive method has injured unionism in two ways: It has been the prolific source of the sympathetic strike on the part of the workmen, and the cause of much of the outcry raised against the union shop, or the so-called closed shop, on the part of the employers.

Whatever sentimental virtue the advocates of the sympathetic strike may claim for it, as a practical instrument of economic warfare it has proven itself woefully deficient as a means for achieving practical results. It would, perhaps, be an extreme statement to say that the sympathetic strike is never justified, but most impartial unionists must confess that the history of the sympathetic strikes which have taken place in this country is not such as to warrant the expectation that this method can be safely relied upon as an efficient way by which to accomplish the purposes of trades unionism. The recoil of this industrial blunderbuss has commonly kicked over the man behind the gun, while the humming-bird aimed at has gotten away unscathed.

The label shop or union shop is one of the proper and rightful objective points of trade union endeavor. Its stable establishment must rest upon its business feasibility. The argument for the union shop, however, can be made sufficiently strong without compelling the employer to violate contracts with his employees. The trade agreement follows naturally in the wake of efficient organization of the sellers of labor commodity, and it is up to the wage earner himself to bring about this organization.

There may be those among us who hold that the attitude of the public toward trade unionism is a matter of slight moment and not worth bothering about. This opinion may be correct as applied to some specific instance in trade union activity, but is not true as a general proposition. The organization of labor has won a

wide public recognition for its useful industrial and social service, and won it, moreover, in the face of an early prejudice against it. It is idle to say that either individuals or associations can afford to disregard the way in which they are looked upon by the great mass of the people. The union has a character to maintain as well as the individual, and there is always weight to be attached to the criticism of unbiased observers.

But the main point after all is as to whether the dependence of trade unionists upon coercive methods of propaganda does not weaken the moral fibre of the movement. Our liberalized age has repudiated the coercive policy in theology and politics. We no longer approve of the practice of burning people at the stake for non-conformity in religious belief. We protest vigorously against employers of labor who attempt to coerce their employes into voting for a certain party. Why not carry this same principle of freedom into our own movement, and rely upon moral suasion rather than upon the big stick for our converts? It may be possible that a slight numerical loss would result from the adoption of this plan, but numbers are not everything, in unionism as elsewhere. The ideal trade unionism, therefore, appears to me to be a purely voluntary association composed of members who are unionists because they believe in unionism, and who have been enrolled by appeal to their judgment and their enlightened self-interest, rather than by pressure upon their selfish fears.

SOME UNION ACHIEVEMENTS.

(By George W. Perkins, President Cigarmakers' International Union.)

IN contemplating the progress of labor in the past twenty-five years, we find wonderful improvement, which, under the circumstances with which we have had to contend, makes its splendid achievements the most remarkable accomplishments in the annals of human effort in this or any other country. Go to Ellis Island, N. Y., or any other large port of entry, and watch the never-ending rushing flow of immigrants which sweep the country like an avalanche, and deny this statement if you can; consider the habits and customs of people coming from all quarters of the globe, some with a low and inferior standard of life; some with ideas entirely at variance with the trade union movement of our country; some with anarchistic ideas, others with socialistic leanings, and others with ideas peculiar to all points of the globe, and all at variance with ours, with no knowledge of the hopes, ambition, and aspirations of our trade union movement of this country, knowing little and caring less for our institutions and standard of life, and you have some idea of the heroic effort of the past and the stupendous task that lies before us and the effort made and to be made to organize the workers.

The task of organizing the raw recruits of the world into trade unions has been and is a stupendous one, and deserves the highest commendation of all lovers of freedom, and a better and higher social and economic state.

The obstacles, the obstructions, failures, and disappointments have been many and trying, but, despite them all, the movement under the leadership and guidance of the American Federation of Labor has grown in the time mentioned from 13 small national and international unions to its present magnificent proportions of 117 national and international unions.

This wonderful growth has no parallel in the history of the civilized world in this line or any other human endeavor, and should challenge the admiration of all students of economic endeavor.

Wages have been increased and hours reduced, the truck system and shop tyranny abolished, better sanitary conditions and more independence of the workers achieved in keeping with the onward march of our movement; in short, the whole world and the workers have been made better by the success of the trade union movement.

The splendid results and success of the American Federation of Labor and the trade unions affiliated therewith is not due to mere chance, but rather to the indomitable will and pluck of those who first had faith in the trade union movement, and, secondly, the courage of their convictions.

It is indeed fortunate for the workers and the future of our movement that those intrusted with its destinies and guidance have resolutely stood by the good old ship of trade unionism, and always kept its course in the channel of pure trade unionism and free from the rock of partisan politics and other isms upon which so many movements have been dashed to destruction.

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METHODS OF INTERNATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

The rulers and peoples of the world have paid adequate tribute to the broad statesmanship exercised by the President of the United States, with the beneficent result of ending, through conference, a most destructive war. They have all recognized both the present and the future importance to peace in international relations of this brilliantly successful employment of mediation. To the realm of industry, this great event conveys a lesson as important as that which it introduces into world politics. The potency of face-to-face conference in adjusting the relations between capital and labor could receive no more emphatic illustration than in the same principle put into practice in the negotiations culminating in the treaty signed at Portsmouth.

It is not to sound a note of discord in the joyous acclaim that greets this achievement, to point out that the probability of future international wars is not entirely ended, even though it be greatly diminished; and, correspondingly, that the more frequent employment of conciliation between representatives of employers and employed cannot wholly eliminate conflicts from the world of industry.

It is natural that enthusiasts who cherish visions of permanent, world-girdling peace should hail the successful issue of the Portsmouth conference as a substantial basis for the realization of their beatific aspiration. But it should not be forgotten that this world is stern and practical. It is no discouragement to the increasing employment of conciliation and arbitration, to direct attention to the fact that their compulsory establishment, in either international or industrial relations, is but a dream. There are questions that cannot be arbitrated. So high an authority as John Bassett Moore, Professor of International Law in Columbia University, has written in this Review that "vital interests" and "national independence" may properly be excepted from an international agreement of arbitration." The latest example of agreement through conference, which averted the threatened war between Norway and Sweden, explicitly excepts from arbitration matters of dispute which affect the independence, integrity or vital interests of either. Similarly, there are in the industrial world subjects which neither capital nor labor could submit to arbitration without incurring the surrender of matters of principle that are involved in the successful conduct of business or in the elevation of the standard of living.

It would not tend to strengthen the human race, either physically or morally, if all possibility of conflict between nations, or between capital and labor, were removed. All progress involves struggle. The ability to struggle is commensurate with the ability to fight. To relieve humanity from the stern necessity of eternal vigilance would be to cast away the price of liberty. The discipline of resistance to aggression is essential to advancement. The blood of martyrs is the seed of every righteous cause.

The capacity to fight, even when latent, is an essential element to national progress, just as it is to the advancement toward the adjustment of the relations of capital and labor which shall be most advantageous to civilization. The very statesman who receives the plaudits of the world for restoring peace between Russia and Japan is a most persistent advocate of a powerful navy and army, trained to meet the emergency of any moment. There is in this no inconsistency, since the known effectiveness of armies and navies is the surest guarantee of peace and the strongest moral support of diplomacy. In a similar way, those who are most prominent in advocating industrial peace are the most ardent in encouraging the organization of both capital and labor, so that negotiations between them may have the greater prospect of success through mutual respect. Upon that basis, the incessant readjustment of their shares in production can proceed with the best assurance of that equity without which there can be no peace. The demonstration of approximate equality of power upon each side, coupled with confidence in mutual good faith, will forward the settlement of any issue. Despite the hard logic of the fact that all life involves contest, such an achievement as that of Portsmouth tends to lessen the asperities of conflict and to convey far-reaching moral encouragement to common-sense methods of conciliation.

REGULATION OF OUTPUT AND OF PRICES.

"Regulation and Restriction of Output" is the subject of a special report of the Commissioner of Labor, just published and prepared during the incumbency of Carroll D. Wright. This report is of great importance and value to students of industrial phenomena, and is unique in that no other official inquiry into its subject has been made, either in this or in other countries. The materials for the report as to the United States were in the main collected and prepared by Professor John R. Commons, now of the University of Wisconsin; while the portion relating to Great Britain was prepared by John H. Gray, Ph.D.

Now that this exposition of restrictions imposed by labor has been made, it would be appropriate for the Department of Commerce and Labor to make an investigation of the restrictive methods in use by combinations of capital and of employers. Like the restriction of output, the regulation of price has its origin in the desire to prevent destructive competition. There is a wide field for such an inquiry, for the practice exists, in one form or another, and is accepted as an every-day familiar fact, in practically every branch of trade and transportation. In an article upon another page, we have collated some illustrative examples of this practice. These might be multiplied indefinitely. The examples we cite in the drug, the hardware, the dry goods and the grocery trades could be amplified, for instance, by the traffic agreements between railroads; the anthracite railway pool; the iron and steel pools; the restriction of acreage in cotton-growing and the effort to maintain a maximum price for that material; the attempt by associated publishers to prevent the sale of books at cut prices; the farmers' organizations formed to force upward prices of the great staples; and all the list of conspicuous trusts. An investigation of these phenomena, widely variant in their manifestations but all alike in their purpose, would throw light upon the interesting question, How far is it economically wise to employ artificial methods to regulate competition in trade, as well as in production?

THE COAL SITUATION.

A portion of the newspaper press is sounding a note of alarm as to the probability of a great coal strike next spring, for which we find no warrant in present conditions. It is represented that John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, has been making a series of fire-brand speeches throughout the anthracite fields, and that the mine operators, on the other side, are collecting vast stores of fuel so as to be prepared for a suspension of production. These are cited as omens of war. Rather are they to be interpreted as preparations essential to negotiations for peace. This is not a prediction but an interpretation of the present.

A perusal of the correct report of the address delivered by Mr. Mitchell at Shamokin, which we publish upon another page and which is in effect a summary of the motives and the utterances of his tour, will show that its tone, if firm, is most temperate. He advances a straightforward business proposition, for which his effort is to gain the practically unanimous support, in their own interest, of the anthracite wage-earners. That support can be given only through organization. If President Mitchell should be a silent and inactive leader, and if the union should thereby contain only a tenth of the mine workers, he would be in no position to appear as their representative before the operators. But if he represents nine-tenths of the workers, the operators could not refuse to consider his presentation of their demands. His recruiting of the union membership, from the miners' standpoint, is a necessary preliminary to negotiation.

Conversely, the operators would be acting with equal wisdom if they were accumulating stores of fuel. They, too, must be in a position to present with firmness whatever agreements they may have as to the relation between the union demands and the prosperity of the industry of producing, transporting and marketing fuel. Equality of position is a condition precedent to any fair bargain; and in no industry has the principle of collective bargaining been carried into effect with more

far-reaching benefit and with more signal examples of good faith maintained under strong temptation to violate agreements than in that of mining coal.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP INVESTIGATION.

The announcement that a Commission upon Public Ownership and Operation, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation and composed of experts and representatives of all interests, would make a thorough investigation of that subject, both at home and abroad, has been received with many public expressions of approval. This approval, moreover, is accompanied with evidences of confidence that the findings of the Commission will clear up many disputed questions of fact that now confuse the current debate upon this many-sided and far-reaching question of public policy. The organization of this Commission and the allotment of its work are assurances that the inquiry will be pursued with system and vigor, and that it will be animated by an impartial determination to ascertain the whole truth.

The first meeting of the Commission will be held Thursday, October 5, at 10:30 a. m., in Earl Hall, Columbia University. An informal preliminary meeting at the headquarters of the National Civic Federation, on September 18, to discuss tentatively the scope of inquiry and the method of procedure, was attended by seventeen members. The fact that practically every shade of thought in the general Commission was represented at this meeting, gave it peculiar interest. This preliminary discussion brought out such questions as: Shall the foreign inquiry confine itself to such public utilities as gas, water, electric power and lighting and street railways? Shall it include Government ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephone, parcel post, postal savings banks, etc.? Shall it further include what comes under the general head of "municipal trading," such as municipal markets, abattoirs, bakeries, laundries, playhouses, and tenements?

A unanimous sentiment was reached that it would be unwise to undertake to cover so many topics with one sub-Commission; that those subjects, however, should all be taken up eventually, but by different sub-Commissions; and that the first sub-Commission should confine itself mainly to municipal ownership and operation of gas, water, electric power and lighting and street railways. A report of this informal non-committal discussion was sent to the entire Commission.

NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

The representative character of the Conference upon Immigration, to be held in New York City on December 6 and 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, is indicated in advance by the number and the nature of the responses to the invitations. The Governors of all the States are appointing delegates, with a view both to their acquaintance with the general subject and to their particular knowledge of the needs and the desires of their own localities and industries in connection with the problems growing out of the admission of alien labor. The replies have disclosed an interest as wide and as diversified as the continent, and the personnel of the delegations is such as to ensure illuminating discussions and conclusions of value to the entire country and of international consequence. One phase of the immigration problem, the agitation for and against the exclusion of Asiatic labor, is of such growing importance that the Committee on Arrangements proposes to assign to its consideration one entire day, which may have the effect of continuing the conference upon December 8.

Ten copies of No. 1, Vol. I. of THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW are desired at this office. Twenty-five cents per copy will be paid.

The unions which have a decent regard for the rights and opinions of employers and the general public are the ones which make the greatest and most permanent headway.—*Cigar Makers' Official Journal*.

There is no difference between the man who "kills time" the moment his employer's back is turned and the man who steals a dollar from the cash drawer.—*Clothing Trades Bulletin*.

ADVICE TO MACHINISTS.

Their President Upholds Agreements, Deprecates Strikes and Tells How to secure the Union Shop.

(From the Biennial Report of James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists.)

WE should see to it that our organization is not made the tail to anybody's kite, political or otherwise, neither should it be allowed to be used as the stepping stone for impracticable ideas, wild theories, or unsound, unbusinesslike methods. The trade union principles as promulgated by our association should be first and foremost in all things, and the deliberations of those assembled at our conventions should be practical, not theoretical, real, not phantom.

The success of our organization up to date can be largely accredited to the splendid discipline throughout our ranks, but there is still improvement to be made in this direction.

First of all our members must be taught to respect to the full letter every agreement made by our organization. We must be in a position at all times to prove that violations of agreements are not made by our members. Where charges of violations have been made heretofore, we have been able to prove that they were the result of a misconception placed upon the agreement, and upon closer investigation it has been proven to my satisfaction that the employers are more liable to take advantage of a technicality, and thus create dissension, resulting in the best interests of both parties being lost sight of.



JAMES O'CONNELL,
President International Association of Machinists.

Our local lodges must see to it that our members obey the constitution in every particular, and those who wilfully or maliciously violate the principles for which our association stands should be summarily dealt with.

The willingness with which our members enter into strikes is a question of more than passing importance to this convention. It is, therefore, necessary, in order to secure the highest type of discipline among our members, that the laws governing strikes, etc., etc., must be more fully observed by our membership at large, and it is even the duty of the delegates to this convention to strengthen the position of the Grand Lodge by amending our laws so that trivial and unnecessary strikes will be avoided.

The employers' associations are leaving no stone unturned to misrepresent the position of the trade unions relative to what is commonly known as the union shop. They insist upon reserving the right to be the judges of all applications for employment, but refuse a similar right to the wage workers to say whom they shall work with. The open shop is purely a bugaboo. There is nothing to it but the imaginary restrictions thrown around the so-called union shop by the trade unions.

We do not interfere with the right of any individual mechanic to seek employment where he will, but we do reserve the right to say with whom we shall work. If we secure, through our efforts, better conditions of employment, we have a right to say that mechanics enjoying the results of our labors should contribute to the success of our organization in maintaining the improved conditions secured by us.

If the machinists throughout our jurisdiction would organize as they should, the open shop proposition would rapidly disappear, because the employer would quickly realize that the best mechanics, the most intelligent workmen, and the most industrious citizens could only be secured through the union. Thus we would protect our rights as union men, strengthen our position as an organization, and prove to those

who have given little thought to the question, that the trade union stands for the best interests of the wage workers of our country.

There is absolutely no fear from the so-called open shop. It is only the unfair employer who is advocating the open shop and the abolition of the union, because the open shop, as the employer understands it, means that the union must go out of existence. I am pleased to report that, notwithstanding the persistent effort on the part of the employers' associations to enforce the so-called open shop, the trade union movement is growing more powerful and influential day by day.

(Concluded from page 8.)

ment was made that there had been a discussion of the evils of direct selling. The ominous statement was added:

Everything possible will be done to arrange matters amicably, and not until conciliatory methods have been exhausted will aggressive action be taken. The Association puts its purchasing power at \$400,000,000, and this lever may ultimately have to be used in self-protection, although it is hoped that any action of this kind will not be necessary.

In other words, a boycott is threatened by this "purchasing power."

GROCERY JOBBING TRADE.

A special effort has been made this year to prevent price-cutting in groceries to save the business of jobbers, by discouraging direct sales from manufacturers to retailers. "To condemn the practice of some manufacturers going directly to the retailer with a portion of their business" was the expressed purpose of the first National Convention of Wholesale Grocers, held in Milwaukee, June 29 and 30. This convention appointed an executive committee, which was instructed to use "all legal means to induce the manufacturers of food products to refrain from selling the retail trade except through jobbers." Upon occasion, this committee is to call in additional members and resolve itself into "a Special Action Committee for any particular service in this line."

This convention, it was estimated, represented an annual business in the United States of \$1,000,000,000. It applauded, however, as if it were a labor convention listening to a union leader, such remarks as the following by its chairman, William Jordan, of Grand Rapids:

Merchants and retailers will respect a rational unionism among merchants for purposes of mutual improvement. We must not indulge in excuses, but we must firmly hold on to the just habit of insisting upon maintaining our rights as legitimate distributors.

It should be the wish of every wholesale grocer to strongly condemn the practice of some manufacturers going directly to the retailers with a portion of their business.

Rational unionism is no mean part of the whole human movement, industrial, social and intellectual, and I believe it will surely carry us forward and upward.

In the course of an address to this convention, J. A. Van Hoose, President of the Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association, related amid applause the following narrative of the penalty of the black list, inflicted upon a salesman who had dared to cut a price:

There was a complaint made to me that a man had cut the price on cottonseed. The investigation developed that that salesman sent in a sworn affidavit to the effect that he had not. He lied to his house, lied to his God, lied to his conscience. When it was proven that he had, under the czar, dictatorial power given me, I decided that only one of two things was permissible: dismissal without recommendation or that he should pay \$50 out of his own pocket. The house replied that they would take the first and not the second; that no man should take a grip out of that establishment for them who thought no more of the honor of that house than to trample it into the mire of the State of Arkansas.

That man to-day is a wanderer on the face of this earth, without a job, because he has no recommendation; and the pathos is that he lost the home which he had paid for. It had to be done. There were 5,000 other salesmen in that territory who were trying to make their living like men and gentlemen; and for their honor and protection, and the safety of their own integrity in business, it had to be done.

Compare the plight of this salesman with the grievance of the non-union man who is discharged at the demand of a union having a contract for the exclusive employment of its members.

TEAMSTERS' BENEFIT ASSOCIATION.

The "Liberty Dawn Association" is the title of the beneficial feature of the New York local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It is the maxim of the parent body, "United to Protect, not Combined to Injure." Its benefit feature provides through moderate dues for the free services of a physician and for sick benefits, for benefit to dependents in case of death of a member and for benefit to a member in case of the death of a wife. The report of President James Kenney and of Secretary-Treasurer Edward Gould shows the financial condition of this Association to be prosperous. Its official leaflet contains some worthy exhortations to the members, such as:

Be faithful to your employers; Be courteous to their customers; Be kind to their horses; Be kind one to another; Don't report late in the morning; Don't patronize saloons.

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OF

The National Civic Federation

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WELFARE WORK.

A Comprehensive, Compact and Philosophic Review of Its Growth and Practice.

(By H. H. Vreeland.)

H. H. Vreeland, Chairman of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation and President of the New York City Railway Company, delivered an address upon Welfare Work before the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association, at Atlantic City, September 20.

Mr. Vreeland opened his address with the statement that there had been no time for fifteen years when there were less than 15,000 men on his pay-roll directly, and indirectly 15,000 more, and that, therefore, he had nothing theoretical to present, but appeared as a practical man with a message to practical men.

He spoke of the necessity of carrying on Welfare Work in a cooperative way with the employees, making them a part of it, and said that the mistake which had been made in the past was the placing of Welfare Work on a charity basis, when it would never succeed.

Mr. Vreeland continued:

It is encouraging to those who are giving their thought and time to the promotion of Welfare Work to have that cause recognized by an invitation to present an argument in its favor before so influential a body as the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association. A membership which is not only national but international presents a channel through which it may be possible to attract the attention of employers to the value of Welfare Work to a degree that may be of incalculable benefit. It is with a full realization of the opportunity presented to the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation that I shall attempt to enlist your deep interest in the work which we are promoting.

The Welfare Department is a branch of the National Civic Federation, devoted entirely to efforts to interest employers in giving especial consideration to



HERBERT H. VREELAND.

the physical, mental, and moral welfare of employees in all industries. Membership in the Welfare Department is confined to employers.

In extending the practice of Welfare Work, the department has found of especial value conferences of employers, held under its auspices in different sections of the country, for the interchange of experiences. Successful Welfare Work, when pictured by practical business men in connection with their own industries, exerts an influence toward gaining the application of similar ideas by other employers. Thus you will see that through our organization, Welfare Work is not advocated by theorists.

Care for the welfare of employees is by no means novel, although its exercise is becoming more and more scientifically understood and extensively practiced. One of the earliest problems in the development of factory life was that of the housing and of the social environment of the inhabitants of mill towns. Such towns were, at the outset, of artificial creation. Their location was determined by that of the new factory, which was, in turn, dependent upon circumstances of power and transportation. Nearly a century ago, therefore, the management of such a mill was confronted with the question of how to build houses for the workers at a cost which would afford

a return for the investment while keeping the rent within its proportion of the cost of living of the wage earners. This question of housing was accompanied by the correlative necessity of providing for these communities schools for the children, and churches, which should in some measure be the social centers of the towns, in addition to their moral influence and training.

Indeed, some of the first efforts in the United States to introduce Welfare Work were begun by manufacturers of cotton goods. One "corporation boarding house," as it was called, at Lowell, Mass., afforded evidence, not only of the employers' interest in regulating the price of board, but of the necessity of housing in order to secure the necessary operatives.

The growth of the municipality and the introduction of electric rapid transit, making possible homes in the country, have now rendered unnecessary some of these corporation boarding houses. The five corporations that manufacture cotton goods in Lowell still contribute toward the maintenance of a hospital and a technical school.

One of the members of our Welfare Department, and one who must be closely associated with you, Mr. Arthur T. Lyman, of Boston, should be listed among the pioneer Welfare Workers in this country, not only in caring for the needs of employees at Lowell but also at Waltham. The Welfare Work at Waltham has been persistently maintained and developed. Aside from the well-lighted, well-ventilated watch factory, with good cloak rooms and an emergency room for those who may be ill or exhausted, and seats for women workers who were previously supposed to hold "walking jobs," the company still maintains an interest in the social life of the employees, even though the town has grown into a municipality. The company joins the community in maintaining the band, which is now a private enterprise. The company still supervises the women's boarding house, although that for the men has been sold. There is a benefit association, and the company lends money to employees in times of stress to prevent the "money shark" evil. These do not exhaust the list of Welfare activities.

As the manufacture of cotton goods has extended to the South, mill villages in several notable instances have there been developed along broader lines than in the cotton mill towns of New England. The surroundings of the mills and the houses are beautified, flower seeds are distributed annually, and prizes are awarded for the most attractive and best kept gardens. There are kindergartens and classes in domestic science to teach the proper preparation and serving of food, how to buy groceries, the desirability of cleanliness in the home, and how to make comfortable and economical clothing. It goes without saying that a good, wholesome meal will make a more contented and efficient worker, and that the disappearance of slovenliness from the household will make the fireside an attractive and winning competitor to the saloon when the day's work is over.

The question of recreation also receives consideration, and opportunities for enjoyment, through athletic sports, indoor games, stereopticon lectures, and other methods, are opened to the operatives.

Before leaving the subject of the mill village, I would invite your attention to one of the finest examples in the United States of Welfare Work in an isolated community. This is to be found at Vandergrift, Pa., a town wholly sustained by the steel industry. Here the drainage system, piping for gas, paving, curbing, and pure water supply, were installed before the great shop was completed. A system for saving and lending money was promoted by the employer, to enable the men to own their homes. The several religious beliefs were recognized by the erection of eight churches—each with its pipe organ—and there were built school houses, an inn and a social hall. An athletic field was also supplied. In the works, there was installed the most complete emergency hospital to be found in any shop in this country; while retail stores satisfy the material needs and meet the tastes of local trade.

A more recent development of Welfare Work is its application in factories, employing both large and small numbers, in cities. Here the conditions are reversed. The factory, instead of being the creator of the city, is one of its many adjuncts and constituents. Here the problem in its beginning relates more directly to the factory itself, and to the immediate surroundings of the daily work. Physical welfare, in the stress and strain of city life and in the toil of the factory itself, becomes of initial importance. The providing of facilities for bathing, the furnishing of toilet rooms, the supplying of pure drinking water, are all elementary steps toward the health and comfort, as well as the efficiency of the workers. Many details, such as seeing that these facilities are easily available, and that they are not abused by the careless or indifferent, are involved in even these primary applications of Welfare Work.



STATIONARY FIREMEN'S SHOWER BATHS, WASH AND LOCKER ROOM, BOSTON.



THE OLD WAY OF HEATING COFFEE, DAYTON.

In the work rooms themselves, ventilation and light are of first importance. These, of course, can best be secured when a new plant is built.

Another forward step in the city factory would be the furnishing of a place for the midday meal. This may be merely a room where the employees may eat in the midst of comfort and cleanliness the luncheons they have brought from their homes, or it

My own experience as a wage earner having taught me that the unmarried man has no place to go evenings, except a hall bedroom cold in winter, led me to establish club rooms for the men employed on the street railways in New York City. A large percentage of the ten thousand men employed by our company lives in boarding houses. Many are from the country. Thirty years ago, as a brakeman on a steam railway, I was in the same position, away from home and forced to live in a boarding house, such as the railroad terminals and my wages could afford. There was absolutely no place for me in the evenings, where it was warm, except the saloon and the pool room. I said to myself, "Here my own experience shows me something our men need." The club rooms we established include an auditorium, where monthly entertainments are given, a library, a pool room, and a physician's office. They were used immediately and extensively, and a chance visitor will find the rooms filled every night in the week.

In another city and in another industry, in Chicago and in a factory where there are seven thousand employees, entrance into the home life of the employees has been successfully accomplished by having a trained nurse visit the workers when injured or ill. The superintendent of a large rolling mill in Cleveland is chairman of the visiting committee of the Relief Association, and, by visiting the homes every Sunday morn-



GIRLS' LUNCH ROOM, DAYTON.

may be a lunch room where the midday meal is prepared and served.

Some other considerations will be seats for women, elevator service for women, rest rooms or emergency hospitals, fire protection, transportation facilities, relief associations, pensions, and employees' banks for savings and loans.

Welfare Work in large cities may be extended also to careful, sympathetic and unobtrusive efforts to brighten the homes of the workers. It has been said that it is impossible to extend the influence of Welfare Work into the homes of employees in cities. My own experience refutes that assertion. When I installed a library in the club rooms of our Employees' Association, it was my purpose to reach the families. I stated at a meeting where there were 6,000 of our employees with their families, that it was the desire of the management that the catalogues of the library should go into the home of every married employee. I made it clear that we wanted the wives and sons and daughters of the employees to read the books. I also announced that if there were a man who had a son or a daughter working for an education—technical education, perhaps—and special textbooks or books of reference were needed, the books would be bought and put in the library upon application. The library is, so to speak, a family concern, and it was turned over at least twenty-five times the first winter we had it. It was astonishing, too, to see the high grade of literature that was taken out.

Our Relief Association provides for a man in case of illness or accident, a pension in old age and at the time of death a fund for burial. I have found that the wife of the average laboring man will always land on her feet, if she is tided over for a few weeks, when the husband dies suddenly. All these benefits lead us into the home life again.



OLD AND NEW WAY OF EATING LUNCH AT A CHICAGO FACTORY.



ing with the other members of the committee, it has been possible to vastly improve the sanitary conditions. The superintendent has

ployer may advantageously initiate for new employees courses of instruction relating to the work to be performed, a portion of each day being devoted to this purpose. If the hours are not so long as to weary the worker to a degree which will render it impossible for study after the day's toil, evening classes may be conducted for older employees.

With philanthropists making donations and voluntary organizations giving consideration to the solution of the tenement house problem, the city employer has not found it necessary to house those who work for him. This is a question, however, which should be given more consideration by employers in cities. In Philadelphia and New York, at least, there is need for the establishment of good boarding houses, particularly for women workers, where both sleeping rooms and good food should be furnished at reasonable rates. The custom obtaining in the women's boarding house at Wal-

tham which permits the use of the several sitting-rooms without compromise, by the young women to entertain privately their men friends should be adopted.

While it is not necessary in a city for an employer to initiate each individual effort to meet the social needs of employees, he may contribute to their satisfaction by aiding in the promotion of such movements as social centers in connection with public schools.

Indeed, the Welfare Manager in a large Chicago establishment has found one of her chief duties to be the creation of a bureau through which employees could be informed of the existence of gymnasiums in connection with public schools, domestic science classes, night schools, and art museums. The employees not only did not know of the possibility of using these opportunities, but did not feel free to do so without some form of invitation which would make them feel

gained much information through these visits which has been beneficial to the business as well.

It is, of course, impossible, in a large city where the employees live in widely distributed districts, to promote frequent evening entertainments, but the plan of taking a large hall, which is pursued by many large employers in New York and other cities, for an annual entertainment or ball, has become quite customary. These entertainments are much enjoyed by the employees, their sweethearts, and families. In my own experience I have never been able to secure a hall large enough to accommodate all who desire to attend. Several companies in large cities maintain club rooms which are not only patronized nightly by employees who desire to use the game rooms or library, but the auditoriums are used frequently for dancing parties by the different sets or cliques. It goes without saying that this is a decided improvement upon the saloon dance hall.

A notable instance in Pittsburg shows an auditorium in the center of the factory where the employees are taken once a week at the noon time, which is extended for the purpose, to enjoy a vaudeville performance, which is often supplemented by an educational course of instruction relating to the work to be performed by employees in the evenings, for Christmas entertainments for them and their families, and for other methods of enjoyment.

With the exception of the establishment of primary schools, which will be unnecessary in a city, the em-



STREET RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' LIBRARY, NEW YORK CITY.



STREET RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' POOL ROOM, NEW YORK CITY.



WOMEN'S REST ROOM, BOSTON.

welcome. City employers will find it especially advisable to provide for summer outings, and many already maintain vacation homes for that purpose. One city factory has adopted the unique plan of giving the employees two weeks' vacation with pay.

All the Welfare activities enumerated for the city factory are applicable to the mill village. It is also possible to secure helpful suggestions through Welfare Work for railroad men. They are the largest single class of workmen, and it is not too much to say that some of the railway corporations are in the front rank of employers who are giving consideration to the welfare of their employees. Here you will find rest rooms for trainmen, containing clean beds for use during the hours of uncertainty at the end of their runs while they are waiting for the return of their trains; baths, game rooms, libraries, etc., and in the engine cabs cans for drinking water. The Relief Department of railroad companies has been initiated by some manufacturing concerns.

But the needs of the employees of a railroad, a department store, or a mining camp may not entirely coincide with those of manufacturing plants, and the needs of the latter may vary greatly.

There will have to be considered the nationality of the employees, whether they are skilled or unskilled workers, as well as many other contingencies.

One may take two manufacturing establishments in the same line of work in a city but located in different districts, and find a luncheon room, for instance, required in one but not in the other. The reason is that, with an hour for luncheon in one instance the employees may go to their nearby homes and become much rested by their outing, while in the other district, the employees' homes are so remote that a luncheon room is an absolute necessity.

This brings me to a point which I desire to emphasize. This is a day of specialization. To meet this problem of what shall be done for the welfare of employees under different conditions, our Welfare Department has established a bureau which has enabled us to supply experts, who may study such conditions and recommend efforts for the benefit of the employees. A notable example of the recognition of the need of such specialized effort has been the call upon us by the Isthmian Canal Commission for two men to investigate the needs and opportunities for recreation of the employees of the Government en-

gaged in the construction of the Panama Canal, and to make definite recommendations. The Government found it essential to provide recreation for the men in addition to sanitary measures. It was discovered that, with nothing of interest to occupy their leisure time, the men become lonely and depressed, and subject to the diseases of the tropical climate. To secure a happy, contented, permanent set of men, the Government sought the advice of experts upon plans for recreation. Our force gives constant thought to this subject of Welfare Work in different industries, and, by concentrating the attention upon this one great subject and constantly studying the experiences of employees in different industries, employers may initiate Welfare Work with our assistance with less likelihood of making mistakes than has been possible in the past.

It is not possible in a talk of this nature to enter into a discussion of methods. A special essay would be required for any one of the subdivisions of Welfare Work.

It may be stated generally that employees will welcome all efforts properly introduced to provide for their physical, mental, and moral welfare. An employer who is noted among his employees for fair dealing need have no fear in introducing Welfare Work after a careful study of conditions has been made. That is to say, after recognizing the first needs of employees to be steady work, an equitable wage, and hours as short as competitive conditions will permit, the employer may successfully install Welfare Work, if proper attention is given to its introduction. A clean, attractive lunch room with wholesome food at prices within the reach of the employees, will succeed; its opposite will not. Shower baths for molders in a basement room where the temperature is lower than



AUDITORIUM, MEN'S CLUB, HOMESTEAD, PA.

in the foundry will not be utilized. On the other hand, shower baths easily accessible to the molding room with a temperature which will not be a shock to the system, kept in cleanly condition, and supplied with towels and soap and an attendant, will be not only a great comfort to the men, but an advantage to the employer, as the health of the men will thus be promoted and skilled workmen will seek employment where such comforts are provided.

An employer who gives no attention to the elimination of inequality in wages, but constantly cuts piece prices, without studying their fair adjustment, will find the employees unwilling to patronize a club house, which should afford much enjoyment, because of their suspicion that its cost has been taken from their wages.

This was well illustrated when, by the merest chance, the president of an overall manufacturing concern in Iowa found it necessary to cut the wages the very day of the opening of a lunch room which he had equipped. It is scarcely necessary to say that the employees would not go near it.

The successful prosecution of Welfare Work once installed depends upon its constant supervision. The employer and his executive force in the average concern is too much engaged with the routine business to study the needs of the employees or to oversee the conduct of the work which must receive constant attention to ensure interest in its continuance. And so, there has appeared what is called in different institutions the "Welfare Manager," "Welfare Superintendent," and "Welfare Secretary," who serves as an intermediary and helps to secure the personal touch which otherwise would be lost in our large business organizations of the present day.

One of the obstacles to the successful prosecution



PHYSICAL CULTURE ON ROOF DEPARTMENT STORE NEW YORK CITY.

of Welfare Work is the tendency of the average foreman to "knock" all such efforts. Naturally, the foreman, whose especial business is to turn out manufactured material at the lowest possible cost, is not impressed with the value of what may have appeared to be sentimental propositions. Recently the president of a company with 25,000 employees asked us to supply a stereopticon exhibit of efforts of other employers, to secure the cooperation of his foremen. He invited them to a dinner at one of the principal hotels, after which this subject was presented, when their minds were free from business cares. The evening was opened

by the employer, who expressed his interest in the general subject of Welfare Work—and let me say that the active participation of the employer is essential to its success. It was astonishing to note the surprise and interest of these men when they observed views of efforts promoted by many employers throughout the country, and found that Welfare Work is not a fad, but that it includes practical features, with good sanitary conditions as the first object. Naturally, foremen can not be expected to give a great deal of their time to Welfare Work, but they can, if not in sympathy, prevent its forwarding.

Foremen's meetings held periodically constitute one of the most valuable features of Welfare Work. The education of the foreman is essential to peace in the industrial establishment. There is nothing which causes so much disturbance as the narrow, overhearing, martinet foreman. Justice and fair dealing must be the basis of all Welfare Work.

The motive of the employer is one which comes before us constantly. While the economic value of Welfare Work must be admitted, it is pleasant to find that the average employer promotes Welfare Work from the humanitarian standpoint. It is not difficult to prove that it is desirable from a mercenary point of view. One may enumerate such advantages as the attracting of skilled employees who will seek work

where the conditions are best; good discipline and self-respect, which may be secured through opportunities for cleanliness; a permanent set of employees as against a constantly changing force which requires effort to train, and necessitates the loss of much material wasted; and a happy, contented class of workers.

May I close by quoting Dr. Eliot, who has stated: "Happiness is a state of mind much more than a state of body, provided that the elementary necessities for the well-being of the body are at hand."



HOMES RENTED TO EMPLOYEES IN LUDLOW, MASS.



PROPERTY OUTSIDE COMPANY'S CONTROL, LUDLOW, MASS.

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

MANY REPRESENTATIVES OF ITS THREE ELEMENTS EXPRESS THEIR REASONS FOR SUPPORTING ITS METHODS OF PROMOTING INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

(FROM THE BULLETIN OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF NEW ENGLAND.)

THE membership roll of the Civic Federation of New England, including officers and members of general committees, now numbers within a very few names of three hundred. New members are being steadily added, but it has seemed desirable to publish the acceptances received thus far, together with as many as possible of the voluntary expressions accompanying such acceptances, both as evidence that the Civic Federation is not a secret organization, whose members are taking a position they do not dare reveal, and for the further reason that a list representing, as this does, a large portion of the strongest and most influential employers and labor interests of New England can not fail to give genuine encouragement to all friends of sane and just methods of industrial peace.

This membership plan is one of the most important factors in the educational work the Federation is carrying on. It brings a definite body of representative men to the support of the ideas and methods for which the movement stands, and every addition to the list strengthens the influences that are going out through the industrial community in behalf of fair-minded and reasonable methods of dealing between employers and employees. The object in view is to build up a "prevailing sentiment" of this kind, to the point where the instinctive first step in case of a threatened dispute will be to seek a peaceable adjustment of the trouble, through whatever particular methods the special conditions may suggest, rather than to rush into hostilities at once, as has so often been the custom.

By this it is not implied that a member is committed to some fixed, specific position in this or that dispute or delicate complication that may arise, but simply that he stands, so far as may be practicable, for the just and rational methods of conference and direct agreement in industrial dealing. New members, brought into closer touch through the conferences, reviews, and bulletins of the work, with others of similar views successfully applied, find that whatever is being done is on the lines of common-sense, practical experience, and as far as possible from any visionary or theoretical "panacea" plan of social or industrial upheaval.

Much of this influence is necessarily indirect and impossible to trace or make exact record of, but the value of efforts on these lines, from whatever sources, is to be seen in the increasing tendency to adjust labor difficulties by the conference and agreement method, without special intervention or suggestion from mediating agencies of any kind. It is to promote just this habit or practice, in advance, rather than to interfere in local disputes that have passed into the stage of open conflict, that the Civic Federation devotes its principal efforts in the field of relations between employers and employees.

Typical paragraphs from letters of acceptance follow:

I beg to assure you that as far as time will permit I shall cooperate to carry out the noble objects and purposes of the Federation.—WILLIAM STANG, Bishop of Fall River.

It will give me great pleasure to join the Civic Federation of New England, and to have you use my name in support of the principles and practical aims for which the movement stands.—ALBERT A. POPE, Pres't Pope Manfg. Co., Boston.

I am willing to do anything that will tend to push forward the work of the Civic Federation, and the principles to which it is committed.—JOHN GOLDEN, Gen'l Pres. United Textile Workers of America, Fall River.

I believe any movement which will bring labor and capital to understand intelligently the position which one must assume to the other is a movement which will be conducive to good in the future.—FREDERICK C. FLETCHER, Treas'r Pocasset Worsted Company, Boston.

I shall be very glad to be counted one of your members.—CURTIS GUILD, JR., Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts.

I feel assured that there is no more potent force in the community of greater value than the Civic Federation, and the work it will be possible to accomplish, under its wise and careful supervision will be inestimable.—PETER W. COLLINS, Pres't Central Labor Union and Agent Bro. of Electrical Workers, Boston.

It is certain that the true relations between the employer and the employed must be those of mutual respect, mutual confidence, consideration, and good will. I am heartily in accord with the principles for which the Federation stands, that the industrial system based on individual enterprise and free labor is inherently sound, and that differences between employers and employees should, and in most cases can, be settled directly between the parties themselves.—THOMAS SHEARIN, Pres't N. E. Tel. & Tel. Co., Boston.

Anything that I can do to bring the relations between the employer and the employee closer together I shall be more than happy to do.—WILLIAM H. FRAZIER, Sec'y-Treas'r International Seamen's Union of America, Boston.

I believe both employers and employees will benefit by such a campaign of education as you propose.—L. H. CARROLL, Commissioner of Labor, Concord, N. H.

I believe that all the strikes, lockouts, etc., of which I have an intimate knowledge, were unnecessary and could have been avoided if both parties to the controversy could have gotten together in a proper spirit and talked matters over, each being willing to concede that the other had rights and interests which were entitled to consideration. I have known employers of labor to use language to committees, delegated by their unions to visit them, that turned naturally conservative men into pronounced radicals who returned to their unions and advocated

a strike, when at the beginning they were opposed to a strike—had actually been chosen by the union to represent it because they were known to be reasonable, conservative men.—ARTHUR G. DAVIS, Typographical Union, Boston.

My experience has been very limited, and I have had an opportunity of testing my theories, which accord with yours, but once, on which occasion they seemed to work very satisfactorily, and I feel sure you will, in your larger field, find the same principles hold good.—S. PARKER BREMER, Treas'r Monadnock Mills, Boston.

It is perhaps too much to expect that strikes, lockouts, and other kindred evils will be eliminated altogether, but that there is room for improvement in the relations of employer and employee at the present day is a matter of common knowledge. Both have problems to face, and should be equally tolerant of each other; ready to give and take, and to respect mutual trade agreements above all things. In accepting your offer of membership, I may add that any service I can render to help the good work along, no matter how slight, will be cheerfully given.—THOMAS TAYLOR, Sec'y Loom Fixers' Ass'n, Fall River.

I shall be glad to assist in the work of the Federation, so far as I am able to.—SAMUEL BOWLES, Editor Springfield Republican.

I should be glad to be of assistance where possible in the matter of forwarding the work of the Federation.—CHARLES H. WILSON (Woolen Manufacturer), Pittsfield.

In time I look to see great results come from your body, provided you can keep men with brains and hearts at the head of the organization, and I guess you have got about the right people at present. Of course some of us "agitators" hear about all the good, bad, and indifferent qualifications of an employer, but up to date I have heard of nothing but good words for President Tuttle, and I know hundreds of men who quietly look to him, feeling they will get justice if they have any reasonable grievance.

Everywhere I have been so far I have explained the aims and objects of the Civic Federation, and you can read the expression of approval in about 99 per cent. of all the countenances. It is really the mediator between capital and labor.—PARK MITCHELL, Pres't New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.

I am in hearty sympathy with your aims and tendencies.—EDWARD MOLL, Managing Director American Oak Leather Company, Boston.

The purpose of the Federation meets with my hearty approval, as I believe it should and will with the people at large. I believe it will tend to the better understanding between the public and the buyers and sellers of labor.—LLOYD J. SMITH, Sec'y Bro. of Carpenters, Brookline.

Of course I shall be glad to be numbered among the friends of your great movement in any way you consider helpful to the cause.—E. H. CLEMENT, Editor Boston Transcript.

The *Traveler* will be pleased to do what it can at all times to forward this good work.—JOHN H. FAHEY, Editor Boston Traveler.

I feel sure that such an organization as the Civic Federation can do the greatest amount of good, and if its object is attained will leave its mark in the history of the world. I am anxious to see the unsettled condition of the industrial system change so there may be a reign of peace and safety in its stead. The movement will have the support of the Maine State Federation and its affiliated bodies.—EUGENE BRANN, Pres't Maine State Federation of Labor, Ellsworth, Me.

I am in sympathy with the purpose which the Federation represents, namely, to prevent, so far as possible, strife between labor and capital.—SAMUEL B. CAPEN, Torrey, Bright & Capen Co., Boston.

It seems to me that the Civic Federation is something to which every man of sense ought to lend his favorable influence. If you see anything that I can do to advance the interests of the association, please let me know what it is and I will cooperate.—GORDON WOODBURY, Editor the Union, Manchester, N. H.

I am most heartily in accord with the purposes and the methods of the Federation.—HENRY HOPKINS, Pres't Williams College.

It would be impossible for a man situated as I am, brought in contact with the engineer, the contractor, and the laborer, not to be interested in the solution of the industrial problems which confront us. I can ill spare the time for a new organization, but I feel that I cannot well stay out of this one.—HENRY S. PRITCHETT, Pres't Mass. Institute of Technology.

I am and have been heartily in accord with its object.—J. E. FRENNING, Pres't The S. M. Howe Company, Boston.

I freely admit that too much of an arbitrary spirit is shown by both sides at times; simply because in the narrow minds of some, labor and capital should be opposed to each other in all things. This idea is wrong and should not be tolerated, and I believe, through the good offices of the Federation, a great deal of this feeling can be removed, and both sides brought into the path that will lead to industrial peace.—THOMAS O'DONNELL, Sec'y Cotton Mule Spinners' Ass'n, Fall River.

I believe in its principles, and what little I can do to aid the cause I shall be glad to do.—LOUIS P. HOWE, Vice-Pres't The S. H. Howe Shoe Company, Marlboro.

Its principles and aims indicate that it will accomplish much.—CHARLES K. FOX (Shoe Manufacturer), Haverhill.

I believe in an organization such as you represent, where employer and employee can meet. Many times, if both parties could meet, trouble would be avoided.—A. M. HUONELL, Steam Engineers' Union, Boston.

The purposes of the Federation which, I know, are intended to bring about better relations between capital and labor and to improve industrial conditions, appeal to me very strongly, and I am most happy to become a member.—HENRY CAROT LOOGE, United States Senator.

If I had no other motive, I should wish to be identified with your work in order to show the workmen that the church is not only not indifferent to their interests, but intensely eager to serve them in all peace-making, uplifting ways. Equally does the Christian Church desire justice for employers.—DANIEL A. GOONSELL, Resident Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Brookline.

I am in hearty sympathy with the aim of the Federation.—EDWARD A. TAFT, Pres't New York and Boston Despatch Express Company.

You are creating the public sentiment which will one day hold capitalists accountable to their duties to the state. On the other hand, the working class must be brought to an intelligent understanding of the immorality of intensifying class antagonisms, and to the danger of propagating demagogic utterances that, if persisted in, would ultimately undermine the industrial foundations of society.

The moral import of the work you are doing far exceeds in value the immediate benefits to employers in enhanced profits or the economic benefits to employees in increased wages.—DAVID GOLDSTEIN, Economic Writer, formerly Socialist Advocate, Boston.

I can not express my views better than to quote your circular.—EDWARD P. MASON, Pres't Mason & Hamlin Company, Cambridge.

I deem it a great privilege to become associated with a movement which I believe marks a distinct epoch in this twentieth century, and which can not but redound to the ultimate advantage and greater happiness and prosperity of all the people of our great country.—THOMAS M. NOLAN, Typographical Union, Boston.

It is a noble work, and it will be a gratification to have even an humble part in it.—A. E. WINSHIP, Editor, *Journal of Education*, Boston.

Having read the aims and objects of the Federation, and knowing something of its work, I would not be true to myself as a trades unionist and workman if I did not endorse them.

I believe in conciliation rather than in arbitration as a means of settling disputes. I believe that much more can be accomplished by conference between employers and employees, provided both meet in an open, straightforward spirit, with the aim to settle disputes and avoid an outbreak of trouble. But I believe that arbitration is vastly preferable to strikes and lockouts. In its proper place, as a court of last resort, it has much to commend it.—HERBERT W. COOKE, Typographical Union, Boston.

I believe in the sort of work which is being attempted, from my experience both as a wage earner and employer; for if wisely done it must result in the common good, which we are all after.—B. PRESTON CLARK (Trustee), Boston.

I am convinced that the association is approaching great questions at issue between capital and labor, in a reasonable and practical manner, and that through the means advocated by it, these questions will gradually form less of a barrier to the continuous prosperity of this country. I take pleasure in pledging to the association my earnest endeavors to contribute in every possible manner toward the measure which we so much desire.—ROBERT B. TREAT, President, Manufacturers' Fuel Company of Rhode Island, Providence, R. I.

A grand feature you have, that all fair-minded men will accept, is the conciliation part. This is a vital point to organized labor, as it has a tendency to avert strikes and lockouts, and does away with a good deal of the radical ideas that do and will exist in all bodies of men, whether employers or employees.—J. E. POTTS, Agent United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Boston.

If I can be of any service in the general good proposed by your organization, I am glad to have my name proposed for membership.—SAMUEL N. BROWN, Pres't Fairbanks Co., Boston.

It is a privilege to be identified with those who are broad enough to have devoted themselves to the development of the idea for which the Civic Federation stands.—PRESTON POWO, Dennison Manufacturing Company, Boston.

Were the workers, through their representatives, allowed to approach their employers, with the thought that their requests would be listened to, without jeopardizing their livelihood, better results would be attained, and less friction would occur.

In referring to your honorable body's existence, I believe that it is a step in the right direction in bringing about such conditions, and a possibility of showing to all parties concerned a probability of bringing about the desired ultimatum.—EDWARD COHEN, 3d Vice Pres't Mass. State Branch, American Federation of Labor, Lynn.

We are heartily in sympathy with any movement which will bring capital and labor in closer touch and promote general harmony and welfare.—W. S. FORBES, Forbes Lithograph Manufacturing Co., Forbes.

The lines of work which you have laid down ought to be productive of a better feeling than has been the case up to this time.—F. B. TOWNE, National Blank Book Co., Holyoke.

It is a well known fact that if the employers and employees could be brought closer together it would do away with a good many strikes and lockouts, and it would do away with the annoyance to the public in general, who are, as a general rule, the greatest sufferers when war is raging between employer and employee.—MAX B. THORNER, Delegate Atlantic Coast Seamen's Union, Boston.

That something must be done to better the relations of employer and employee is admitted by all who give the subject any thought, and I am surely in sympathy with any rational movement with that object in view.—T. M. PERRY, Pres't Massachusetts Pink Granite Co., Milford.

I have always believed it to be an organization that was very necessary to help in bringing about industrial peace. I can not do better than endorse its purposes.—WILLIAM STANOCUMAE, Cigarmakers' Union, Boston.

We think the object of your Federation a worthy one, and we hereby apply for membership in the Civic Federation of New England.—J. E. FULLER, Manager George A. Fuller Company, Boston.

I am in hearty sympathy with your work.—J. R. MACCOLL, Lorraine Manufacturing Co., Pawtucket, R. I.

I fully agree with the plan as I understand it, and regard the idea as wise and worthy of support.—CHARLES B. ROCKWELL, Treas'r Cranston Worsted Mills, Bristol, R. I.

It seems to me easily one of the most important influences now acting to lessen the friction in industry.—JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Pres't American Social Science Association, Cambridge.

In my experience in labor organizations I believe many times troubles could have been avoided if we could only have got in touch with the people who really employ us, and laid before them our grievances, and talked the matter over with them in a businesslike manner. Therefore, I am willing to lend a hand to bring about an amicable settlement of the various vexed questions.—PHILIP H. SWEET, 4th Vice-Pres't Mass. State Branch, A. F. of L., Boston.

I should be very glad indeed to become a member of the New England Civic Federation, and to support its good work to the best of my ability.—HENRY I. HARRIMAN (Cotton Machinery), Readville.

I am now and have been a firm believer in the method laid down by the Civic Federation, in establishing an organization made up of representatives of all the elements who may be affected by any industrial upheaval, by creating a common meeting ground, where employer and employee may interchange ideas, thus giving all a clearer understanding of this great question of labor, the result of which must naturally greatly diminish the probability of industrial strife.—CHARLES R. STIRLING, International Ass'n of Machinists, Boston.

My feelings are that industrial peace is something well worth the serious attention of both the employers and employees; that business should be carried on with a broad spirit of fairness and justice, and with the interest of all considered; that better results are obtained by the acknowledgment and consideration of the rights of each and every person connected with any business.—HARTLEY L. LORD, Agent Chicopee Manufacturing Co., Chicopee Falls.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

TWO OPPOSING VIEWS FORCIBLY PRESENTED BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF FARMERS—THE RELATION BETWEEN ALIEN LABOR AND AGRICULTURE.

The following addresses before the Farmers' National Congress, at Richmond, were delivered on September 14 by two recognized experts upon the question of Immigration. They are cogent summaries of phases of the current discussion of the topic to be considered more exhaustively at the National Immigration Conference, to be held in New York on December 6 and 7, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation:

IMMIGRATION AND FARM LABOR.

(Address by Robert De C. Ward, of Cambridge, Mass.)

The large cities of the North and East find themselves greatly overburdened with the many problems which have grown out of the enormous and very indiscriminate alien immigration of recent years. It has become perfectly clear that the only remedies for existing conditions are, first, a considerable restriction of immigration, so that only the more desirable aliens shall be admitted; and, second, the distribution of the present congested slum populations throughout the less thickly settled parts of the country, in the West and South. While the philanthropic people of these great cities are thus preparing to unload some of their alien burdens upon the farming districts, and in this effort are naturally receiving every possible assistance from the railroads, which see in this scheme of distribution a large source of revenue to themselves, the farmers in some parts of our country are in need of farm help, and are asking that some of this great tide of inflowing aliens be turned away from the cities and out over the fields and farms.

The American farmers at present hold the key to the immigration problem. If they say: "We want anybody we can get to work for us; if we can not have an honest, strong, intelligent, skilled laborer, we will take one of low vitality, poor physique, mentally deficient, unused to outdoor work, dishonest," then the charity workers in our cities and our railroad companies will send all sorts of aliens who are generally regarded as "undesirable" into the farming districts.

If, on the other hand, American farmers clearly recognize the fact that our present immigration laws make it possible for thousands of aliens to land here every year who are not likely to be a benefit, but an injury; who are weak and sickly; who have come because they were inveigled into buying a passage ticket by a steamship agent, or were given the ticket by a charitable society, in order that they might become a charge upon the United States rather than upon the home country. If American farmers regard the welfare of their own country instead of considering only their own financial gain, then they will insist on having none but honest, industrious, healthy, and fit immigrants. Such aliens there are in abundance in the large cities, who would be far better off in the country. These are the ones whom the farmer wants. Dishonest, shiftless, sickly, and unfit immigrants there are also in abundance in our large Northern cities. These the farmer does not want. Neither do the Northern cities want them. Yet they continue to pour in on us because Congress has not yet properly dammed the flood. To send out from the large cities of the North thousands of aliens who are not desired in the country districts, simply because charitable agencies think they can thus relieve themselves of an unpleasant burden, is much like throwing one's weeds over one's neighbor's fence into his garden.

Such a wholesale distribution of aliens who are not desired on the farm would prove a burden to the country districts, and would not relieve the pressure in the cities. "To relieve the pressure in the cities without restricting the number admitted only opens the way for a still larger immigration." Europe has ten persons ready to fill each place thus vacated in our city slums.

It is evident that much of our present immigration is as unfit on the farm as in the city; that it is of low vitality, poor physique, very ignorant, often diseased, mentally deficient and of criminal tendencies, by reason of its much lower standard of living entering into unhealthy competition with American labor. The immigration which we most need to check is made up of people who are not fitted for an agricultural life. Long generations in the ghettos of Europe have unfitted the Jews for farming, and they are singularly unsuccessful at it. Armenians take naturally to certain kinds of indoor labor; Greeks become peddlers of fruit or work in factories; Syrians are oftenest peddlers. And so it is with many other races who now make up a large part of our immigration. Further, our farming interests, whenever they have been asked their opinion, have not desired a wholesale and indiscriminate invasion of Slav, Latin, Hebrew, and Asiatic immigrants, but have expressed very distinct preferences for people from northern and western Europe. And, finally, it is clear that the immigrants whom we are now getting in such large numbers from the cities of Russia, and from other coun-

tries of eastern and southern Europe, are crowding out the better classes of immigrants who used to be in the majority, and who went readily of their own choice into the farming districts. The United States Industrial Commission, only three or four years ago, made a careful study of the need of farm labor in all sections of the United States, sending out many letters of inquiry to representative farmers, and found that the most successful immigrants were those who are skilled in intensive farming. The nationalities noted as the best along these lines were the Scandinavians and Germans; also the Dutch and Bohemians. Of the races from southern and eastern Europe, the Italians alone were mentioned in this list of the more successful. Considerable numbers of Italians have proved satisfactory as laborers on the large sugar and cotton plantations of Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and other Southern States, and also in truck farming, but there are many Southern planters who are not satisfied with Italians, and it is reported that large numbers of these farm laborers are already flocking to the Southern cities. A recent canvas of many representative State officials of the South showed a decided preference for farmers and farm laborers of Scandinavian, German, and British origin. These are the people who have the energy, skill, intelligence, and industry needed on an American farm to-day. Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and from Asia, as a rule, crowd into the large cities, and huddle together in the tenement districts. They do not go out on to the farms, and I believe they are not wanted there, certainly not in large numbers, because of their low standards of living and of their foreign habits and tendencies, which do not improve the tone of a healthy, educated, and self-respecting American rural community. I have recently had the pleasure of reading an admirable letter from a gentleman who is an honored member and an officer of this organization. In this letter the case is put so clearly that I can not do better than quote, as follows:

"Farming, especially in the upper Mississippi valley and beyond, has been revolutionized during the past fifteen years. The successful farmer must now be a man of unusual intelligence, one able to grasp the meaning of such terms as bacteriology of the soil, feeding coefficients, protein compounds, etc., and it is safe to say that a very small percentage of the immigrants from southern Europe are capable of this. Their immediate descendants will be little more capable."

The American farmer is now in a position to exercise a determining influence upon the character of the future American race. The railroads are ready to distribute over our agricultural districts many unhealthy, shiftless and unfit aliens from our Northern city slums, and are planning to carry on this distribution on a vastly larger scale, by taking the newly arrived immigrants directly from the steamships. If such a wholesale and indiscriminate distribution is allowed to go on without a protest on the part of the farming communities, our railroads and trans-Atlantic steamship lines and European governments will have good reason to congratulate themselves. But you must realize that such a distribution of undesirable aliens will not give you the labor you need; will injure the quality of the American race of the future; will spread more widely the evils which result from exposing our own people to competition with the lower classes of aliens. Hence this congress should become a strong supporter of any reasonable measure of further selection of immigration, for it can not fail to see that the continued influx of hundreds of thousands of unhealthy, shiftless, and unfit immigrants is a burden upon, and a detriment to, the whole country. We need and want none but honest, industrious, intelligent, healthy, and fit immigrants. Any reasonable legislation which shall improve the quality, physical as well as mental, of our immigration, and reduce the quantity to the point of proper assimilation, should be supported. I believe that American farmers have everything to gain and practically nothing to lose by advocating a higher head-tax, the exclusion of aliens of poor physique, and an illiteracy test.

ARGUMENT AGAINST RESTRICTION.

(Substance of address by Nathan Bijur, of New York.)

The opponents of immigration have for a number of years relied on statistics, but unfortunately for them these statistics do not seem to have stood careful analysis. A set of figures prepared in Massachusetts indicated a high rate of criminality among the Italians and Russians and a low rate among the Irish and English. This was cited to show that the Irish and English were desirable immigrants and the Russians and Italians undesirable, but when it was pointed out that in these statistics all crimes arising from intoxication had been omitted, and that the inclusion of these crimes reversed the order, the argument turned in favor of the present immigrant.

This is but an example.

Then when accurate statistics seemed to fail, resort was had to the citation of large figures. The public was to be startled by learning that the number of immigrants had grown from, say 200,000 in the '50s and 400,000 in the '70s to 800,000 in recent years, and the cry was "How shall we absorb these strangers?" But again the analyst came forward and showed that in proportion to the total population of the United States at the various periods named, the immigration had actually fallen off, and that while the ratio of immigration to the thousand of initial population between 1840 and 1860 was from 100 to 110 per thousand, in 1891-1900 it has been but 59.

This, however, is not all. The opponents of immigration have talked only of the number who came. They have never told of the numbers who return every year. While something like 800,000 immigrants came to this country in 1904, some 325,000 steerage passengers left our ports, so that the net immigration is not a very startling figure.

Then we were told that statistics gathered by the Bureau of Immigration had shown that there were 45,000 aliens in the penal, reformatory and charitable institutions of the United States, and that their care was a great burden. Further examination, however, developed the fact that only 21 per cent. of these 45,000 had been in this country less than five years, 50 per cent. had been here from five to thirty years, and 22 per cent. over thirty years. The recent and "undesirable" arrivals, therefore, could not be responsible for this "burden on the community."

Moreover, finally, people began to ask what was meant by the term "alien" in these statistics, and as yet that question is unanswered. Is it an alien as opposed to a naturalized citizen, and if so does the taking out of naturalization papers render a man less likely to disease or accident or insanity? And how about women and children? When are they aliens and when do they cease to be such? Thus, again, the talking in big figures came to nothing.

When it is remembered that the "alien" must necessarily be a foreigner, and the foreigner, therefore, a comparatively recent immigrant, and that the immigrant is the man who takes the hard and laboring oar in the production of wealth in the community, and engages in the arduous and dangerous occupations, it is no wonder that there should be a greater proportion of sickness and incapacity in that class of the community than in any other, but that has nothing to do with the problem of immigration. It is the result of poverty, and so long as we have poor people we shall find a greater proportion of incapacitated individuals among them.

The latest phase of opposition is appeal to generalization. Gen. Francis A. Walker is cited as having said that the arrival of so many immigrants willing to work at comparatively low wages has rendered native parents unwilling to have children to compete at these wages, and that therefore the immigration is responsible for the decrease in the birth-rate. A reference to Gen. Walker's own articles shows that he admitted that the reverse might be true, namely, that the decrease in the birth-rate had made a place for immigrants, only he said that he thought it more reasonable and likely that the immigration had been the cause of the decrease in the birth-rate, rather than the result.

Of course, any one is entitled to the opposite view. In trying to reach a conclusion I am led strongly to believe that Gen. Walker's opinion is unwarranted, when I recall the notoriously low and declining birth-rate in France, which certainly can not have been brought about by immigration, since there is none there.

Then we are told that an illiteracy test should be applied. That this would exclude "undesirable" people. But since the immigrant comes here to labor, the exact connection between valuable manual work and literacy does not appear. In fact, even the advocates of this test admit that a man may be a most excellent laborer and still may be illiterate. On the other hand he may be a consummate scoundrel and be able to read and write many languages.

Moreover, illiteracy is not confined to the immigrant. Any citizen who refers to the census of 1900 will be astounded at the number of illiterates among native Americans. When it comes to the children, they are the ones that interest us. The census shows us that the children of native born parents are illiterate to the extent of 5.7 per cent., while the children of foreign born parents are illiterate only to the extent of 1.6 per cent. It is evident that the illiterate foreign parent learns quickly the advantage of education, and sees to it that his children enjoy it.

There are twice as many native born children of foreign parents in each of the States of Wisconsin and Minnesota who can not speak English as there are in the State of New York, which has nearly four times the

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NEWSPAPER COMMENTS UPON THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

THE PRESS UNANIMOUSLY COMMENDS THE ACTION OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION AND ANTICIPATES CONCLUSIONS BENEFICIAL TO SOUND PUBLIC POLICY.

IMMIGRATION CLIPPINGS.

A GUIDE TO CONGRESS.

Chicago Chronicle.

We have to confront the problem of keeping out the undesirable without working an injustice to the desirables. It is this which worries Congress. The average Congressman naturally is disinclined to take the initiative, and thus the matter rests.

In such a situation it is possible that outside suggestion may prove acceptable, and there is consequently reason to hope that the immigration conference called by the National Civic Federation may start Congress on the right road. If the conference proposes a reasonable and feasible plan for the regulation of immigration, Congress can adopt it without placing the responsibility for it upon any individual legislators.

In that direction, at any rate, seems to lie the only immediate hope of dealing with the problem.

THE BEST BLOOD WANTED.

Boston Transcript.

The National Civic Federation will undertake an investigation of the immigrant problem and its bearing on the industrial conditions of the country. It is not always the best blood of the nations that we are now getting, whatever may have been the case in the past. It is the only purpose of our vigilance to prevent some of the very worst from flowing in. Our standards are not so high or our tests so severe, when applied in accordance with the spirit of our institutions, that those crushed at home by hunger or demoralized by tyranny can not pass the gates. We are not anxious to press toward the limits of population in this country with the kind of human ballast that we are now getting in an almost alarming measure. There is one country, which is a generous contributor to the influx into the United States, that encourages emigration, but it does not direct this encouragement toward the best blood. There is no occasion to become hysterical over this matter. On the other hand, it is poor service to befool the facts and minimize the actual dangers.

MEN AND MERCHANDISE.

New York Times.

The conference upon immigration called by the National Civic Federation will have a text its promoters did not anticipate. The arrivals of men and women during the fiscal year just closed for the first time exceeded one million, being 1,027,421. Concurrently our exports of merchandise surpassed all records by \$30,000,000, for the first time exceeding a billion and a half. We thus received the largest reinforcements of bone and sinew and parted with the largest quantity of goods produced by human labor for the first time in the same fiscal year. It is a singular coincidence, and not harmonious with much current comment.

Congestion of immigrants in the cities, deterioration in quality, artificial stimulation, disturbance of domestic industries, and other attendant evils are uppermost in the thoughts of most publicists. And there is reason for disquiet in the fact that the assimilable arrivals from our kindred nation, England, are only in the fourth rank instead of its ancient first, and that the refugees from poverty in Italy are now surpassed by those from Austria, Russia ranking third. It is indeed a pity that the British, Scotch, and Irish are substituted by Huns and Slavs, but does it follow that there is not room for them?

On September 1 Texas offered for sale 6,000,000 acres of public lands at \$1 per acre, and retains for future sale an area equal to fourteen Rhode Islands. On August 28, according to President Roosevelt's proclamation, 1,000,000 acres of the Uintah Reservation in Utah will be disposed of at \$1.25 per acre, by precedence according to lottery. With such items in the current news, it is idle to argue that the empty West does not need peopling. And the East needs labor as badly as the West needs population, as witness the cry for 50,000 harvest laborers sent out from Albany the other day.

The usual comment is that we need these reinforcements for our producing forces. This is more true regarding agriculture than manufactures. During the past decade population has increased only 21 per cent., but the consumption of iron, copper, coal, and oil has doubled, and our exports of manufactures increased \$91,000,000. But the consumption of agricultural products has so increased that our exports of breadstuffs decreased last year forty-one millions of dollars. The million of population we gained last year would have been welcomed if they came by birth. They are no less welcome as producers and consumers alike than a similar number of natives. It is only from political and moral considerations that the income of able-bodied immigrants need be doubtfully regarded. We need them economically to till our idle soil and to man our humming factories for that foreign trade which is coming to us despite many discouragements.

WOULD EXCLUDE ILLITERACY.

Philadelphia Press.

An interesting debate precedes the forthcoming Conference on Immigration, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. The difficulty with the position of the steamship companies is that their representatives always talk in public of a readiness to obey the law, and exclude undesirable immigration, and always work in Congress to prevent any restriction. Nor is the matter much helped by the return of some 335,000 persons yearly. The worst feature of the present conditions is the tide of people moving back and forth over the Atlantic, equal to the population of a big city, earning money here and spending it abroad—mere birds of passage, tools for the contractor, with no settled relations anywhere.

Illiteracy ought to be absolutely excluded. No one can doubt this. What is really taking place just at present is that a vast group of public and railroad works—over nearly \$100,000,000 are being spent on such around New York alone—has given a great market for labor. This is being filled by drawing over a mass of indigent and ignorant immigration. Part of them will return. One of the worst evils of immigration to-day is the large number of persons who come like locusts, working for a short time, and then returning.

When this rush of railroad work is over it will suddenly be discovered that the country has half a million or so of men and women, illiterate, without resources, seeking work and finding none, alien to American restraint and American law. It is too late to deal with the three years that are past, of 1,000,000 immigrants each, less returns, but it is possible, when Congress meets, to make it at least as difficult, by high head money, for any immigrant to come to this country as to go to any other vacant region, to exclude the illiterate, and to require a high physical standard, since immigration is more and more coming from regions of a low physical standard, whose incapacity for self-government is being made visible in the colossal collapse of Russia.

NEW JERSEY WELCOMES NEW COMERS.

Trenton, N. J., True American.

The National Civic Federation has called a national convention upon immigration. The *True American* has frequently called attention to the fact that this State, with Ellis Island at her door, offers to a certain class of immigrants opportunities of the highest importance. Governor Stokes has given especial attention to the matter of reclamation of waste land, particularly in South Jersey, is acquainted with the local phase of the problem of irrigation, and has been a close student of the subject of forestry.

Among the mass of immigrants there are undoubtedly those who could aid in clearing and developing the thousands of good upland and lowland in the "Pines," and who would become wage earners and income producers within a zone whose southern radius would not extend over one hundred miles from New York City.

The object lesson is not wanting. In Governor Stokes' home county of Cumberland, Italians have established their berry farms at Vineland; in the adjoining county of Cape May, the Baron de Hirsch settlement of Hebrews, at Woodbine, has converted a desert into a paradise. The Germans of Egg Harbor make wines rivaling those of France, for the product of which nation, under other labels, they are frequently sold. The German and Italian market gardens near Camden are famous far beyond Philadelphia.

The New Jersey problem presents nothing of spectacular interest to the foreigner newly landed on our shores, and it will therefore be somewhat difficult to divert a south-flowing stream of immigration. As suggested, only a class of new comers will be useful in this State, being those having special aptitude, or a willingness to learn. A certain amount of stability will also be required on the part of the immigrants.

Of such New Jersey can assimilate all that can be induced to remain within her borders. It is, however, to be hoped that this State will be represented at the immigration convention, and that Governor Stokes will see the wisdom of appointing men or women, as delegates, who understand the purposes of the convention, and recognize the special needs of the State.

A VITAL AND PREGNANT TOPIC.

Brooklyn Daily Eagle.

The National Civic Federation in all the period of its great usefulness never dealt with a more vital and pregnant topic than this same question of immigration. That fact will be duly recognized in the approaching conference. Recognition of it by newspapers and by the public generally will prevent intemperate denunciation of laws which Congress would have amended long ago if Congress could have seen its way clear to do so. In considering the immigration problem it is well to recollect that this government is hampered in its treatment of aliens by the apprehension of that which other governments may undertake in retaliation. Frankly, we believe that the net gain to the United States would be incalculably large if nine-tenths of the immigration from Naples, Palermo, and Trieste could be shut out. But just as frankly we admit that any such wholesale exclusion is beyond the will while not beyond the power of Congress to decree and to enforce.

But between the present practically unrestricted admission and the impossible policy of rigorous exclusion there must be some mean in adopting which we may protect ourselves while not offending foreign nations. It may be found in a more careful supervision of the methods pursued by steamship companies in soliciting emigrant traffic abroad, by discouraging governmental assistance of emigration, by establishing a more rigid medical inspection, and by insisting upon the deportation to their native land of those immigrants who develop insanity or relapse into indigence within two years of their arrival here. We do not undertake to suggest the line of investigation that the Federation shall pursue nor to forecast any of its conclusions or recommendations. It comprises men intellectually eminent and socially and politically influential. Some of them are familiar through close contact both here and abroad with the conditions they will be called upon to discuss. All of them may be trusted to approach the question in the large spirit which its importance and delicacy demands and to draw from their deliberations only such deductions as are likely to be of practical value to the new Congress.

A TOPIC FOR CAPITAL AND LABOR.

Boston Advertiser.

The National Civic Federation has accomplished so much in bringing about good feeling between capital and labor that its offshoots in New York and Boston do not feel afraid to take up at the start the big problem of immigration. All phases of the subject, no matter whose toes are trodden upon, are to be discussed, not with the idea of one side forcing the other to abandon its position, but to effect a compromise. The capitalist employer is opposed to drastic rules harring out emigrants because he feels that the labor union wishes to close and to control the labor market. The union man has an idea that the employer favors immigration to keep down wages and to keep up the supply of help. Probably what keeps labor and capital apart on this question are unjust fears and suspicions on both sides. Let capital and labor talk on this subject. Let them get together on any subject, even if they do not settle the world's destiny instantly. The main point is for them to get together. The oftener they stretch their legs under the same table the fewer troubles the industrial life will know.

DISTRIBUTION RATHER THAN RESTRICTION.

Wall Street Journal.

It must be confessed that the advocates of exclusion of immigration made a very poor argument before the Civic Federation. The debate was unquestionably a victory for those who favor a continuance of our time honored national policy of keeping an open door to the people of the earth. It was shown, in the first place, that while the immigration is very large, as a matter of fact the number of immigrants per capita of population is less now than it was fifty years ago. It was shown, in the second place, that the immigrants do not all remain in the city, and that the great growth of the municipalities in the United States is not altogether due to immigration. It must be accounted for, in large part, to the crowding of country folk into the city. It was shown, in the third place, that the quality of immigration is by no means as poor as has been depicted, that it is not made up of criminals and depraved persons or the offscouring of the earth. It was shown, in the fourth place, that there is plenty of room in this country for all the immigrants who come, and that there is a real demand for their labor in many parts of the land.

It seems to us that the solution of this problem, to be discussed at the coming conference, like the solution of most other problems, lies midway between the two extremes. We should keep the door as wide open as possible. We should welcome immigration, excluding only those who are criminals or diseased,

and therefore likely to become a burden upon the people. The discrimination should be made more strict. We should endeavor to divert the immigration to those parts of the country where it is most needed. It seems to us that the problem of immigration is more one of distribution than of restriction.

THE PRESIDENT INTERESTED.

Pittsburg Press.

It is an encouraging sign that the National Civic Federation is to take up the immigration problem and endeavor to find a solution. Not only the federation, but President Roosevelt, is said to be deeply concerned by the character of our immigration during the past years and by its improper distribution. The question of the distribution of immigrants is perhaps the most perplexing of all. The restriction of immigration until such time as we shall be better able to absorb it is one of the most important responsibilities devolving upon Congress. Not until President Roosevelt takes the matter up with his characteristic energy is Congress likely to act, although the National Civic Federation's intervention will not be without influence.

A PUBLIC SPIRITED EFFORT.

Providence, R. I., Bulletin.

The Civic Federation has chosen an admirable field for its public-spirited efforts in the investigation of the great problem of immigration. The myriads of unlettered foreigners who come to our shores bring to us questions that we have long been anxiously asking but have not yet even begun to answer.

The reason why Congress has allowed this whole problem of immigration a chance to settle itself is probably that until recently American cities have needed a great amount of unskilled labor. There was comparatively little danger in immigration when almost every arrival was assured of work that he needed no training to do. But there is danger in the unchecked inflow of Europeans now that the old centers desire them no longer. Fortunately there are hopeful signs of a better regulation of the course of immigration. The South is making a great effort to secure immigrants, and it seems to be particularly eager to receive those that the North has long regarded as the least desirable, the hordes that are pouring into New York and Boston from southern Europe. These people would find a congenial climate in the tobacco and cotton belts, and the industry and frugality for which they are noted are qualities that Southerners, so long handicapped by the shiftless negro, have been praising to extravagance.

The whole great problem of immigration, then, is reduced to surprisingly low terms. The cities of the North are suffering from too many immigrants; the planter and manufacturers of the rural districts and towns of the South can not get enough of them. The remaining factor in the question is simply one of distribution. Can the South attract a large number of immigrants? If it can, will the number be sufficiently great to relieve the North of all the danger from this sort of invasion? Upon the answer to these questions depends the welfare of both sections of the country and therefore of the nation at large.

SEEK ROOM AND OPPORTUNITY.

Albany, N. Y., Journal.

The one problem that calls for speedy solution in this matter of immigration, which the National Civic Federation is to discuss, is how to induce immigrants to seek those parts of the country where the most room and the best opportunities await them. Their inclination is to remain in or near the great centers of population which are already crowded and where not only their presence is somewhat a detriment to the wage workers who are already there, but also they are unable to reap the best reward for their efforts.

Lately the various railroad companies whose lines extend into the yet sparsely settled regions of the West and South have undertaken the solution of this problem. They are making known the advantages to be found in the country along their lines, and offering inducements to settlers.

For many years to come, if only the immigrants who come from the old world each year are distributed over the parts of the country where there is yet abundance of room and of opportunity for honest toil to find ample reward, there will be no serious immigration question confronting the people of the United States.

AN ILLUMINATING CONVENTION.

Portland, Ore., Telegram.

The National Civic Federation is doing good work for the country when it takes up this subject for serious and practical discussion, as it proposes to do. In this labor it asks for the cooperation of the labor unions of the country, the chambers of commerce in all the large cities, societies that have to do with the restriction or regulation of immigration, and the various church organizations and other bodies interested in the subject.

It is readily perceivable that there is a great deal of work to be done in this field. To the average man it appears that a two days' session is altogether too short a time for the proper discussion of the many phases of immigration that will be taken up. But after all a convention such as this is but the initiative for the real work that brings results. The deliberations of the Civic Federation next December will be watched by the public in a spirit of more than ordinary interest.

EUROPEAN ECONOMISTS INTERESTED.

Chicago Evening Post.

Announcement that the National Civic Federation of the United States, prompted by the New York Civic Federation, will consider at its autumn convention the question of immigration, having special reference not to restriction but to a more intelligent distribution of immigrants, has aroused wide interest among European economists. They assume that the Washington government is satisfied, on the whole, with the existing laws affecting the immigrant and is also undergoing a reaction from the idea that the old world of late has been dumping its "undesirables" upon American shores.

DISTRIBUTION THE PRACTICAL PROBLEM.

Chicago Herald.

Much interest having been shown by various interests throughout the country in the recent conference on immigration held at New York under the auspices of the State Civic Federation, the executive council of the National Civic Federation, at the suggestion of the former body, has decided to issue a call for a national convention to discuss the whole subject of immigration, particularly the better distribution of aliens admitted into the country under the existing laws.

At the conference named some interesting statistics were produced by speakers who were not in sympathy with the agitation for further restriction of immigration either by a high head tax or by an arbitrary statutory limitation upon the number annually

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SOME GREETINGS TO THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

HOW REPRESENTATIVE JOURNALS REGARD THE SYSTEMATIC ELUCIDATION OF
A QUESTION IMPORTANT TO SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL WELFARE.



PUBLIC OWNERSHIP A QUESTION OF EAGER CURRENT DISCUSSION.

NEWSPAPERS WELCOME THE INVESTIGATION, AT HOME AND ABROAD, OF A SUBJECT NOW ACUTE IN MANY MUNICIPALITIES.



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admitted. The present rate of immigration is generally regarded as unprecedented, and in an absolute sense it is; but these speakers dwell on the fact "in proportion to the population immigration has been decreasing." The vast majority of the new comers, it was argued, were in every way desirable people, and there is no foundation for the statements so often made regarding the "emptying of old-world poorhouses and jails" to dump the inmates on American soil.

The convention to be called will, therefore, direct its attention chiefly to the practical question of the distribution of our immigration, while giving an opportunity to those who believe that restriction is quite as essential as proper provision for the meeting of supply and demand of alien labor.

A BUREAU OF INFORMATION.*Omaha Bee.*

The National Civic Federation has brought out the statement, preliminary to its coming conference on immigration, that there is a serious scarcity of labor in some industrial centers. Is it practicable to effect such a distribution of immigrants as is manifestly desirable? The Commissioner of Immigration has suggested a plan which very many believe would have good results and it ought to receive the careful consideration of Congress. It is simply to provide for giving trustworthy information to immigrants as to where there is a demand for labor and where the most favorable opportunities for settlement are to be found. Such information could be supplied by the government without very much expense, as the States would undoubtedly supply a great deal of it. That it would prove of very great value is not to be doubted. Having such information, thousands who now congregate in the large cities would go into the country places, to the material benefit of the latter.

Additional restrictions upon immigration are not needed. The existing regulations are ample if properly enforced. The real question is to effect a distribution of the immigrants where labor is in demand and they can be most useful.

SEND ARRIVALS WHERE NEEDED.*Pittsburg Gazette.*

The National Civic Federation will discuss from various points of view the question of the distribution of immigrants. Commissioner Watchorn earnestly declares that the law is being rigidly enforced, but the law is not stringent enough to keep out many who are undesirable to any part of the country. However, the question to be discussed by the Federation is distribution, not restriction, as it is felt that under present conditions the only thing to be done is to guide the tide of immigration so that those unsettled portions of the country will get what benefit there is to come from an added population. It is hardly necessary to say that no hard and fast rule has been discovered that will coax the new comers into those sections of the country where they are needed. That may come later, however, when the government decides to take it up.

A FRIEND OF RESTRICTION.*Rochester, N. Y., Chronicle.*

The Civic Federation's conference on immigration, no doubt, will throw a flood of light upon this question. The reports of

consular officers, of State and municipal institutions—penal and charitable, of steamship companies and of the Immigration Bureau of the government, will be focused on that gathering and discussed intelligently and systematically. The results can not fail of affording great assistance to Congress in formulating a plan for the better regulation and control of immigration.

This country would not suffer in its material development—on the contrary, it would be benefited—if the great bulk of immigration now pouring in on it like a mighty tide of turbid and polluted water should be restrained and turned back for years, if not permanently. The population we now have is fully equal to the further material development of the continent, and what it would lose in quantity by restricting immigration would be more than counterbalanced by the quality of our people after a few years of normal growth under American influences.

PROBATION BEFORE NATURALIZATION.*Brooklyn Standard Union.*

The discussion upon immigration, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, is proving both educational and valuable. One point brought out is that a large percentage of immigrants, amounting to something like 40 or 45 per cent., return to their native lands after remaining here for a while, so that the apparent increase, based solely on the figures of arrivals at our various ports, is far from being a permanent one. But there is plenty of room here for the healthy, virile, industrious immigrant, whose intent is to be self-supporting, law-abiding, and finally to become a loyal American citizen. Only he must not remain in the already overcrowded cities. The farms, the wheat fields, and the mining camps will welcome his presence, and a thousand other occupations invite his activities. Distribution of immigrants, however, is a prime essential, while concentration is a menace. There must be manifest sympathy with American civilization and ideals before the alien can be safely admitted to citizenship. It is the potentiality of a foreign education and environment that constitutes the real peril in permitting millions of men to vote on questions which it is impossible they can properly understand. The present law should be promptly and radically amended. While permitting all immigrants now here to be admitted to citizenship as soon as they shall have complied with existing regulations, a time ought to be fixed after which no alien should be allowed to take out final papers unless he shall have resided here for at least ten years—fifteen years would be better. Also, after a certain prescribed period, no foreigner should be admitted to citizenship unless he can read and write the English language. With these safeguards, the danger involved in large annual additions to our population from foreign lands would be reduced to a minimum. The public schools and an American environment would do the rest.

SOME MISAPPREHENSIONS CORRECTED.*Pittsburg Post.*

The information sought by the Civic Federation is most desirable and enters largely into the repeated discussion of the immigration subject by citizens generally, and serves to correct much popular misapprehension, that a majority of the arrivals are from jails, asylums, and poorhouses. This is far from being

the case, and the information will be received with satisfaction and contentment.

There are many poor people in the United States and in New York City, but this does not imply, by any means, that a majority of the immigrants are outcasts and unfortunates. There were always poor people in the country. We have had poor among us since the first immigrant landed here in the person of Columbus, or with the Pilgrim fathers, or the Cavaliers at Jamestown. There has been a tremendous rush of immigrants at different periods in our history, but it is very small in its relative figures to the general population of the United States. The State of Texas is larger than Germany, and is capable alone of feeding a population very much larger than that of Germany, which is some fifty-five millions.

It is fallacious to attribute the great increase of the population of cities and towns in the United States to immigration. Statistics show that the great increase of the urban population in this country is due to the fact that the people have come from the country to the cities because they like the life and opportunities of the city best. We arrogate very much when we attempt to shut them out from the cities, and besides that it is impracticable and un-American.

The immigrants for the first ten or twenty years, until the new generation is on its feet, take what may be called the laboring oar of the population. They are poor and industrious. If more immigrants are found in hospitals than natives, it is because they are more pressed into hazardous occupations.

Allegheny County maintains well on to a hundred thousand immigrants, and they are certainly the most industrial and frugal of the population. Compare them with the negroes! What would our mills and furnaces and mines do if deprived of their willing hands and great labor capacity? The United States is great and this industrial hive is great not because of any one class of population, but because it represents an amalgamation of various types. In the form of immigration there has come to us all the forms of activity that have made modern civilization. Immigration of the past hundred years has been the basis and source of our prosperity and advancement in science, industry, and invention. No sensible or observing man or woman can vote or declare immigration a peril. The wars of the Republic have declared it otherwise, and the progress of the country proves it the reverse day by day.

GOOD RESULTS ANTICIPATED.*Los Angeles, Cal., Herald.*

That there is a decided trend of sentiment in favor of a general overhauling of the immigration laws is shown clearly in the call which has been issued by President August Belmont, of the National Civic Federation, for a general and quasi-official conference on the subject, to be held December 6 and 7 in this city.

The conference will be under the auspices of the Civic Federation, and the Governor of each State in the Union has been requested to name ten delegates to represent his State at the meeting. In addition to this, the call for the meeting includes a set of questions which the various delegates are expected to answer for their respective States.

With an organization such as the National Civic Federation taking hold of this great problem, and at a time when the sessions of Congress are about to be resumed, it is believed much general good can be accomplished.

INVESTIGATION OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION APPROVED.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS INDICATE WIDE INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT AND UNANIMOUS CONFIDENCE IN THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION.

A NON-PARTISAN INQUIRY.*Washington Post.*

The announcement that the National Civic Federation proposed to collect accurate data concerning municipal ownership in Europe and the United States will be accepted as indicating an honest and non-partisan effort to obtain facts upon an important subject. The question of the wisdom and practical advantage of municipal ownership is one that is just now thoroughly engaging public attention. It is true that the skyrocket which ascended when Judge Dunne was elected mayor of Chicago has come down as a stick, but the advocates of the alleged reform do not seem to be discouraged. On the contrary, they assert that the failure of their ideas to materialize in Chicago is merely a temporary and not a permanent setback to their cause.

The names of the distinguished gentlemen who are to represent the National Civic Federation in its inquiries are a sufficient guarantee that practical results will be obtained. It is worth while, however, to note that during the past three or four years there have been no more active propagandists of the municipal ownership idea than a coterie of United States consuls in England and Germany. If the suggestion did not seem absurd, it could easily be intimated that these officials were acting under instructions. They have written industriously and enthusiastically upon the subject, and their reports have been given wide circulation through government agencies. Within the past few weeks the Bureau of Statistics has issued another volume of consular reports, devoted entirely to details of experiments in municipal ownership in Austria, France, Germany, England, and Canada, and the consuls, in nearly every case, take occasion to express their hearty approval of what has been accomplished. It is, at least, a curious coincidence to find these consuls sounding the praises of the new system.

What is the meaning of this sudden and universal chorus of acclaim regarding municipal ownership? Why are these consuls, in every part of the world, viewing the new system through rose-colored spectacles? We are loth to believe that society is being revolutionized, despite the mass of evidence officially promulgated, and for this reason we are glad to see the inquiry undertaken by the National Civic Federation. If it shall be found that the United States consuls are reporting facts and that a long step toward governmental millennium has been taken, a great work will have been accomplished. Up to the present time, however, we must be content to express our surprise that our consuls, for some reasons or other, have failed to discover a single fly in the ointment of municipal ownership.

MAKE THE INQUIRY THOROUGH.*Chicago Tribune.*

The agitation in behalf of municipal ownership has attracted the attention of the National Civic Federation. It has decided to appoint a committee to investigate thoroughly the national and municipal ownership and operation of public utilities. This is no summer vacation job. If the committee be thorough and go over the entire ground in Europe and America, it will have to put in many months of hard work.

If the committee of the Civic Federation will investigate all the elements of the question and present in bold relief the essential differences between municipal government at home and abroad it may do some good. The incorrigible municipal owner-ites will not be convinced. They will say that the report is the work of a "capitalistic organization." Mr. August Belmont, who is at the head of the federation, is identified with corpora-

tions controlling some of the public utilities the municipal owner-ites would like to lay hands on. They will fall back on their solitary argument, that an American city can do anything a European city does.

There are many men who have not waded deeply into the swamps of municipal ownership and operation and whose brains are still above water. A searching, complete inquiry into the boasted virtues of municipal ownership would do them good. It would show them why there are some things which European cities can do and American cities can not. It might lead them to the conclusion that the greatest need of American communities is the divorcement of politics from local administration. If English cities can do that and thrive because of it, why can not American cities?

A STUDY OF MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS.*Boston Transcript.*

Whether inspired by that evangel of municipal ownership, Mayor Dunne, or whether acting on its own unprompted initiative, we know not, but the National Civic Federation has been making elaborate plans to collect accurate data bearing on that problem, both in Europe and America. To this end it has selected a commission of about seventy-five members, including some of the best known lawyers, scholars, and business men in the country, to meet early the coming fall and outline methods for pursuing the work. It is intended, according to the purpose stated in its circular, that this investigation shall disclose actual results of public ownership and operation, so far as they have been determined not only in this country, but in all countries.

UTILITIES AND TAXATION.*Cincinnati Enquirer.*

The National Civic Federation has appointed a commission of seventy-five members to collect data on municipal ownership in this country and in Europe. This is a subject on which there is now a great need of reliable and well digested information. Those who have gone mad in the United States on the subject of municipal ownership have relied on a few European examples which have been apparently successful, but have failed entirely to consider the differences in form of government. Because street cars are run by the municipalities in Europe the conclusion is quietly drawn that all municipalities in the United States can do the same thing—that all they have to do is to do it on the same general plan that Horace Greeley proposed for resumption of specie payments. The information should be thoroughly digested, and especial trouble should be taken to learn how the public is to acquire the utilities without overwhelming the people with taxation.

A WELCOME MOVEMENT.*Boston Globe.*

There are so many contradictory and unsatisfactory statements concerning municipal ownership of public utilities it is gratifying to learn that the executive council of the National Civic Federation is formulating plans to collate accurate data on this subject here and abroad. This plan of the federation will give great satisfaction to the officials of municipalities, as well as to all citizens. All people desire their local government conducted in the most economical manner, but they are bewildered by all the current arguments for and against municipal ownership.

Nor is it strange they are puzzled because most speakers say more about the theory of municipal ownership than they do relative to its practical workings abroad.

Municipal ownership works well in some foreign communities, chiefly because the conditions there are favorable. In many parts of Europe where this system is established it is satisfactory and successful because the national or imperial government is behind it, having more to say about the management of cities than do the state governments of the United States.

In some foreign cities most of the local officials, from the mayor down, are unpaid, and the national government has so much power over the finances of the communities that local difficulties are reduced. Hence it is easy to utilize the cheapest methods of conducting the affairs of a municipality.

Most of the public utilities can be and are managed by those foreign cities because there are no outside corporations interested in them. The general government, and not corporations, deals directly with the cities.

Glowing accounts reach America of the success of municipal ownership abroad, but this commission of the Civic Federation can ascertain the actual facts in each case.

It can investigate and inform us concerning wages, hours, and conditions of labor, collective bargaining, the cost and character of services, political conditions, civic service, the spoils system and municipal corruption, and, most important of all, the financial results and taxation. This data will be of vast importance and settle all doubts as to the actual financial value of municipal ownership methods.

SEEKING LIGHT SENSIBLY.*Pittsburg Dispatch.*

It will prove gratifying to those who have for years felt that municipal ownership of public utilities would solve city franchise problems to learn that an exhaustive investigation of the subject, both in this country and abroad, is being undertaken by the executive council of the National Civic Federation at the instigation of its departments of Industrial Economics and Trade Agreements.

There are few in this country who have given the subject any study who are convinced that municipal ownership will not result in an expansion of present evils rather than a solution of them. Political conditions are so different in the United States compared with European municipalities that even those who have placed in successful operation abroad public utilities under municipal and even government guidance, have been forced to admit after an American investigation that political machines and the opportunity for graft would be strengthened by the addition of municipal corporations with their heavy revenues and their armies of employees who would add to the campaigning strength of the rings and bosses.

The National Civic Federation, however, is seeking light in the most sensible way. It has selected a committee whose report will be above reproach and whose conclusions can be regarded in no other light than that of wise conservatism. Nothing of tangible and practical worth to the various municipalities may result from the investigation, but the careful study of the great and growing question by men of such ability and standing as those selected can not but result in a wider knowledge of the subject and of undoubted good. It is certainly a step forward in reaching a practical understanding of a problem which has threatened for some time to become a national issue.

Special Public Ownership Number.

The National Civic Federation Review

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TEN CENTS

ALL THE FACTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

A COMMISSION, REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL INTERESTS AND OPINIONS, APPOINTED BY THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION, WILL INVESTIGATE HERE AND ABROAD.

THE Commission on Public Ownership and Operation, selected by the National Civic Federation, which is to investigate the several phases of that subject in America and abroad, held its first meeting in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York, October 5. The meeting was devoted exclusively to a discussion of the scope and the method of the investigation. The impartial attitude of the National Civic Federation toward the investigation, as a purely scientific inquiry of great anticipated value to the entire country, was made clear in a letter written by President August Belmont, who was unable to be present on account of serious illness.

The full Commission elected the following officers:

Chairman, Melville E. Ingalls, Chairman Board of Directors Big Four Railroad, Cincinnati;

First Vice-Chairman, John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis;

Second Vice-Chairman, John G. Agar, President Reform Club, New York City;

Secretary Edward A. Moffett, Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York City.

The Commission elected an Executive Committee and a sub-Commission. The latter was authorized to make an investigation, in America and abroad, into the comparative results of private and public ownership and operation of gas, water, electric power and light, and street railways. This sub-Commission may add to its numbers and may divide itself and allot its work as it sees fit, and is to report its final conclusions to the full Commission.

The membership of the general commission was originally selected in August by the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation, upon request of its Departments of Industrial Economics and of Trade Agreements, to make a thorough investigation, in this country and Europe, of National and Municipal Ownership and Operation of public utilities. A statement issued from the headquarters of the Civic Federation at that time said: "The current discussion and acute agitation of this sub-

ject indicate its hold upon the popular mind and the necessity for its analytical and comprehensive examination. Its present debate is often inconclusive because

of contradictory or unsatisfactory statements of fact. It is intended, therefore, that this investigation shall disclose the actual results of public ownership and

operation, as far as they have been undertaken in the United States, and of their more extensive practice in foreign countries. The ascertainment of these facts will afford a solid basis upon which to found discussion and conclusions for the guidance of future policy.

"The scope of this inquiry will cover the relative advantages of Public Ownership and Operation, as compared with Public Ownership and Private Operation, and Private Ownership and Operation. Each system will be examined with regard to its effect upon, among other topics:

"Wages, hours, and conditions of labor;

"Collective bargaining;

"Cost and character of service.

"Political conditions, civil service, spoils system, and municipal corruption;

"Financial results;

"Taxation."

A list of the membership of the general Commission is appended to this account of its organization. An informal preliminary conference between as many of its members as could attend was held in the headquarters of the National Civic Federation on September 18. Its proceedings were reported to the general Commission, as will appear in the following account.

A verbatim report of the meeting of October 5 follows:

The meeting was called to order by Samuel Gompers, Vice-President of the National Civic Federation and President of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Gompers, upon taking the chair, said:

You are all acquainted with the purposes for which this conference was called. The question of the municipalization of public utilities has been a subject that has grown in interest for two or more decades. It has come specifically to the attention of an increasing number of people within the past few years. With the general



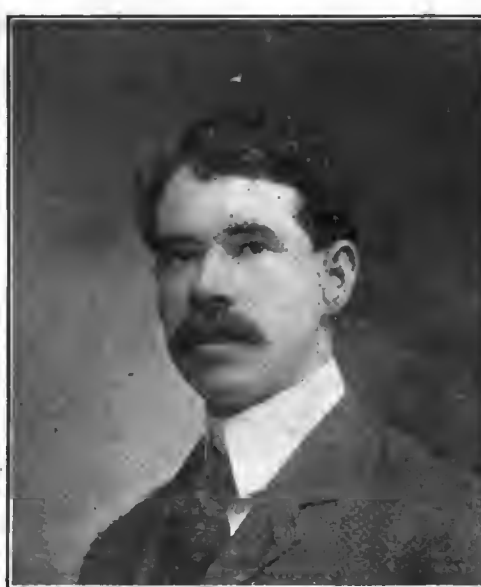
MELVILLE E. INGALLS,
Chairman Commission on Public Ownership
and Operation.



JOHN MITCHELL,
1st Vice-Chairman Commission on Public
Ownership and Operation.



JOHN G. AGAR,
2d Vice-Chairman Commission on Public
Ownership and Operation.



EDWARD A. MOFFETT,
Secretary Commission on Public Ownership
and Operation.

discussion of this subject, its various features have been brought to the attention of students and thinkers and practical men. In the minds of some, doubts have arisen as to the practicability of such ownership; as to its wisdom; as to its advantages; as to its possibility of introduction in our American industrial and city life, and its effect upon the cost and comfort of living. On the other hand, the earnest advocates of that proposition assert that it will be an efficient method by which corruption in our municipal affairs may be practically rooted out.

It is not my purpose to discuss the proposition from either standpoint. There is one question, however, to which I would desire that some attention be given; and that is the statement, made and repeated, that the municipal ownership of street railways, for example, is inconsistent with the recognition of the workers as an organized entity; in other words, as organized bodies. I am not quite sure whether this hypothesis is correct; I am not willing to have my mind persuaded into the belief that it is true, or that any condition of affairs could arise, in either our Federal or State or municipal governments that, under any duties or functions that they may desire to undertake, would be inconsistent with the recognition of the working people in the only agency—that of organization—that they can use as a potent factor in protecting and promoting their rights and their interests. But this is a question that must be considered in order that we may have a full understanding of what the general proposition involves.

The municipal ownership of our street railroads and other public utilities is a great impending question occupying the attention of the people of the cities of our country; and it is well that it does. I am sure the advocates of municipal ownership will have no cause of complaint if a rigid, full, and analytical investiga-

will be compelled to subject myself to their treatment. Therefore it is a matter of personal satisfaction to me that you are here in New York to take my place.

The subject of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities is forcing itself upon the attention of all thoughtful persons. Unfortunately, the very lack



ALEXANDER H. REVELL,
Merchant and Manufacturer.

of comprehensive and authoritative data and information leaves the discussion to theorists on both sides who often advance arguments which can neither be accepted nor rejected, for the very reason that no authoritative data exist. The National Civic Federation, through this Commission, will now try to obtain true and reliable facts to guide the student and legislator in seeking the best means to establish peace and maintain co-operation between capital and labor. To the accomplishment of this purpose, I have encouraged this movement and advocated the missions of the sub-committees.

The relations of capital and labor are vital to the prosperity of the individual and to the State. It is proper, therefore, that arguments should be based on correct facts and known conditions. The Civic Federation has no greater work among its varied duties than to secure these data. The committee, which this Commission purposes to send abroad, will represent every shade of thought and opinion on the subject. This committee, when it returns, will report to a larger commission of men at home, likewise drawn from every part of the country and representing every phase of life. The Civic Federation has no interests to serve and no arguments to make on the subject, but to present the facts and conditions as they may exist abroad and at home, for the use and benefit of the entire country, without respect to party and without respect to special interests.



E. E. CLARK,
Grand Chief Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.

Believe me, had I been able to attend the meeting, I would certainly have been present, and I trust that I may regain my health and strength at an early date, in order that I may cooperate in every way in the furtherance of the great object of the gathering over which you are to preside to-morrow.

I remain, yours very truly,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esq.

AUGUST BELMONT.

THE CHAIRMAN:—It is because of the regrettable and unforeseen absence of our President that I preside over your deliberations this morning.

It has been suggested to me that the gentleman who acted as the secretary of the preliminary conference be requested to act in that capacity this morning, Mr. Edward Moffett, editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York. If there be no objection to that appointment, Mr. Moffett will be requested to act.

Mr. Moffett was unanimously made Secretary.

Mr. MITCHELL, President of the United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis:—I move, Mr. Chairman, that a letter of acknowledgment be sent to President Belmont, of the National Civic Federation, expressing regret for his illness and earnest wishes for his speedy recovery.

Prof. FRANK PARSONS, President of the National Public Ownership League, Boston:—I move that the letter also state the Commission's appreciation of the impartial spirit, breadth of view and desire to bring out the facts manifested by President Belmont and the Civic Federation, throughout the organization of this Commission.

The motion, so amended, was unanimously adopted.

The Secretary read a report of the informal meeting of September 18. This report showed that the preliminary discussion brought out such questions as:

Shall the foreign inquiry confine itself to such public utilities as gas, water, electric power and lighting, and street railways?

Shall it include Government ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephone, parcel post, postal savings banks, etc.?

Shall it further include what comes under the general head in England of "Municipal Trading," such as municipal markets, abattoirs, bakeries, laundries, opera houses and tenements?



EDWARD ROSEWATER,
Editor Omaha Bee.

Every one expressed himself freely and a unanimous sentiment was reached that it would be unwise to undertake to cover so much territory with one sub-commission; that those subjects, however, should all be taken up eventually, but by different sub-commissions. As municipal ownership and operation of gas, water, electric power and lighting, and street railways are now uppermost in the public mind, it was thought that the first sub-commission should confine itself mainly to these subjects. It was the consensus of opinion that there should be a single sub-commission, rather than two, for the domestic and foreign investigations. According to this plan, one portion of a sub-commission would pursue its investigations in this country and the other abroad. They could then embody their conclusions, should they agree, in a single, unified report.

The following members of the general Commission attended this informal preliminary meeting:

Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University, New York City.
John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Chicago.
Frank Parsons, President National Public Ownership League, Boston.
James P. Archibald, Brotherhood of Painters, New York City.
Walton Clark, United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia.
J. W. Sullivan, Editor *Garment Workers' Bulletin*, New York City.
Milo R. Maltbie, Franchise Expert and former Editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City.
S. W. Meek, Editor *Cleveland Leader*, Cleveland.
William J. Clark, Foreign Manager General Electric Co., Schenectady.
J. B. Cahoon, Consulting Engineer, New York City.
T. C. Martin, Editor *Electrical World and Engineer*, New York City.
Ralph M. Easley, Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation, New York City.
Timothy Healy, International President Stationary Firemen, New York City.
W. D. P. Bliss, Sociological Author, New York City.
C. B. Firestone, *Evening Mail*, New York City.
John Bancroft Devins, Editor *New York Observer*, New York City.
Edward A. Moffett, Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York City.



DR. ALBERT SHAW,
Editor Review of Reviews.

tion is undertaken, so that the real facts may be ascertained and clearly, impartially, and without bias presented to the people of our country in such form that they may understand that the truth is before them, unvarnished and untarnished by individual predilections. I am sure that those who may be opposed to municipal ownership should have their minds in such a receptive condition, that when the presentation of facts is made, these facts will find a ready lodgment.

At a preliminary meeting on September 18, there was some tentative, informal preparation for the first meeting, this morning, of the full Commission upon Public Ownership and Operation. I regret very much that the President of the National Civic Federation, Mr. August Belmont, is not able to be with us this morning, for regardless of what position you may take upon this question in concrete form, he has evidenced, so far as its investigation is concerned, in the most frank and open manner, his desire to have ascertained all the facts. I have a letter here, which I shall ask the Secretary to read, which will give the reason why Mr. Belmont cannot be present.

The Secretary read the following letter:

NEW YORK, October 4, 1905.

My dear Mr. Gompers:

It is with profound regret that I am compelled to notify you of my enforced absence to-morrow.

There is no function which it has ever been my privilege to exercise, and no duty I ever more desired to perform, than that of presiding at the first meeting of the Public Ownership Commission, which is entrusted by the National Civic Federation with the duty of selecting committees to seek abroad and at home information on the subject of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities.

My physicians have forbidden me to postpone an operation which they have prescribed for me, and I

Mr. R. M. EASLEY, Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation:—I would like to read a few letters from members of the Commission who are unable to be present to-day, for some suggestions that they contain. Prof. J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., writes:

"Your note regarding the preliminary meeting of the Committee on Public Ownership and Operation received yesterday. I am sure that the right conclusion was reached regarding the scope of the investigation. I am not entirely sure that the single sub-committee which undertakes the domestic and foreign investigations would not do better to work as a whole, instead of dividing itself into two parts. Of course it would take more time, but it is more likely to secure unanimity of opinion or, at any rate, substantial agreement on most of the points; and it seems to me that it is extremely important, under the circumstances that this report of the committee be, as far as possible, a unanimous report. I should think as regards the facts, there ought to be no difficulty about agreement. As regards recommendations for action, if any are given, there naturally would be disagreement, and even as regards the interpretation of some of the facts. The likelihood of agreement and the extent of agreement would certainly be increased if the committee can keep together through all its work."

President Carroll D. Wright, President of Clark College, Worcester, Mass., writes:

"I should say that the inquiry ought, at present at least, to be confined to public utilities which would naturally include government ownership of railroads, telegraph, telephone, parcel post, postal savings banks, etc.; but I would leave these until the public utilities, such as gas, water, electric power and lighting, and street railways, have been investigated, and I would not immediately take up municipal trading."

which the subject was then considered, I would suggest that the same plan of discussion be followed here this morning, that is to say, that each member give his view upon the questions—What subjects shall we take up, and how shall we proceed to their examination?

THE CHAIRMAN:—If the suggestion made by Mr.



FRANKLIN MAC VEAUGH,
Wholesale Merchant.

Easley commends itself to the conference we will pursue that course. The subject is now open for discussion; not necessarily as to the advisability or inadvisability of municipal ownership, but as to whether a Commission shall be appointed to investigate the various projects for the municipalization of utilities, or whether its inquiry shall be confined to the ownership and control of street railroads or street lighting and railroads, or the ownership of water works; and also as to whether this Commission should be divided, so that one part of the Commission may make its investigation in Europe or elsewhere, and another in our own country; or whether the Commission shall make its inquiry as an entity, each of its members seeing the same thing at the same time, and hearing questions and answers at the same time; thus ascertaining the facts when all may hear or see them, each drawing his own inferences from the answers or statements. We shall be pleased to hear any gentleman of the conference upon these subjects.

Mr. EDWARD ROSEWATER, editor of the *Bee*, Omaha, Nebraska:—I was not at the preliminary conference and am not familiar with the arguments or suggestions that have been made. But it strikes me that there could be a proper division of the Commission. All questions relating to water and public lighting can be solved here, without reference to European countries. We have in



GEORGE HARVEY,
Editor *North American Review*.

The following is from Prof. F. W. Taussig, of Harvard University:

"I believe it is wise that the Commission should confine itself to the question of Municipal Ownership and Operation. Even for this limited field the subject is a large and intricate one, and I hope there will be no hurry in getting a report. The sub-commission, which will doubtless have charge, should have ample time for its operations."

Prof. John A. Fairlie, of the University of Michigan, writes:

"The value of the report will depend very largely on the men who do the detailed investigation; and it seems to me that it is very important that they should not be men who have committed themselves already to either extreme side of the question. The suggestion made to limit the investigation at first to water, gas, electricity, and street railways seems to me advisable."

The following comes from William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America:

"As our annual convention will be in session on the day of the meeting of the Public Ownership Commission, it will be impossible for me to attend. Only important work would have kept me away from the meeting, as I am deeply interested in the investigation which the Civic Federation is going to make. What we want are the facts! We have had theories enough upon all sides of this question to do us for fifty years. Give us the facts, facts, facts, and then we will decide whether or not we want Municipal Ownership."

Mr. EASLEY:—I want to state that at the preliminary meeting, on September 18, nearly every possible phase bearing on the scope and procedure of the Commission was touched upon. Every member present expressed himself freely. Having seen the thoroughness with



CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
President Clark College.

this country abundant experience with water, gas, and electricity, and a sufficient number of cities to enable any one Commission to get clear ideas. Of course we all know that a great number of American cities already operate their own water works; a few operate their gas works, and a great number of smaller towns operate electric lighting plants. The Commission that would investigate those subjects only would confine it-

self to this country. I would say, however, in my judgment, that the question of street railways or tramways would be one that would require a different investigation altogether, because we have practically no experience in this country with public ownership of street railways. The only place is across the Canadian border. In Toronto they operate street railways. But in order to know how the municipal and private operation of street railways works in practice, we would have to have one investigation abroad and one in this country.

Prof. PARSONS:—It seems to me that there is an opportunity to do something that has never yet been done. We have had a number of investigations along the line of municipal ownership, but in reference to each one I think you will agree with this suggestion: In respect to one side, it is possible for an advocate of municipal ownership to say that reports do not count very much, because we cannot think there is any man upon that Commission who was so fully acquainted with the facts and the philosophy of municipal ownership as to bring out in adequate shape the facts and arguments which point in that direction. Or in reference to another side, a man who does not believe in municipal ownership has, in all instances that I can think of, been able to say: We don't admit the validity of that report because there was no man on that Commission who was so fully acquainted with the facts that work against municipal ownership, in our judgment, as to bring them out fully. There is no instance, so far as I know, where there has resulted an agreed statement of facts between men representing the different views on this great subject. Lawyers often, when they are going to try a case before the Supreme Court, get together and make what is called an agreed statement of facts, and then they argue the case. Now, if we could get an agreed statement of facts, signed by men who represent municipal ownership ideas fully,



D. L. CEASE,
Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*.

and men who represent the opposite ideas, and men who have not taken any stand at all, one way or the other, we could then go before the people of the United States, who constitute the Supreme Court in this case, with that agreed statement of facts. If a commission of fair-minded men would go to a city like Glasgow or Birmingham or Liverpool—if those men go right to the spot and investigate their street railways and call on people of all classes and get the records, and then try to make up their ideas—the man who believes in municipal ownership would draw up his ideas based upon the facts; and the man who represents the opposite view would bring out the facts as he sees them, and the man who has no fixed ideas of his own, the philosopher, would present his views. They could draw up a report on those facts. If they could not agree they could go to the authorities before they leave the city—not leave the fact unsettled until they return across the ocean. I believe if some such method as that were adopted we could get a definite, valuable result. In conversation, a few days ago, a merchant of Boston told me that he would give twenty-five dollars for a copy of such a report as that.

The first specific proposition is that it would not be wise to take up now the questions of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones; leave those to a later investigation, and concentrate attention now upon the issue of municipal ownership and operation. But the separation that Mr. Rosewater would make does not appeal to me strongly. It seems to me that we could perhaps get a great deal of light about the cost of electricity from England and Germany, and other countries, and that therefore the commission that goes across the ocean should consider all those municipal monopolies, water, lighting, and transportation, and that another Commission should examine the facts here.

The suggestion was made at our meeting a little while ago that a Commission of twenty-one be appointed to examine municipal monopolies abroad and in this country, and that that Commission should itself appoint sub-commissions; one commission to go to Europe, and another one to work here, and then they should come together with their results and try to unify a report. In that way it seems to me we could get two great advantages: First, we would have two separate sets of facts procured by two different Commissions, and then we would have the combined ideas of the whole Commission on those reports. That plan appeals to me very strongly, and I hope that it may appeal to others. But a separation of the subject is to me still more clearly desirable, for several reasons; geographical reasons in the first place. The countries that we would wish to have investigated are quite different, and they ought to be investigated in reference to getting different facts in regard to private and municipal ownership. On the other hand, the personality of a Commission to study national monopolies should probably be different from that of a Commission that might study municipal monopolies. For those reasons, and for the length of time required to study the complexities of the subject—and we can all do better work if we sacrifice ourselves to the study of one subject—I hope that a division of the subject may be made, and that we may take up first municipal ownership.

Mr. JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS, editor the *Observer*, New York City:—To bring up the question definitely, I move that twenty-one members be appointed on the question of municipal ownership and operation affecting water, electrical lighting, and street railways in this country and in Europe.

Prof. PARSONS:—I second the motion.

Mr. WALTER L. FISHER, Secretary Municipal Voters' League, Chicago:—I would like to offer an amendment.

we shall so proceed. We would like to hear from Mr. Revell, of Chicago.

Mr. ALEXANDER H. REVELL, manufacturer and merchant, Chicago:—It does not seem to me that there is any material difference of opinion regarding what ought to be done. It seems to me that the preliminary con-



W. D. MAHON,
President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees.

ference settled some things for this meeting to do. I do not quite agree with my friend, Mr. Thompson, that the Commission should be a small one. I think twenty-one is about the right number, because the chances are that from that number, many for business and other reasons may not be able to participate in the work done abroad, or in the work done in this country. I am like Mr. Parsons in disagreeing somewhat with our good friend, Mr. Rosewater, in regard to the work that the Commission should take up when it goes to Europe.

I think that all the utilities known as municipal monopolies should be investigated by the Commission. If you don't do this, you might find yourself in some such situation as this: That the commission appointed for this country might find, we will say—they might find on either side—but they might find that the municipal monopolies in this country were a failure by reason of deficiencies and other things. You will see immediately that if we did not have results from the work abroad, we would not be in any better shape than we are now.

If it is possible to have successful municipal monopolies abroad, I see no just reason why it might not be fair, under certain conditions, to have them successful in this country. There are no very great reasons why.

other words, I hope that the work of this Commission will reflect a certain strength of ascertained results. I hope that every one, whether he is on the Commission in its total sense as organized here to-day, or whether he is on a smaller Commission—a sub-Committee of twenty-one—will sink all his individual prejudices on one side or the other, will have no opinions on this matter, as indicated along the lines of Mr. Belmont's letter, and the other letters read by the Secretary, but shall go out after the facts, pure and simple.

The American people deserve to have these facts, free and pure. They will be of rare value to the individual, and the poorer the individual the greater value these facts will have. As the Chairman well said, we are groping in the dark to-day, and many plausible statements are made about municipal ownership and operation, some in favor, and some against. When one is stated, it looks plausible and feasible; and when the other is stated it looks just the same way, and no one seems able to contradict either successfully. We want these statements and these truths in this country. I am not thinking of the rich or of those who control monopolies, I am thinking more of the people who are the workers—of the men who use these public utilities—the street cars, gas, who use any of the public conveniences. They are the ones who are affected. If the facts shall show that it is wise to have our municipalities throughout the country manage these things, then for the benefit of the workers of the country, they should be adopted. On the other hand, it may be shown that there are good reasons why, for the interests of the working people of the country, public ownership should not be adopted. So you see, bringing it right down to the basis of the working masses, who use these utilities, we want to find whether the facts show for or against the proposition. This country needs a settlement of the question very badly, and I am delighted



FRANK A. VANDERLIP,
Vice-President National City Bank.

I think there should be a division of the Commission upon the lines of Mr. Rosewater's suggestion. If we leave the Commission as it stands it would divide itself if it so pleased. I think the entire Commission ought to provide for two sub-committees, which can then unify their report. I think that is essential for the reason that it is, at least with us in Chicago—the hot bed of municipal ownership—it is essential and of vast importance to get such a report at the earliest possible moment; and unless the Commission does divide and each take up one part—one the matter in this country and the other the question in Europe, too much time would be consumed. I would like to offer an amendment stating that the Commission be directed to appoint two sub-commissions to take up the questions in this country and abroad.

Prof. PARSONS:—My motion was to have one commission appointed and have its duties outlined.

Mr. SLASON THOMPSON, Railway Managers' Association, Chicago:—I suggest that the appointment of twenty-one members would require the attendance of the Commission from different parts of the country; therefore I would move to substitute nine instead of twenty-one.

Mr. EASLEY:—We will have lunch served at one o'clock in a room near here, provided for the convenience of the conference; that will give us an hour and a half for further discussion. I would like to make the suggestion that we do not undertake to settle any of these questions off hand. Every gentleman ought to express himself, and we have plenty of time.

Prof. PARSONS:—I would like to move that the suggestions made by Mr. Easley be adopted as the order of business; that the morning be spent in discussion, and that no formal vote be taken until the afternoon.

THE CHAIRMAN:—If that be the prevailing opinion,



J. W. JENKS,
Professor Political Economy, Cornell University.

if municipal monopolies can be successful in the old country, they cannot be successful in this country to-day; but with the information that this Commission will glean abroad, we will then want to take up the question whether the conditions in this country might not be changed so as to make them successful—if they are successful abroad. Of course I am aware that we are not here to give opinions on these matters. In



ISAAC N. SELIGMAN,
Banker.

and honored to be a member of this Commission when I realize to the full the great good these facts will bring.

Mr. ROSEWATER:—This is an age of centralization. If a great corporation, operating street railways, wanted to know how they were operated abroad and what advantages it might derive from foreign inquiry, it would not send twenty-one men, it would send probably five men, or three men. In 1891 I made an inquiry of the foreign Postal Telegraph Companies, and I think I got a sufficient number of facts in investigating the British and French and Austrian and German systems to show what there was about postal telegraph. I delivered an address on my return, and I think my hearers got about as much information as I had. If you want to give the American people information within reasonable time on water, electric light, and gas, you can get it just as well in this country. It is not necessary to consider what the price of gas is in Liverpool. These things must necessarily be governed by local conditions—the source of the supply. Natural gas will sell for fifty cents per thousand, or even thirty cents in the natural gas fields, but no fabricated gas can be sold at that price. Is the municipal ownership of gas and water absolutely essential to the people, and is it best that the people should control them? That can be best learned, it seems to me, or as well learned by a commission of ten or twelve gentlemen in this country, as in any other way. The question of railroads you cannot determine without investigating practically abroad, because no example can be found here in this country. And for that reason I think that a select committee of, say, nine men going abroad would accomplish all that this conference would desire. A committee of say fifteen men or twelve men could investigate the condition of water supply and gas and

electric lights in this country and make a report; and I will say in advance that there will be some diversities of opinion any way, but their report would be valuable information.

Upon the main issue of whether you want municipal ownership, I am sure that many people will differ by reason of direct interest one way or the other. The American people want to be enlightened, and if we can give them all the facts it should be done as soon as possible.

Prof. PARSONS:—I would like to ask Mr. Rosewater whether the Western Union accepted his report as an authority?

Mr. ROSEWATER:—My report was given, of course, in favor of the government ownership of telegraphs.

Prof. PARSONS:—No commission of one or two or any small number, no matter how able and honest it may be, can command the respect of all the interests and classes concerned in this great question. It is a physical impossibility for any man to see the facts in the same light as a man of different ideas and interests. If an architect, an artist and an entomologist walk through city and country together, the architect will see buildings, the artist will see beauty, and the entomologist will see things from the bug standpoint. Each man has a mass of thoughts and impressions, which, by the law of intellectual gravitation, draws into his consciousness and gives predominant weight to the facts and inferences that harmonize best with the impressions he already possesses. If a number of men representing different ideas, interests and classes come together in presence of the facts and compare their impressions, the statement they agree upon is more likely to be true and to command confidence than the statement of any one or any partial group.

Mr. WALTON CLARK, Vice-President Traction Company, Philadelphia:—I think that what we are after is

come to my attention. But there is very great interest in the question of municipal ownership of gas, electric, and railway plants, and I think the sooner we can get reliable information on those subjects the better it will be for the monopolies of the United States and its citizens.



H. B. F. MACFARLAND,
President Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia.

Mr. EDWARD W. BEMIS, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland:—It certainly is an evidence of great progress of thought in this country, that such a conference as this can meet with such a purpose as it has. I doubt if it could have been possible five years ago to have gotten together such a body of men as this, who would have thought it worth while to come here for such a purpose. With regard to the general subjects spoken of this morning, there does not seem to be very much difference of opinion. I think the sentiment of nearly all is in favor of the body that goes abroad taking up the consideration, not only of street railways, but lighting and possibly water. I am somewhat inclined to agree with Mr. Clark that the question of municipal water works is not a serious question in this country; that the movement towards municipalization has gone so far that there are no very large private plants left. There are a few, but the fact is that the question has not agitated the public as much is lighting and street railways. I can see great reason why the body that goes abroad should take up the lighting question, in order that we may dispel certain fallacies that are often found on both sides of the question among those who favor and oppose any given policy. I can understand how such a body could go to some English city for its price of gas. It does not make any difference for the moment whether it is

question that Mr. Gompers has raised is very important, as to the policy of labor unions, and as to the terms of labor generally, the matter of wages and public comfort and social matters, etc., and I can see that we can get great help in this country from the experience of Great Britain; I am not so sure that we can get so much from the Continent. I am inclined to think that there are not a dozen cities upon the Continent that it would pay to investigate, but there are a large number in Great Britain. The chief purpose now is to select the main body. I am not so sure that we are in a position, at this meeting, to determine for all time the membership of that main body. Perhaps we would be in a position to determine a dozen, fifteen or twenty. It may be that that body should have a little discretion in adding four or five more members. It may be that it should engage expert talent, which might not be in the Commission. So I think a certain degree of latitude should be left to that body. I can see that the investigation, in one way, would be much easier abroad than here, because the books and accounts are much better kept abroad. Of course there are certain phases of the work that would not be a matter of figures. When the question of municipal ownership develops a political complexion, I can hardly see how the commission can agree; but it can get information of definite value. It certainly can come to an agreement on a great many matters of financial statistics. I think in visiting different cities it will be necessary to analyze the local government bodies, and there will have to be a very careful examination made by one or two or more accountants and assistants who will work up the data.

I see no reason to differ from the idea that after the two bodies, the foreign and the main body, shall have studied the question, they should not get together and consider whether they can agree upon some



WALTER L. FISHER,
Secretary Chicago Municipal Voters' League.

to gather and present information which shall be of value to the people of this country in making up their minds, or in changing their minds, on the question of the advisability of municipal ownership of certain industries. I think our report will be of little value unless we report on those interests in different localities. I do not think a committee of seven could represent the interests from the different points of view, and make a report that would meet the difficulty of the people who are interested in the question of municipal ownership. I think twenty-one is the smallest number the Commission should contain to include all the interests that should be represented.

As to the division of the work among those twenty-one when appointed, I think that can reasonably be left to that Commission. I do not agree with some of the details suggested. I think, however, that the Commission should be instructed on one point, and that is as to the extent of this investigation. As it appears to me, the immediate interest in this country, so far as it affects public monopolies, is in the question of the municipal ownership and operation of gas, electric plants, and street railways. I should think there could be given sufficient time to investigate all the questions to be disposed of by this Commission; I think the work, to be well done, would have to be done by men who have been most actively engaged in one enterprise or another; if it were done by any others, they would not be able to collect facts sufficient—for they would have no requisite knowledge and would not probably be able to give up time to the study. Therefore I think the Commission had better be confined in this investigation to the question of municipal ownership and operation of gas, electric, and street railway plants, with perhaps water. I do not understand that there is any great interest at present in this country on the question of municipal ownership of water works; if there is, it has not



WILLIAM J. CLARK,
Foreign Manager General Electric Company.

a public or a private plant, but the cost should be analyzed. Then go to a plant which adopts an opposite policy of management, and analyze the cost of its product, and see if there is any explanation, connected with either municipal or private management, of the difference in price. There will naturally arise such questions as the relative progression of municipal and private plants in the use of new machinery. The



TIMOTHY HEALY,
International President Stationary Firemen.

joint matters affecting the different parts of the world. While there can be no unanimity of opinion in such a body upon all subjects, it would be well if it could agree upon many facts. If it can agree upon what are the facts of the financial reports of certain cities and certain countries, public and private, it would furnish data which we do not now have.

Mr. ALEXANDER HUMPHREY, Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.:—The first thought is the sense of responsibility that such a body as this must feel in connection with this work. Such responsibility should limit, to a large extent, the lines of our work, if it is to be thorough. I should be, therefore, very strongly in favor of limiting it to the three or four utilities that have been repeatedly mentioned, and it seems to me if we are to be thorough we must go abroad. The terms of the resolution that has been offered would cut out Canada. I think that Canada, too, appreciates the difficulty of getting the facts that we are after. We can vary the opinions after we get the facts, but it is not an easy matter to get the facts. Mr. Bemis has stated that he thinks in Europe we can rely upon the accounts as better kept than in this country. I beg to differ with him. I can point out in a number of cases where the accounts as kept of certain utilities in Europe, if interpreted without technical knowledge outside of the accountant's knowledge, would lead to an absolute misinterpretation of the facts. Cases have been brought, and are still being brought, to our attention here in New York, where the books do not show the facts. That does not apply to only one line of work, but very often it is absolutely true where every effort is being made on the part of the management to represent the facts. It is an extremely difficult matter, as all of us who have managed large properties and properties scattered over a large area well know—it is extremely difficult to get the facts in regard to those various

properties on lines where they can be fairly compared. If that is so within the range of properties where an individual can manage them, how much harder it must be with regard to properties managed by different people who have no desire to come into accord. I think I would follow the suggestion of Mr. Rosewater, not to concentrate the investigation in one or two men. No matter what might be the actual value of the report, it would be stamped as insufficient, because the American people are not going to rely upon the capacity or fairness of any one, two or three men.

Gen. GEORGE H. HARRIES, Vice-President Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.:—I came here looking rather for information than for the purpose of exploiting any opinion I might have. Some of the opinions stated here have been good opinions, especially in reference to international bookkeeping. I had occasion last year when abroad to look into some bookkeeping methods, and I am more satisfied with the bookkeeping we have in this country.

With reference to the organization of the Commission, I believe the larger number would be all right—in a multitude of counsel there is wisdom. I heard somebody say once that too many cooks spoil the broth, but we can get from twenty-one men, or some such number, a variety of views; and there will be many, and it would be better than to come down to a smaller Commission. It seems to me that a Commission of say twenty-one would not be an extraordinarily large one, if divided, part of it doing its work in the United States. It will be a great task. There should be many facts called for and a great deal of thought given before you can come to any conclusion. We want to prepare for it with knowledge of all the facts. Then it will be for us, after we have the facts, to reach conclusions.

may be, is of much less importance than the facts that it is going to get together. It may be quite possible for a committee of any number to agree upon the general propositions; it may reach substantial unanimity up to a certain point. It seems to me that it is essential that this investigation should include the question of

not the men who accept the work done, but the men who are responsible. If those men be competent, and if they are agreed, it will not make so much difference what the number of the committee is. If there are three men who represent the main lines—if we can get three, five, seven or nine men, and the fewer the better—if we can get that number of men who have standing and reputation and character and ability, who will command the respect of the community, who will assume the responsibility of this investigation, the principal work we can do is done, in my opinion. I think the smaller number of men, provided we get men of the right character, the better they will do the work.

If we have twenty-one men going to European cities to look into questions of this sort, it is inevitable that some of them will pay less attention than the others. That would cause a feeling on the part of the public, that, after all, it is an omnibus investigation. I don't know what the financial arrangements are back of this matter—or what arrangements have been made in regard to taking care of the expenses of this investigation. I assume that it is entirely adequate—that the means will be forthcoming to carry it out. It seems to me the wise thing to do in this matter is, first to select the smallest commission by means of which you can get a representation of men of character. I think seven men can be found who will fully represent the diversities of opinion on this question and who will command the confidence of the community, and it will be better than to increase it to nine or any other number. But I do think that these seven or nine men should have the assistance of experts who are outside of their number; men who are perhaps committed to one side or the other; who, perhaps, have been in the employment of these public utility corporations,



D. J. KEEFE,
President International Longshoremen's Association.



WALTON CLARK,
Vice-President United Gas Improvement Company.

water as well as gas, electric light and street railways. It may be that we will agree readily upon the fundamental question of water. Why has it been true that water plants in municipalities have proceeded by an evolution from private ownership to municipal ownership? Is there any relation between that and the public utilities of gas, electricity or street railways?

This Commission may develop the fact that there is no real relation. The most important argument used in many quarters, and we are accustomed to having it said repeatedly over and over again, in Chicago, is, that as we have come to municipalization of water works, so we must come to it with gas, electricity and street railways. On the other hand, other people say: "Look at the water works; how much better they would be in private hands." There is no conclusion about the matter. The men on the one side adduce their arguments and say "Look at this!" and the men on the other side produce their arguments, and neither of them are able to point out any conclusion of fact.

There is no authoritative statement of any kind, as to the facts, nor any conclusion to be deduced from facts. It seems to me that in investigating water works it may be possible to get a satisfactory unanimity of opinion as to the facts themselves. That would be a very useful preliminary to the discussion of gas, elec-



EDWARD W. BEMIS,
Superintendent Cleveland Water Works.

Mr. CHARLES L. EDGAR, President Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, Boston:—There are one or two things that are quite clear to my mind. I think we ought to confine ourselves to such monopolies as electric lighting, water, and gas; we ought to include street railways with the electric lighting and gas, and we ought to make the investigation broad. As to the size of the Commission, it seems to me we must either appoint a Commission of nine, or even less, who will do all the work both in this country and abroad, and report, or else we will have to have twenty-one, who will appoint sub-Commissions. It seems to me you will have to decide how you are going to do the work before you appoint the Commission. It seems to me a body of twenty or thirty men, with power to make sub-Committees of five or ten to go abroad, and study in this country, and then to report to them would be well.

Mr. FISHER:—The last speaker has struck the keynote to this proposition. The crucial test must be the relation of this investigation to this body. I don't know of any reason why a sub-Commission of thirty can be gotten together any more easily than this full Commission can be gotten together. We have gotten together between sixty and one hundred men, whose attention is now called to this particular subject. If we proceed to delegate our business to a sub-Commission of half this body, there would be less likelihood of getting a quorum than with this full Commission, particularly if a sub-Committee is going to do the work. It seems to me the first question to be settled is, What is the relation of this conference to this investigation? Are the nine or twenty-one, or whatever the number may be, to report back to this body? Is it the object of this conference merely to select that other committee? I see no usefulness in that. It seems to me fundamentally that the conclusions that are going to be reached by any commission, no matter what its number



FRANK J. GOODNOW,
Professor Administrative Law, Columbia University.

tricity or traction. If the Commission would agree upon the substantial details, it would take very little time. I think that the question of importance is, not so much the number of the Commission as it is the people who compose it. The significance of the facts that it gathers will depend first, last and all the time upon the personal characteristics of the men who are on the Commission—the men who actually do the work;

but who are expert men in that connection to represent that side, and who will lay before this Commission the facts that ought to be represented from that side. And there are men in the employment of municipalities whose particular relations to these matters may represent entirely the other side, who are known to be committed to the cause of municipal ownership. If such men can be attached to such a Commission, I assume that they probably would have to be compensated for their services. Such men as that will have to do more work than the members of the Commission themselves.

If men of that kind, one or more, as many more as may be necessary, be attached to such a smaller Commission as I suggest, and can be compensated for their time on a proper basis, they will be the most effective men who will investigate this whole subject. That is my emphatic opinion, and I think that will be the outcome of the selection of a Commission of Twenty-one or any other number. No Commission of that size is going to go abroad to investigate these things; they are going to appoint a sub-Commission. It may be first most expedient to select a committee of twenty-one, but when it comes down to the real issue the smaller Commission is going to do the work.

Mr. J. W. SULLIVAN, Editor *Clothing Trades Bulletin*, New York City:—I can heartily join in the expressions of satisfaction at the spirit shown in this convention. We all, I feel sure, want to get at the bottom facts.

The labor men, while looking squarely at the question as a whole, as it affects all elements of society, are prone to inquire into labor matters a little more closely than into other phases. It seems to me desirable to investigate labor conditions, the relations of labor to employers or municipalities, in the industries to be inquired into. We should pay attention to water works as well as the others. A newspaper, in recently publishing some account of the situation in the water depart-

ment of one of our neighboring cities, declared that the clerks in the water bureau spent much of their time in reading for their amusement. The New York public has been repeatedly told that a very large percentage of the water brought down through the aqueducts was wasted because of inefficiency in the department. A friend of mine in the water bureau of a somewhat municipalized city has written me that he and others hold their positions because of their membership in a certain reform ring. Our humorous local statesman, Col. Gruber, has asserted that in some branches of the New York water department the clerks were wont to go to work at 12 o'clock noon, immediately adjourn to luncheon for one hour, and at one o'clock stop work for the day. If such statements reflect the views of newspaper men and politicians relative to an agency municipalized in many communities, what is to come with the municipalizing of several other agencies each having a numerous force on the pay-roll? Do some of the employes of municipalities have too little to do, while others are overworked?

And the question of civil service. Mr. Bellamy, manager of the Liverpool surface car lines, who gave us his experiences three years ago at the Reform Club conference, said that, under the civil service law of his city, in engaging street-car men only those are selected who are between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-three, and in height between five feet six and five feet ten. That rule might result in the road having a fine force of men, to make an excellent showing for municipal operation. But would it not bar from their rights to employment a very large number of the community's wageworkers? So-called civil service has very largely so resulted in some branches of government employment in this country that the average wage-worker does not have the same opportunity to labor

ber is too unwieldy. This idea of twenty-one is the result of the discussion by the informal meeting, September 18. It was not the intention, however, that the whole twenty-one were to either go abroad or make investigations in this country. The idea was that having one sub-Committee of Twenty-one to take in charge the



JOHN H. GRAY,
Professor Political and Social Science, Northwestern University.

whole investigation, it could lay out a uniform method, subdividing itself to make the actual investigations. For instance, in this country we have a great many municipally owned electric light plants. The men who investigate their operation should be working on the same lines as those who are investigating the municipally owned electric light plants in Europe. This uniformity might not be assured were there two independent committees. While this committee of twenty-one should thoroughly represent all the different phases of thought upon the subjects to be investigated, it must be remembered that these investigations will demand time and hard work, and it will be useless to name men who are so situated that they can not give to the inquiry the requisite attention.

We also, I think, should have an executive committee, composed of men thoroughly interested in the question, but who can not give personal attention to the details of the investigations. This committee would name a finance committee and would perform the customary administrative functions of such a body.

Mr. JOHN GREENE, Editor *Bradstreet's Journal*, New York:—Inasmuch as the question has been raised as to the relations of the Commission to the investigation, and that the reports of whatever sub-Commission is appointed shall come back to this Commission for final action, it has been pointed out that it is not only

the preliminaries to such a consideration by the Commission as a whole, a very useful service would be performed by the appointment of a small sub-Committee familiar with the literature, official and otherwise, on this question; familiar with the localities in which municipal ownership has been tried, to present to the Commission a statement of the psychological and topographical matters pertaining to this whole municipal question—to consider what is actually so, and how it came to be there. In other words, we have to consider historical as well as present phenomena. I suggest that such a committee, headed by perhaps such a man as Professor Goodnow, would be of great aid in determining the question.

Prof. FRANK J. GOODNOW, Columbia University, New York City:—It seems to me that we ought to confine our work as far as possible to the things which it seems to be generally agreed are in question here, and that the sub-Commission ought to be as small as is consistent with the representation desirable. I should deplore if the resolution before us were regarded as confining any Commission to the mere consideration of municipal ownership and operation. As I understood, the purpose of this Commission is to endeavor to find out what were the best methods of attending to our public functions. Therefore, if the granting of franchises in France, which is rather peculiar, were omitted from consideration, I should regard it as a misfortune. So I think if the resolution were amended so as to have it embrace the questions whether municipal ownership had been successful in many cities, whether it was in private hands or municipal hands, you might find in some places that under private management it was very successful.

Rev. W. D. P. BLISS, sociological author, New York:—It seems to me there are two practical questions be-



GEORGE H. HARRIES,
Vice-President Washington Railway and Electric Company.

for the government as when he depends upon the ordinary employer. He can go to the employer, and say, "Here is my work; take it or leave it." He can't do that with the government. How far would that disadvantage extend in municipalized industries? That is an important thing to find out.

I believe I have fifty questions in my note-book under this heading of labor alone.

I am of opinion that the Commission should be large; that in its membership the public, and employers, and labor should be represented. Certain cities in the United States, and in England, France, and Germany, have distinctive features. As many as possible of these ought to be investigated. The undertaking thus becomes a large one. With full publicity as to the scope of the inquiry, as to its thoroughness, and as to its findings, the work of the Commission will mark a long step on the way to truth, and be of service to the civilized world.

Mr. EASLEY:—Mr. Fisher raises a question that I think has not been thoroughly discussed: What should be the relation between this body and the agencies that it creates? If we name sub-Commissions, does this body practically go out of existence? You will notice that President Belmont, in his letter, assumes that this body will continue. It is a common practise to organize "committees of one hundred," delegating all the power to an executive committee and never calling the parent body together again. I think we do not want to follow that custom. As to whether this parent body could do anything more with the reports of the sub-Commissions than to discuss them and make recommendations of its own, is another matter entirely. The general Commission certainly would not have power to change one word of the reports of the sub-Commissions.

There seems to be some confusion about the "twenty-one idea." Some of the speakers think that that num-



TALCOTT WILLIAMS,
Editorial Writer Philadelphia Press.

important that an agreed statement of facts should be arrived at as the result of a careful investigation, but also that some attention should be given to the significance of those facts in relation to our institutions here. If the Commission, as a whole, is to consider the facts reported by its sub-Commission, it should be in a position to express such conclusions as it may arrive at upon the general question. I imagine that as one of



JAMES O'CONNELL,
President International Association of Machinists.

fore us, one as to the composition of the committee, the other as to the nature and scope of the investigation. Practically I agree, and I think most of us do, that it will largely depend upon the personnel of the committee. We have got to have fair men. I agree that we must have the sub-Commission as small as may insure fair representation. We must admit that it is almost impossible to get men who are absolutely unprejudiced. It is impossible to get any man who is worth anything on a commission to serve absolutely without bias. I believe that the only way to get an approximately fair statement is to get men on the Commission avowedly in favor and avowedly opposed to public ownership. As to those who are opposed, I think they should be men who are experts in the meaning of accounts. A very large portion of this investigation will be the honest and exact interpretation of apparent figures. Those who are opposed to municipal ownership would want to know very closely how the books are kept, and they ought to know, and you ought to have on the sub-Commission a man who knows the ins and outs of practical bookkeeping in this question. On the other hand, those in favor of public ownership would feel that they were not represented if you did not have on the sub-Commission some people who are experts, and who are admittedly in favor of public ownership. Secondly, we have got to have men who are known to be honest men in whom the public have confidence. If we have representatives of labor, and of capital, and of what is called the community, it would be well.

With the subjects to be handled it seems to me you would be compelled to have at least twenty or twenty-one who should make a uniform report so far as possible, to this larger body who are to remain in existence. It is impossible for sixty to go over the

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Charles J. Bonaparte, Secretary of the Navy, Washington, D. C.
David R. Francis, President Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, Mo.
Isaac N. Seligman, of J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York City.
James Speyer, of Speyer & Co., New York City.
V. Everit Macy, capitalist, New York City.
Ralph M. Easley, Chairman Executive Council, New York City.

On the Part of Employers.

Henry Phipps, director United States Steel Corporation, New York City.
August Belmont, President Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York City.
Clarence H. Mackay, President Postal Telegraph Cable Company, New York City.
Lucius Tuttle, President Boston & Maine Railroad, Boston.
Frederick P. Fish, President American Bell Telephone Company, Boston.
Francis L. Robbins, President Pittsburgh Coal Company, Pittsburgh.
Henry G. Davis, Coal Operator, Elkins, W. Va.
H. H. Vreeland, President New York City Railway Company, New York City.
Samuel Mather, of Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland.
Charles A. Moore, of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, New York City.
Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., Chicago.
Charles H. Taylor, Jr., ex-President American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Boston.
Dan R. Hanna, of M. A. Hanna & Co., Cleveland.
Marcus M. Marks, President National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, New York City.
Otto M. Eidlitz, Chairman Board of Governors, Building Trades Employers' Association, New York City.
William H. Pfahler, former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia.

On the Part of Wage Earners.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington.
John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, Quincy, Mass.
Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association, Detroit, Mich.
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland.
F. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland.
William D. Mabon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.
William J. Bowen, President Bricklayers and Masons International Union.
J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington.
John Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Molders' Union of North America, Cincinnati.
James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION.

One of the most phenomenal developments in American municipal politics within the last decade has been the agitation for "municipal ownership." Its most sanguine advocate, ten years ago, would not have ventured to predict that in 1905, in the second and fourth cities in the world, this idea would so have taken hold of the public mind, that all of the political parties, eager to anticipate the drift of popular sentiment, would hasten to approve "municipal ownership" and make it a leading issue in their several campaigns. The recognition of its strength by the politicians is shown in the fact that there is little or no appreciable difference between the party platforms or the utterances of candidates upon this question. Their several opinions differ radically as to the particular public utility that a municipality should first exercise, as to the method of its exercise and as to divers other details. But as to the main object to be attained, there is a unanimity among the advocates of public ownership that reflects the common origin of the agitation and frequently indicates impulse rather than discriminating analysis. Entirely aside from the merits of the question, the very existence of this agitation is ample warrant for the action of the National Civic Federation in creating the Public Ownership Commission, representative of all shades of opinion, to make a thorough and exhaustive investigation of this subject at home and abroad.

This remarkable accord was illustrated in the municipal campaign in Chicago last spring, as it is illustrated again in the present campaign in New York City. In Chicago, the two parties were at one upon the general proposition; the differences between John M. Harlan, the Republican candidate, and Judge Edward F. Dunne, the Democratic candidate, were as to the time and the manner of taking over the property of the street railway corporations. It was mainly a question between acquiring and operating them "immediately" or "as soon as possible." Here in New York, the three platforms cannot be widely differentiated in respect of public ownership.

The Democratic platform declares:

Municipal ownership of important public utilities has long been accepted Democratic doctrine. . . . Public ownership is no longer a campaign catch-word, but a principle applied and in operation in this, the greatest of American cities.

In support of this statement, the Democratic platform cites the ownership and operation of the Staten Island ferry and the proposed purchase by the city of other ferries, and the plans for a municipal electric light plant.

The Republican platform declares:

Light is as much a public necessity as water, and it is the duty of the city government to see to it that the people are supplied with lighting accommodation at the lowest possible price. In view of the fact that the Lighting Trust is an absolute monopoly, and of its failure to render to the people fair service at fair rates, we are in favor of the establishment of a municipal lighting plant, for the use of the municipality and of its citizens, and of its operation by the city.

The platform of the Municipal Ownership League states:

The League is absolutely and permanently committed to the advocacy of municipal ownership. Public necessities and public values created by the people should be owned by the people.

Specifically, the same platform demands "the immediate establishment and operation by the city of a plant for the sale and distribution of gas to all the citizens; and that the city-made gas shall be sold at a price that will make heating by gas in the humblest homes cheaper than heating with coal at the present extortionate coal prices." As to rapid transit, this platform demands the construction of future subways by the city and also "their operation by the city, as soon as the city shall be financially and legally able to undertake their operation;" to which end various amendments to the Rapid Transit act are recommended.

What is the meaning of all this? In every case, only a casual examination is needed to perceive that the particular form which the outcry for public ownership takes is determined by whatever grievance against private ownership is most acute. In Chicago, for reasons that do not concern us here, the public was most offended with the equipment and management of the street-car lines. Hence, the demand for public ownership there was directed by both parties toward that specific utility. In New York City, there has been most

complaint about the cost and quality of gas. Hence, in two of the platforms the demand for a municipal gas plant is made most prominent and definite, while all three platforms employ language almost interchangeable as to the general principle of public ownership.

Plainly, then, popular resentment against corporate ownership and operation of public utilities, when for any reason they have failed to render service satisfactory to the mass of citizens, is the primary origin of the various forms of the agitation for public ownership. For example, this was true of Glasgow, where unsatisfactory service by the tramway corporations and their refusal to adopt improvements impelled public opinion to the policy of municipal ownership and operation. The origin of most, if not all, municipal undertakings abroad is similar. The question presents itself whether this experience is to be duplicated in this country, where the agitation is active in many cities and concerns many services that affect immediately the public health and comfort and ultimately the industrial and social progress of the nation.

Discontent may manifest itself with either corporate or municipal service. It may underlie a movement in either direction. Philadelphia affords an example in this country of how public feeling may swing to opposite extremes of policy. Its municipal gas plant, operated through a board of trustees, became the center of a political machine. A revolt against its dictation, coupled with charges of wasteful and corrupt administration, resulted in a lease of the plant to a corporation; and only recently there has been an extraordinary public protest against the terms on which it was proposed to renew that lease. In either case, the evolution of a policy based upon knowledge of the facts, ascertained through the experience of others, would be more judicious than action whose mainspring is a smarting sense of wrong, without adequate perception of the wisest and most effective permanent remedy.

The action of the Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation in restricting the scope of the initial inquiry to water, gas, electric light and power and street railways, grew out of the perception that these are the forms of public ownership now most frequently proposed and actively discussed. The sub-Commission has sufficient discretion in dividing its work, in determining who shall carry on the foreign investigation and in adding to its membership to ensure its adaptability; while its relief from burdens of administration, through a separate Executive Committee, further conduces to its efficiency. The sub-Commission will be aided by the work of a special committee now engaged in preparing lists of questions for the investigation.

(Continued from page 7.)

details as honest and fair men would have to go over them. Twenty-one can do a great deal more than sixty. I think the original motion for twenty-one, with their subdivision, is about the right number. It seems to me desirable that their inquiry should be limited, as far as possible, and yet I believe it should include water. A great many people want to know what America has been doing, and what America can and will do. I think it would be a great mistake to leave out public water works, because there, more than in any other matter, we have the experience of municipal ownership and operation. It seems to me that the sphere of inquiry should be limited as much as possible, but that we must have water works included; that the Commission should be as small as possible, but there cannot be less than ten on the work abroad, and ten on the work here. It seems to me those are the absolute necessities of the situation. But far more important even than this is to see that we have men who are all fair and honest and open-minded.

Mr. HORACE E. ANDREWS, President Cleveland Electric Company:—I believe in having a sub-Commission of twenty-one, and in giving them complete authority over the investigation. I don't believe in hampering them; and I think that after full determination they should determine the character of the investigation themselves.

Regarding the different men who would be on this sub-Commission, and the great desire to have some who would represent municipal ownership, and those who oppose, I see no other way than to suggest that the members of the Commission going to Europe go with the opposing intentions of doing the best they can to show that municipal ownership is desirable, and to show that it is not. Could we not arrange primarily a

list of queries that would eliminate many of these theoretical propositions that sometimes come up in connection with labor and social and other matters—eliminate all those non-essential things and bring it right down to a list of queries pertaining to facts? What we want are the facts; we want figures and we want



HENRY W. FARNAM,
Professor Political Economy, Yale University.

other matters that are facts. Could not a list of queries be prepared which could be adapted to each place that is to be investigated? A certain number of queries are attachable to certain places, and with those the Commission could find facts.

Prof. L. S. ROWE, University of Pennsylvania:—The problem that confronts this Commission is one of the most difficult as well as one of the most delicate within the whole range of industrial and social investigation. The responsibilities resting upon the Commission are increased by reason of the prevailing confusion of ideas as to the significance of municipal ownership. This question has become a storm center in which individual ignorance, personal interest and class prejudice are doing their best to befog the issue. To overcome these influences, to hold a just balance between the antagonistic interests involved, to inspire confidence in the community in the results of the Commission's investigations, involve difficulties worthy of the best efforts of both the practical business man and the expert investigator. The possibility of service to the country through an efficient performance of these duties can only be measured by the evil results which must ensue if the present feeling of distrust between our American communities and the public service corporations is not allayed.



HAMILTON HOLT,
Editor New York Independent.

The function of this Commission, as I understand it, will be to present the facts with reference to municipal ownership both in Europe and in America, rather than to make formal recommendations as to the plan best adapted to our American conditions.

The study of the quasi-public industries, whether in Europe or in the United States, naturally falls into three great sub-divisions:

First, TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT;
Second, FINANCIAL SYSTEM AND METHOD OF ACCOUNTING;

Third, THE RELATION OF THE SERVICE TO THE PEOPLE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS SOCIAL EFFECTS.

The first division of the inquiry will require a group of technical experts, who are able to pass on the technical equipment of gas and electric light works, street railway systems, etc. The second division will involve an inquiry into municipal and corporate accounts, and will probably offer greater difficulties than any other portion of the investigation. For this work a number of expert accountants will be necessary.

The third portion of the investigation has, as yet, received but little attention. The discussions with reference to the relative merits of public and private ownership and operation have been grouped about purely financial considerations. The relation between the public service corporations and the municipalities has been studied mainly with reference to the payments made by corporations for the franchises which they enjoy. The success or failure of municipal ownership has been judged by the net profits of each enterprise. In these discussions the larger problem of the relation of these services to the industrial and social life of the community has been lost sight of. This will be one of the most important branches of the investigation and will clear up many existing misconceptions as to the principles which should obtain in the adjustment of the relations between the municipality and the public service industries.

Mr. MILO R. MALTBIÉ, franchise expert and former editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City:—It seems to be the unanimous opinion that the Commission should for the present confine its work to municipal monopolies—an opinion with which I heartily agree.



JOHN F. TOBIN,
General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

But it occurs to me that consideration should not be confined to the question of municipal ownership alone for the purpose of finding out whether it has been a success or failure. The relation of the public to these services should be considered in all its aspects. The content and methods of granting franchises to private corporations, the character and extent of public control, and the ways in which municipalities are supervised by higher governmental authorities should also be thoroughly examined. I take it that we all agree that these questions will not be decided by theoretical considerations or preconceived notions of what ought to be the functions of government, but rather by a careful determination of whether this method or that method has proved and is likely to prove more beneficial to the people.

All sorts of experiments have been tried in the United States and Europe, and no investigation will be complete, nor will the best solution of the problem be evolved if all systems of governmental supervision and regulation are not investigated as well as that of municipal operation. Indeed, it is very likely that certain methods will be found to be more conducive to certain results; and if such is the case, this fact should be pointed out, so that each community may be free to select that system which will best secure for it the results it wishes to achieve.

The inquiry, both at home and abroad, should be conducted on the broadest possible lines. One swallow does not make a summer, and the demonstration that private or municipal operation has been a success or a failure in one city or in several cities does not prove that either system is to be generally approved or condemned. Further, it is possible by shrewd selection of a few cities apparently to prove either great success or great failure. It is necessary, therefore, that a large number of cities be examined and their local conditions carefully investigated to eliminate as far as

possible all peculiarities. This means, also, that not only will the best instances of municipal and private operations be compared, but that those most unfavorable to each will be investigated.

The most important work of the committee, it seems to me, will be devoted to the collection and analysis



JOHN BANCROFT DEVINS,
Editor New York Observer.

of the facts, and especially in those directions in which it is possible to get a fair quantitative standard of comparison. It matters comparatively little what the opinions of any five, ten, twenty or one hundred persons may be, unless these opinions are fully backed up by documentary evidence; that this Commission finds certain specified things to be true, and produces evidence to prove it, will constitute a great social service and help to place the discussion, now uppermost in so many cities, upon the high plane of fact and social expediency—where it ought always to have been.

As to the size of the Committee to investigate and prepare the report, it should neither be too small nor too large. That every phase of the subject may be fully considered, it should be thoroughly representative and left to adopt its own plan for the appointment of sub-committees, the organization of the work and the preparation of reports.

Prof. JOHN H. GRAY, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.:—We have made great progress. Everyone who has spoken has suggested something of importance. We believe in democracy, and in the majority rule. The National Civic Federation is founded to bring classes together. There are two things to be accomplished in this investigation, two very widely different things, requiring different talents and different kinds of minds. It seems to me we should have a



MILO R. MALTBIÉ,
Franchise Expert.

reasonably large sub-Commission, representing labor and capital and the other interests. It seems to me equally plain—and my remarks apply themselves directly to the remarks of two or three other gentlemen—that there is expert information required and expert services needed upon two or three different lines. I don't know what the financial arrangements are, as Mr. Fisher says, but I do know that there is a great deal of

expert work to be done, and a great deal of expert work will have to be paid for. You cannot get a large Commission to go abroad even if you want to pay them for it. Most of the members of this Commission are engaged in other occupations. The Chairman spoke of the possibility of having all the witnesses together and cross-examining them, if that is the right term.



FREDERICK N. JUDSON,
Attorney at Law.

That would be desirable, but you have got to have an expert investigator who is reasonably familiar with the subject, who has read and studied it; you have got to have some man who will dig out the facts. It will take a great many months to do that—more months than a large Commission would remain abroad. I assume that has got to be paid for. There are two other kinds of expert services that are absolutely essential, and which I assume will have to be paid for. For an expert investigator, take for instance Dr. Goodnow. He may have more experience than I know. But I question whether he would feel competent to do engineering work, or to go into a gas plant and tell whether it was thoroughly up to date or not.

He certainly wouldn't have the time to do the long and arduous work of an accountant. It seems to me that in an investigation like this, both in Europe and in this country, some expert services, some in the form of accountants, would be necessary, and some in the form of engineering, who would have to be paid, and that would take a great deal more time than a large commission of competent persons could stay abroad. I assume that whatever is done in this matter would be reported back to the Executive Committee or to the full Commission. I assume, too, that during the investigation the work of the experts would be part by



CHARLES L. EDGAR,
President Boston Electric Illuminating Company.

part submitted to the sub-Commission. The sub-Commission, made up of members of this body, would have an important part to perform, but its members could not do the work of experts. Much of its work, probably, would be performed with less expense and within a shorter time by experts. I think that all our discussion has been coming down to this: We need a large sub-Commission to go abroad; that we need three

men as experts; and, especially for accounting and engineering, we need experts to go abroad.

Mr. FISHER:—I move that a committee of seven be appointed by the Chairman, of which he shall himself serve as chairman, to present to the meeting this afternoon a plan of procedure and recommend names for an Executive Committee and for a sub-Commission of Investigation.

Prof. PARSONS:—I second the motion.

The motion was put for Chairman Gompers by Mr. Easley and was unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN:—We have two gentlemen with us, one of whom has been five weeks in Glasgow, and has made some investigation on this subject, and another, an Englishman, who is not a stranger among us, who has participated in a previous conference of the National Civic Federation. One is Mr. Angus Sinclair; the other is Mr. Alfred Moseley.

Mr. ANGUS SINCLAIR, editor *Locomotive Engineering*, New York:—Before saying what I think can be found out about Glasgow affairs, I wish to make a few remarks about the size of this committee. It has been my fortune to have had the appointing and supervising of a great many investigating committees, and it was usual to select the men who were most familiar with subjects to be investigated. Yet in the course of fifteen years I have found it almost invariably the case that the work fell upon one member.

I favor small sub-committees for the investigation by this body. When I went away last summer, there was a great deal of discussion going on about the municipal ownership of railroads by Chicago. I had very good opportunities in Manchester and Glasgow to find out what they were doing there, and why they had changed from private to municipal control. Those who have studied commercial affairs much have always been im-



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS,
Lawyer.

pressed with the fact that where great enterprise is required, it must be done by individual effort or by private effort and by private capital. Municipal governments have not been noted for enterprise and push. The progress of nations has been due to individual effort and not to collective effort. On that account I was surprised at the agitation several years ago in Manchester in favor of municipal control and ownership of the street railways. But when it was examined closely, it was found that the street railway corporations had ceased to be enterprising; they had a good thing, and they did not want to spend any more money in giving better facilities to the public. It was the same case in Glasgow—the street railways would spend nothing. They knew what they were receiving in the way of fares, and they would invest nothing more. As a result, public sentiment grew in favor of municipal management, which is quite foreign to Great Britain, and especially to Scotchmen. In this country you will find a great deal of socialistic ten—

THE CHAIRMAN:—The Chair dislikes to interrupt any gentleman addressing this conference, but we are not called together to hear either a discussion or the presentation of an argument in favor of or against municipal ownership. We are here for the purpose of devising ways and means for the selection of a competent Commission to make that investigation and to present the facts. I do not know whether I express the sentiments of the gentlemen here assembled, but it appears to me that we should be pleased to hear from you upon any salient point, or any suggestion that would help us to an intelligent solution and conclusion of the question that is before us as a conference. But as to the merits of the question, the Chair suggests that the gentlemen refrain from discussing them.

Mr. SINCLAIR:—I am sure I don't know how I can talk about them, without violating the order of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN:—It is not an order, it is a mere sug-

gestion. It may be the fault of the Chair that I have not made myself understood. But I think it is only fair on all sides of this question that we do not discuss the merits of the proposition of municipal ownership, for that would certainly call for a rejoinder, and that is what we want to avoid now.

I now call upon Mr. Alfred Moseley, who did us the



F. J. MCNULTY,
President International Brotherhood Electrical Workers.

honor of bringing to the United States two Commissions, at different periods, for the investigation of certain questions; one of the industrial conditions of the United States and methods for the conduct of industry; and another of our system of education. Mr. Moseley is well known and one of the best thinkers and successful men in his own country and is highly esteemed in our country among those who have known of his work. We should be glad to hear from Mr. Moseley, and to hear any suggestions he may offer.

Mr. ALFRED MOSELEY:—I came here to-day rather as a listener than to be a speaker on this all important question. You are passing through in this country the same phase we are at home: that of a discussion as to whether it is wise that such essential matters as water, lighting, gas, etc., should be owned by the public, or whether they should be under the direction and in the hands of private enterprise. I am perfectly aware that there is much to be argued and much to be said on both sides. But it is not for me, certainly after the remarks that I have just heard, to enter in any way upon the pros and cons. We are here largely, I take it, to decide upon a Commission; the pros and cons do not enter into it; that would rather be for the Commission itself to emphasize when they bring in their report. As one who has been actively engaged and associated with Commissions, allow me to congratulate you upon your desire and determination to investigate



JOHN R. COMMONS,
Professor Political Economy, University of Wisconsin.

these important matters from an international standpoint. I might say, perhaps, that I am almost a pioneer in that point of view. It was rather an astonishment to the people of England that I should venture to think that there might be anything learned outside the United Kingdom. I am glad to say to this country that we are very happy to use all that we find here. I shall be happy, and I consider it will be not only a pleasure

but a duty, after the liberal treatment I had received when I brought the Commissions here, if I can be of any service when you bring your Commission on the other side. I shall find it a pleasure to help you or introduce you. I shall be glad to do anything I can for this Commission when it arrives. It will be necessary I think, and very necessary, when this Commission starts



LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT,
Editor the New York Outlook.

out that it should be composed of those who think upon all sides of the subject. You will find the same difference of opinion when you get to England that you find here, those who are strong advocates of municipal ownership, others who are against it. And I am bound to say that when one reads one side of the case in an editorial one feels very much convinced of the truth of one side, and on the following day when one reads an editorial on the other side, one is as strongly pulled in the other direction. It only goes to show how, if a case is presented from an ex parte standpoint the public will find it difficult to form any logical conclusion.

I fully appreciate the remarks that have been made by Prof. Gray, of the Northwestern University. I have had the good fortune of having met that gentleman when he was in England, where he made some investigation of the labor party. It is absolutely essential that you will require competent engineering experts to look into the water, gas, and electric light matters, and you will, above all, require a thoroughly competent accountant.

The whole of the controversy which is going on in England is the question, not so largely whether municipal ownership is good or bad, but whether the accounts presented to the public really represent the true state of affairs. That accountant, in my opinion, must be a



J. W. SULLIVAN,
Editor Garment Workers' Bulletin.

man who will not only deal with figures but who will look somewhat deeper into the proposition. He must be one who is capable of determining as to whether the amount of money set aside for depreciation is sufficient; the sums of money that must be necessary for any large undertaking to keep pace with the times, to give all the latest improvements, and give all the latest machinery—as to whether the sums of money set

aside in those accounts sufficiently show to the public that there has been a full provision for those important matters. It will take more than an ordinary accountant; it will require an expert in the various departments to decide those matters.

Then again, I venture to think there is another side that will require to be investigated; that is, the moral and political side. We find in France and in Europe generally the cry that municipal ownership may lead to moral corruption. I do not see necessarily that it does or will, but that point has been raised, and has been raised with very strong emphasis. I do know, as a matter of fact, that politics do enter very considerably into the controversy in England, as to state ownership and municipal ownership versus private enterprise. That, again, I think is a point that your Committee will require to consider when it makes its investigation in England. I don't know that there is any suggestion that I can especially make. I heard it suggested some little time ago that there should be a further investigation. Perhaps it would be beyond my province at this stage to make a suggestion; but I venture to make it—but I think that could easily be left to the body that is proposed to go abroad; that is in regard to savings banks. The small savings of the wage-earners is, to my mind, a very important subject. Their money should, in my humble opinion, be placed beyond any possibility of failure. I don't mean in regard to banks, because a man who is a capitalist takes good care to separate and to average his savings and put them into a variety of different undertakings. But the poor worker, who saves quarter by quarter, and dollar by dollar, has only one way of investing his money, and that is in these so-called savings banks. In England we take care that those few dollars so hardly earned shall not



JAMES DUNCAN,
1st Vice-President American Federation of Labor.

be risked, but are in the hands of the Government. It is true, the interest is small, but the workman knows that when he wants his money it is perfectly safe. I venture to think that if the Commission saw their way to draw up some report upon our Post Office Government Savings Bank, it would be to the advantage of this country.

May I make one other suggestion? and that is this: That whether this Commission be large or small, I think it is possible and highly probable that the conditions in the United States may differ from those which you will find in the old country. I cannot help thinking it would be wise for those who are going to Europe to look through the conditions of municipal ownership in this country before they go, in order that they may be able to compare similar conditions when they get on the other side. You may find that what is good there would not answer here—what is good in Europe would not, possibly, answer here. You will also find when you get on the other side certain communities are running their street lighting and railways—or rather the surface cars, and water to the full satisfaction of the public; while in other communities they are not giving satisfaction by any means.

It will therefore be necessary for the Commission to investigate thoroughly the why and the wherefore of success on one side and failure on the other, to say how far those successes or failures would be applicable to this country, and how far you may be able to embrace all the strength of the European system and how far you may be able to avoid our weaknesses and failures.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Under the resolution adopted instructing the Chairman to appoint a Committee of which he shall be one, the Chair appoints the following:

Samuel Gompers, A. H. Revell, John B. Devins, Milo

R. Maltbie, George H. Harries, D. L. Cease, Marcus M. Marks.

Mr. MARCUS M. MARKS, manufacturer, New York City:—May I ask, before we retire, to have some expression on the subject of having the same body of men investigate here and investigate abroad? Before Mr. Moseley spoke I thought there were two distinct com-



ALBERT E. WINCHESTER,
Manager South Norwalk Electric Plant.

mittees to be appointed, one to investigate here and the other to investigate abroad, and I was uncertain whether the Chairman wanted to decide as to the best means by which it could be done. But we are no further ahead now than when we started out. These interpretations can only be acquired by personal impressions. The reason I say this is because the size of the active commission can only be determined when it is known whether it is to be one commission or two commissions. I think that the same persons should make the investigation in this country and abroad. How can conditions in two countries be compared if different commissions make separate inquiries? If Mr. Gompers and I should be appointed to find out whether they make the best mince pie in London or in New York, and he should eat a piece of pie on the Strand and I should eat one on Broadway, how could we agree as to which brand of pie was most like the pie that mother used to make? The twenty-one, if appointed, is to be an Executive Committee to lay out the program, as I understand it, while the Committee to do the active work is to be nine. I think it would be well to have the views of the gentlemen on that question.

Mr. EASLEY:—That is one of the questions that this committee of seven is expected to make a recommendation about. After hearing the views of the various speakers this morning, it is certain that the committee



ALEXANDER C. HUMPHREY,
President Stevens Institute.

will act with all the light that it can get at this stage. Prof. PARSONS:—May I move that Mr. Easley be added to the Committee just named?

THE CHAIRMAN:—Yes; he may be added. In view of the fact that it has been announced that lunch is ready I think we will adjourn. The Chair was inclined to say something, but having due regard for the lunch question we will now adjourn until 2:30 P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The Commission reconvened at 2:30 P. M.

Mr. REVELL:—In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Gompers, who has been called away, I have been asked to call the Commission to order that it may receive the report of the Committee.



MARCUS M. MARKS,
Manufacturer.

The Committee recommends to your body the election of Melville E. Ingalls, of the Big Four Railroad, as Chairman of the full Commission;

John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Indiana, First Vice-Chairman;

John G. Agar, President Reform Club, New York City, Second Vice-Chairman;

Edward A. Moffett, editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York City, Secretary.

Mr. DEVINS:—I move the adoption of the report so far as completed.

Prof. PARSONS:—I second the motion.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. REVELL:—The first thing in order will be to conduct Mr. Ingalls to the chair, and to have the other officers who are present take their respective places. I will therefore ask Mr. Easley and Mr. Marks to conduct Mr. Ingalls to the Chair.

Mr. INGALLS was conducted to the Chair, and said:—I thank you very much for the honor done me. I will not detain you long, but perhaps you will give me five minutes to make a few suggestions that occur to me.

I believe I have always tried to do my duty as a public citizen. This is a time when it is especially important that every man ought to do what he can to try to solve questions of importance to the common weal. There is a tremendous pressure all over the

municipal ownership which may be good in Glasgow, for instance, may not apply to Chicago, St. Louis or Cincinnati, because conditions are different. Those are things which ought to be studied. It seems to me that the men who would give their time to this matter are doing a public duty. I hope no one will undertake to serve in this matter unless he comes here expecting to give his time. It is no easy task. There must be thorough investigation, careful study and impartiality. No matter what your interests are, you should report the facts to the public. I don't believe we ought to spend very much time on it, either. There are many good things ruined by trying to do too much. You can't reform the world all at once. I think you had better take up the question that is present in this country, and the thing present is, whether you shall own your traction lines generally, and your electric and gas plants. I would put in the ownership and management of water more for the advice and history of it than anything else. It is pretty well settled that cities here manage their water plants. The question is, whether it is well for cities to manage gas plants and railways. But if you are going to have a report made upon that, especially in this country, let us investigate water. I hope we will hear more of the management of municipal monopolies. Let us investigate the advisability of owning and operating these monopolies with consideration for circumstances and conditions. What is good for one place and one city may not be good for another. What is a good thing in England might not be good in America; what is a success in Berlin might not be good in New York. Let us try to get the facts, and let us have a committee large enough so that sub-committees may be detailed to special work. But I think the general committee, as to some things, ought to give all its attention.



FRANK PARSONS,
President National Public Ownership League.

Make this the legislative body, so that the sub-committees may report to it. If you provide for a committee of twenty-one, or fifteen, or thirty—I don't care what it is—I think that committee ought to have authority to fill vacancies, and increase its number if it is found necessary. For instance, in considering this question you may find some men you have not thought of—who have not been considered. You may want to send fifteen men to Europe. It is not every man who can go to Europe. But in considering this you may come across somebody you never thought of, who is just the man you want. Therefore, let this sub-Committee have the right to increase their number if necessary, instructing them always that they have to report back to this Committee.

I take this position with a deep sense of the responsibility. I consider it a public duty. Whatever I undertake, I wish to carry out faithfully to the end. Let us put before the American public a history of facts as they exist in this country and abroad.

Mr. REVELL:—It is deemed wise by the Committee to recommend the election of an executive committee, as follows:

The officers, *ex-officio*, and
Alexander H. Revell, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Isaac N. Seligman, Banker, New York City.
E. Rosewater, Editor the *Bee*, Omaha, Neb.
William Wirt Howe, Lawyer, New Orleans, La.
Samuel Insull, President Chicago Edison Co., Chicago, Ill.
V. Everit Macy, Capitalist, New York City.
John Bancroft Devins, Editor *New York Observer*, New York City.
Frederick N. Judson, Attorney, St. Louis, Mo.
George Harvey, Editor *North American Review*, New York City.
Carroll D. Wright, President Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
Hamilton Hall, Editor the *Independent*, New York City.
Walter MacArthur, Editor *Coast Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Cal.
D. L. Cease, Editor *Railroad Troimen's Journal*, Cleveland, O.
Franklin MacVeagh, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.

Henry M. Farnam, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
George H. Harries, Washington Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.
Louis D. Brandeis, Lawyer, Boston, Mass.
Marcus M. Marks, Manufacturer, New York City.
James O'Connell, President International Association Machinists, Washington, D. C.
Lawrence F. Abbott, Editor the *Outlook*, New York City.



RALPH M. EASLEY,
Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation.

Alexander C. Humphrey, President Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.
J. W. Jenks, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
John F. Tohin, President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.
Frank A. Vanderlip, Vice-President National City Bank, New York City.

Mr. SULLIVAN:—What are the functions of this Committee?

Mr. REVELL:—As discussed in our Committee, there might be some money to be raised; there might be many other questions to come before this Committee; there might something occur while the general investigating Committee is abroad, and instead of calling the entire Commission together of about 100 persons from all parts of the United States, it might be possible to get a majority of this Committee together at New York City, or some other point, and it would be much easier to do it than to get the entire Commission together.

Mr. DEVINS:—And there might be vacancies to fill.

Mr. REVELL:—We provide for that in some other way. It is simply to cover the point that while your Committee appointed to go abroad were away, there would be none here to attend to the work except to call the entire Commission together, which might not be possible.

THE CHAIRMAN:—I understand their duties will be



LEO S. ROWE,
Professor Political Economy, University of Pennsylvania.

country on the question of municipal ownership; one side wants one thing, and another the opposite. You will find people who say that public ownership is the beginning of socialism, and that it will be the ruin of the country. You will read to-day in the newspapers that municipal ownership is a great success, and tomorrow a failure; and there does not seem to be very much solid information to guide opinion. Furthermore,



WALTER MACARTHUR,
Editor *Coast Seamen's Journal*.

to perform the usual duties of an Executive Committee. The general officers of the Commission, it is understood, are to be members of the Executive Committee.

Mr. WALTON CLARK:—Is it the purpose to delegate to this Executive Committee all the powers of the General Committee or any of its powers, and what powers of the sub-Commission of Investigation? And is this Committee to report to the General Committee?

Mr. REVELL:—I understand that there are no powers of the Executive Committee pertaining to the work that the General Investigating Committee has to do; but to attend to any matters that might arise at any time.

Mr. EASLEY:—Each department of the National Civic Federation has its own Executive Committee. There are no by-laws defining their specific duties, but they are expected to meet any emergency that might arise. Permit me to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that you have the full report of your committee read. More interest is naturally taken in the question of whom the committee recommends on the Investigation Committee. The two committees read together will be self-explanatory. The Executive Committee practically takes the place of the general Commission when the latter is not in session. It is subject to the orders of the general body the same as any other executive committee. The Investigation Committee of Twenty-one which will be recommended to you is of an entirely different character and is not charged with any of the administrative burdens of the Executive Committee. It is going to require a considerable amount of money to make these investigations as thorough and as comprehensive as they should be made. Probably the main thing the Executive Committee will have to do will be to raise funds for the Investigation Committee to expend.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Suppose we hear the balance of the report.

Mr. REVELL:—The Committee recommend that a commission of twenty-one members be appointed to investigate in this country and in Europe the conditions of municipal ownership affecting water, gas, electric power, lighting, etc., and be empowered to fill vacancies, subject to the approval of the General Committee.

Those are the recommendations of the Committee; with the exception of one statement. The question of whether or not this Investigating sub-Commission of twenty-one shall be divided came before our Committee and the idea of having two sub-Commissions to do this work, one abroad and one here, did not seem to meet with favor. The sub-Commission of twenty-one was left free to divide itself, or to do as it pleases in the division of the work between Europe and America. Will the Secretary of our Committee read its recommendation?

Mr. MALTBE:—We recommend to this general Commission the appointment of a sub-Commission of Investigation, as follows:

M. E. Ingalls, Big Four Railroad Company, Cincinnati, O.

Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor *Review of Reviews*, New York City.

Talcott Williams, Editorial Writer the *Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.

W. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees, Detroit, Mich.

Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University, New York City.

Walton Clark, United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.

Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, O.

John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

Walter L. Fisher, Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.

Timothy Healy, International President Stationary Firemen, New York City.

William J. Clark, General Electric Co., New York City.

H. B. F. MacFarland, President Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.

Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit, Mich.

Frank Parsons, President National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass.

John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

J. W. Sullivan, Editor *Garment Workers' Bulletin*, New York City.

Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.

Albert E. Winchester, General Superintendent City of South Norwalk Electric Works, South Norwalk, Conn.

Charles L. Edgar, President Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, Boston, Mass.

Milo R. Maltbie, Franchise Expert and Former Editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City.

THE CHAIRMAN:—I think it ought to be stated that they are to make their report back to this body.

Mr. EASLEY:—That was the intention.

THE CHAIRMAN:—You have got an Executive Committee, but it will be about as hard to get a quorum of that Committee as of a Board of Directors. Yet you have provided here for a Committee of Twenty-one with power to add and fill vacancies subject to the Executive Committee. That you ought to strike out. I think the Committee of Twenty-one should have the power without going back to the Executive Committee.

On motion, the report was amended so as to authorize the Commission of Twenty-one to fill its own vacancies and to add to its number.

A motion to create an Executive Committee, of whom seven shall constitute a quorum, was unanimously adopted. The names recommended were unanimously approved.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Next is the recommendation that

resolution now stands, it would limit the inquiry to the United States and Europe. I move that it be amended to include all this country—my purpose is to include Canada.

THE CHAIRMAN:—Then why not say in this country and Europe?

The amendment was accepted.

THE CHAIRMAN:—The question is upon the appointment of this Committee with the conditions and limitations as read. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. GROSSER:—Is that Committee to report at any given time?

THE CHAIRMAN:—There is nothing here to show it. That will be left to the Commission.

The motion was put and unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN:—There has just been handed me a bulletin stating that the operation on Mr. Belmont, this morning, was very successful.

(Applause.)

Mr. ROSEWATER:—I think before we adjourn it would be well probably to have the Chairman call a meeting of the various Committees this very afternoon or to-morrow, before the gentlemen get out of town, for a preliminary conference.

THE CHAIRMAN:—I was going to suggest that, if we had no other business, the members of the Committee remain right in this room after the adjournment, and we can go into the whole matter better than at any other time, while it is fresh in our minds. Therefore I would ask that the members of the Executive Committee and those of the Commission of Twenty-one whose names have been read will remain here after the adjournment. If there is any gentleman present who has any suggestions to make we should be glad to hear him. If not, a motion to adjourn will be in order.

Upon motion, the Commission adjourned.

The Mode of Procedure.

Following the adjournment of the general Commission on Public Ownership and Operation, sixteen members of the Committee of Twenty-one on Investigation met and discussed for two hours the mode of procedure. A sub-Committee, consisting of Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, Mr. Walton Clark, Mr. Edward W. Bemis, Mr. J. W. Sullivan and Mr. Milo R. Maltbie, was appointed to formulate a set of practical questions that would be useful in pursuing the investigation. This sub-Committee, up to the date of publication of this issue of *THE REVIEW*, has held three meetings. It will be prepared to report to the entire Committee on Investigation on November 11. At that time, the Committee will probably determine upon the personnel of the domestic and foreign committees and fix the date for beginning the work.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE GENERAL COMMISSION.

The following is the full membership of the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation as constituted by the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation:

Abbott, Lawrence F., Editor the *Outlook*, New York City.

Adams, Prof. Henry C., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Agar, John G., President Reform Club, New York City.

Allen, Walter S., Former Secretary Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, Boston, Mass.

Andrews, Horace E., President Cleveland Electric Company, Cleveland, O.

Archibald, James P., Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, New York City.

Baer, J. Willis, Secretary Presbyterian Board Home Missions, New York City.

Barker, F. E., Chairman Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, Boston, Mass.

Bemis, E. W., Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, O.

Bliss, W. D. P., Sociological Author, New York City.

Bowker, R. R., *Publisher's Weekly*, New York City.

Bramwood, J. W., Editor *Typographical Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.

(Concluded on Page 16.)



AUGUST BELMONT,
President National Civic Federation.



CORNELIUS N. BLISS,
Treasurer National Civic Federation.



SAMUEL GOMPERS,
1st Vice-President National Civic Federation.



OSCAR S. STRAUS,
2d Vice-President National Civic Federation.

certain names that have been read to you be appointed a Committee of Twenty-one to investigate in this country and in Europe the advisability of private and municipal ownership affecting gas, water, electric power and light, and street railways, and that this Commission of Twenty-one be empowered to fill vacancies or add to their number subject to the approval of the Chair. Are you ready for the question?

Mr. HUGO S. GROSSER, City Statistician, Chicago:—I wish to inquire whether, of this Committee to investigate in this country and in Europe, a part will investigate the conditions in this country and the other part in Europe.

THE CHAIRMAN:—As reported, the Committee has the power to do as they please about that. They can all stay here or all go to Europe.

Mr. GROSSER:—May I ask you to read again the names of the Committee?

Mr. MALTBE read the names.

Mr. CLARK:—I call attention to the fact that, as the





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Brandeis, Louis D., Attorney at Law, Boston, Mass.
 Brooks, John Graham, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Brown, William H., Secretary Civic Federation of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Caboon, James Blake, Consulting Engineer, New York City.
 Call, Homer D., Secretary-Treasurer Amalgamated Butchers' Association, Syracuse, N. Y.
 Cease, D. L., Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, O.
 Chase, Harvey S., Public Accountant, Boston, Mass.
 Clark, E. E., Grand Chief, Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
 Clark, William J., General Electric Company, New York City.
 Clark, Walton, Third Vice-President The United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Commons, Prof. John R., Wisconsin University, Madison, Wis.
 Conant, Charles A., Morton Trust Company, New York City.
 Devins, John Bancroft, New York *Observer*, New York City.
 Duffy, Frank, Secretary United Brotherhood Carpenters and Joiners, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Duncan, James, General Manager Granite Cutters' National Union, Quincy, Mass.
 Easley, R. M., Chairman Executive Council, National Civic Federation, New York City.
 Edgar, Charles L., President The Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, Boston, Mass.
 Fairlie, John A., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Farnam, Prof. Henry W., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Firestone, Clarke B., Editorial Staff, *Evening Mail*, New York City.
 Fisher, Walter L., Secretary Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.
 Fiske, A. K., Associate Editor *Journal of Commerce*, New York City.
 Foulke, Hon. William D., Attorney at Law, Richmond, Ind.
 Fox, Austen W., President City Club, New York City.
 Frey, John P., Editor *Iron Molders' Journal*, Cincinnati, O.
 Gled, Charles S., Attorney at Law, Topeka, Kan.
 Gompers, Samuel, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.
 Goode, H. W., President General Electric Company, Portland, Oregon.
 Goodnow, Prof. Frank J., Columbia University, New York City.
 Gray, Prof. John H., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
 Greene, John, Editor *Bradstreet's Journal*, New York City.
 Grosser, Hugo S., City Statistician, Chicago, Ill.
 Harries, Gen. George H., Vice-President Washington Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.
 Harvey, George, Editor *North American Review*, New York City.
 Healy, Timothy, President International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen, New York City.
 Hollender, Prof. J. H., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
 Hoyt, Hamilton, Editor the *Independent*, New York City.

Hooker, George E., Secretary City Club, Chicago, Ill.
 Howe, Frederick C., Attorney at Law, Cleveland, O.
 Howell, Clark, Editor *Constitution*, Atlanta, Ga.
 Humphrey, Alexander C., President Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.
 Hutchins, J. C., President Detroit United Railway Company, Detroit, Mich.
 Ingalls, Melville E., Big Four Railroad, Cincinnati, O.
 Insull, Samuel, President Edison Company, Chicago, Ill.
 Jackson, James F., Chairman Massachusetts Board of Railway Commissioners, Boston, Mass.
 Jenks, Prof. J. W., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
 Judson, Frederick N., Attorney at Law, St. Louis, Mo.
 Keefe, Daniel J., President International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit, Mich.
 Kirchhoff, Charles, Editor the *Iron Age*, New York City.
 Knapp, Charles W., Editor the *Republic*, St. Louis, Mo.
 Lowry, Thomas, President Twin City Rapid Transit Company, Minneapolis, Minn.
 MacArthur, Walter, Editor *Coast Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Cal.
 McCulloch, George F., President Indiana Union Traction Company, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Macfarland, H. B. F., President Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
 McGraw, James H., President McGraw Publishing Company, New York City.
 McNamee, John F., Editor *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*, Indianapolis, Ind.
 McNulty, F. J., President International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.
 MacVesgh, Franklin, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.
 Macy, V. Everit, Capitalist, New York City.
 Mahon, W. D., President Association Street Railway Employees, Detroit, Mich.
 Maltbie, Mito R., Franchise Expert and former Editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City.
 Marks, Marcus M., Manufacturer, New York City.
 Martin, T. C., Editor *Electrical World and Engineer*, New York City.
 Meek, S. W., the *Cleveland Leader*, Cleveland, O.
 Merrill, Bradford, Editor *New York World*, New York City.
 Meyer, Prof. Hugo, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 Mitchell, John, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Moffett, Edward A., Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*, New York City.
 Murray, Thomas E., General Manager New York Edison Company, New York City.
 Newcomb, H. T., Attorney at Law, Washington, D. C.
 O'Connell, James, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
 Parsons, Prof. Frank, President National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass.

Pheips, Charles E., Jr., Chief Engineer Electrical Commission, Baltimore, Md.
 Phillips, Roland, Editor *Harper's Weekly*, New York City.
 Potts, Alfred F., President The Commercial Club, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Powers, Dr. Le Grande, Chief Statistician U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.
 Pratt, Sereno S., the *Wall Street Journal*, New York City.
 Revell, Alexander H., President Chicago Civic Federation, Chicago, Ill.
 Riis, Jacob A., Sociological Author, New York City.
 Robbins, Hayes, Secretary New England Civic Federation, Boston, Mass.
 Rook, C. A., President *Dispatch* Publishing Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Rosewater, Edward, Editor *Bee*, Omaha, Neb.
 Rowe, Prof. Leo S., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Salmons, C. H., Editor *Locomotive Firemen's Journal*, Cleveland, O.
 Seligman, Prof. Edwin R. A., Columbia University, New York City.
 Seligman, Isaac N., Banker, New York City.
 Sexton, S. M., Editor *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Indianapolis, Ind.
 Shaw, Dr. Albert, Editor *Review of Reviews*, New York City.
 Sikes, George C., Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.
 Sinclair, Angus, Editor *Locomotive Engineering*, New York City.
 Slicher, John A., Editor *Leslie's Weekly*, New York City.
 Smith, E. Burritt, Attorney at Law, Chicago, Ill.
 Straus, Hon. Oscar S., Merchant, New York City.
 Sullivan, J. W., Editor *Clothing Trades' Bulletin*, New York City.
 Sullivan, P. F., President Boston and Northern Street Railway Company, Boston, Mass.
 Taylor, Prof. Graham, Editor the *Commons*, Chicago, Ill.
 Taussig, Prof. F. W., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Thompson, Slason, Railway Managers' Association, Chicago, Ill.
 Tobin, John F., President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.
 Vanderlip, Frank A., Vice-President National City Bank, New York City.
 Watson, Henry C., Editor *Dun's Review*, New York City.
 Webster, Towner K., President City Club, Chicago, Ill.
 White, William F., Vice-President North American Company, New York City.
 Williams, Talcott, Editorial Writer, the *Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Winchester, Albert E., General Superintendent City of South Norwalk Electric Works, South Norwalk, Conn.
 Wright, Hon. Carroll D., President Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
 Young, O. R., General Manager *International Steam Engineer*, New York City.

MR. INGALLS' APPOINTMENT.

Cincinnati Star.

The appointment of Mr. M. E. Ingalls, of this city, to head the commission of the National Civic Federation, which has undertaken the study of municipal ownership abroad, will secure for that commission an admirable executive—and it is a position which, because of the enormous amount of detail to be gathered and to be digested, requires a man of more than the ordinary qualities as a director of forces.

It is a position in which personal theories will weigh little until formed by the evidence gathered, but in accepting it Mr. Ingalls touched upon a point that must be insisted upon when he declared: "You read both sides in the public press, one showing that it is a success, while the other records a failure. What is good for one country is not good for another."

While to many people the fact that a project is profitable or that it is unprofitable constitutes the deciding factor in an argument relative to public governmental policies, we must submit that such is not the case. Because a thing is profitable or satisfactory in Germany or Russia constitutes no argument why it should be adopted in America; neither does the fact that it is a failure there justify Americans in rejecting it. One might produce statistics showing that autocracy has proven profitable to Russia, but Americans would not believe that would justify us in submitting to a czar.

Whether municipalization is profitable or unprofitable when it is to be considered as a governmental policy, it can only be viewed in the light of our form of government. This Government was founded to carry into effect a theory; to depart from that theory is revolutionary. This theory is not that of England, France, Germany, or Russia, but is our own. It has carried the nation to its present stage through periods of distress, corruption and rebellion, and we are no more willing to abandon it for municipalization than we are for autocracy merely because it might make dollars.

The spirit of American institutions, the philosophy underlying them, must be recognized as the determining factor in any policy which it is sought to engrain upon them. To do otherwise would be to invite either revolution or disaster.

PLENTY OF WORK TO DO.

Boston Journal.

Melville E. Ingalls, a famous railroad man of Cincinnati, was recently chosen head of the commission of the National Civic Federation that has undertaken a study of the municipal ownership problem as exemplified here and in Europe. In accepting the office, he said:

"A tremendous pressure for municipal ownership is abroad, and it is our duty to the public to give them all the facts we can get together. You read both sides in the public press, one showing that it is a success while the other records a failure. What is good for one country is not good for another. The great fault we are liable to fall into is to try to do too much. We want to study gas plants, electric lighting plants, and especially water plants. I consider this investigation a public duty, and if we put the facts before the American public we shall give them a history of to-day, and we shall do a greater work for our country than ever performed by any statesman."

With one of his sentences Mr. Ingalls drove the arrow of truth straight into the bull's-eye of fact. We do, indeed, try to do too much. We make municipal ownership a mayoral issue, as in Chicago, carry the issue through and then fail lamentably in the attempt to establish even municipal street car lines. We need to do a great deal of careful investigation and preparation before we vote to municipalize everything all at once.

AN ILLUMINATIVE INQUIRY.

Bradstreet's Journal.

In response to a demand for information on the subject of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities, the Executive Council of the National Civic Federation has appointed a committee to investigate and report upon the general subject. It is suggested by the council that the present debate upon the matter is often misleading because of contradictory or unsatisfactory statements of fact, and it is intended that the investigation proposed shall disclose the actual results of public ownership and operation as far as they have been undertaken in the United States, and of their more extensive practice in foreign countries. The inquiry proposed will cover in its scope the relative advantages of public ownership and operation as compared with public ownership and private operation and private ownership and operation. Each system will be examined with regard to its effect upon wages, hours and conditions of labor; collective bargaining; the cost and character of service; political conditions;

civil service regulations; the spoils system; possible municipal corruption; the spoils system and taxation. The Executive Council of the Civic Federation has an eye for the needs of the time, and it is safe to say that no such illuminative report has ever before been presented on the subject of municipal ownership as that which will be laid before the public by the National Civic Federation committee."

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP STUDY.

Boston Transcript.

If the National Civic Federation had never done anything else, its study of the subject of municipal control would entitle it to recognition as an agency of public service. There is an immense amount of loose talk in this country about the municipal ownership of public utilities, and we have every shade of opinion, from the man who believes that a city ought not to supply light or water, or anything else of this nature, to those who believe that the city should own the street railways and telephones and do the family washing for its citizens, and the effect has been to have both sides evenly represented on the Civic Federation's committee of inquiry. Out of these varying opinions come diverse theories of municipal government, most of them of the half-baked sort, because there is a painful lack of definite and tangible information in the possession of the holders of these opinions.

Now, a committee of twenty-one people who are particularly well qualified for the work proposes to investigate the general subject of municipal control on behalf of the Civic Federation. It is the belief of the members of this committee that there are some places where municipal ownership is a good thing, and some places where it is not. What does very well in some foreign city may not be a good thing for Boston or New York. Furthermore, there are certain public utilities which in one place may be most economically operated by the municipality, while others may best be handled by private ownership. The subject is one of profound interest, and it affects all classes of people, and all sections of the country. But what is needed is definite information. When a certain rate for a certain service is talked about, those who are discussing the measure should know the circumstances under which that rate is made, and whether under other circumstances the same service could be performed economically at the same rate. The question of municipal ownership has heretofore been discussed in too general terms, with no particular regard paid to the local conditions. The Civic Federation proposes to obtain all the facts which apply to the subject generally, and to assist local communities in a consideration of the subject by giving them all the light possible upon the relations of municipalities to corporations and to public utilities under substantially similar conditions. This is a public service of no small value, and the report should be widely circulated and wisely read.

PROBE MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Milwaukee Journal.

The greatest interest should attach to the latest announced investigation of the National Civic Federation. At a meeting held in New York plans were completed for the study of municipal ownership both in this country and in Europe.

An investigation of municipal ownership by this organization will carry the greatest weight, and whatever recommendations, if any, result should be eagerly looked for. The entire problem is one of such enormous proportions that its careful study can scarcely be attempted by individuals. The country, it is true, is and has for some time been flooded with the opinions of doubtful "authorities" on the intricate questions involved, but the country has not been treated to that thorough discussion of principles and precedents which a responsible national association is alone capable of affording.

The United States as a nation is fast entering that stage in its development where every effort is being expended by a large and active class of its citizens to force the adoption of the principle of municipal trade. The strength already gained by the movement, as shown in the results of Chicago's last city election, was such as to cause the greatest surprise.

The National Civic Federation, by digesting in a careful and scientific manner the experience in trading of municipalities in Europe and America, will be able to throw a clear light on the problem which will be of invaluable assistance in finding a successful solution of the real difficulties at hand. It is safe to say that this investigation and study offers more present possibilities for actual assistance to the country than almost anything the Civic Federation has ever undertaken.

TO ENLIGHTEN PERPLEXITY.

Chattanooga Times.

The Civic Federation has referred the question of municipal ownership to a committee of twenty-one specialists for investigation and report. That is probably the best way to dispose of it for the present. The public are yet in great perplexity as to the real merits of the question, although there appears to have been a very decided drift toward the affirmative of the proposition during recent years. If the report of this committee shall avoid the multiplicity of features and the technicality of terms usually confusing the results of expert investigations, it will doubtless have great influence in determining future popular action.

FACTS ABOUT PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Collier's Weekly.

The National Civic Federation has determined to underpin the discussion on public ownership with a solid basis of fact. The trouble with the bulk of the alleged information collected on that subject heretofore has been that it has been frankly, or at least rankly, partisan. It has been collected by persons who have been looking for material to help one side or the other of their case, and has commanded no more confidence than the arguments based upon it. In the meeting of the Civic Federation's Committee of One Hundred at Columbia University, New York, on October 4 and 5, both sides were strongly represented. Chairman Belmont, one of the chief representatives of corporate interests in the country, who was kept away by illness, sent a letter in which he expressed hearty approval of the investigation. His place was taken by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, an apostle of the public ownership creed. Corporations were very strongly represented among the participants—another evidence, like the recent decision of the American Street Railway Association to enter upon an active campaign against the "socialistic heresy" of municipal ownership, that vested interests are resolved not to let the verdict of public opinion go against them by default. The Civic Federation appointed a committee of twenty-one to conduct an exhaustive investigation in America and Europe. The advocates of public ownership were rather alarmed at first lest this body should be controlled by corporate influences, but this fear did not appear to be well founded. Its catholicity was indicated by the choice of Melville E. Ingalls, head of the Big Four railroad system, as president; John Mitchell as first vice-president, and John G. Agar as second vice-president; and by the selection of a subcommittee on plan composed of such serious students of civic problems as Professor Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia; Edward W. Bemis, head of the Cleveland Water Department; Walton Clark, J. W. Sullivan and Milo R. Maltbie.

PUBLIC AND CORPORATE OPERATION.

Pittsburg Post.

Melville E. Ingalls, in accepting the chairmanship of the commission of the National Civic Federation which is to study the municipal ownership problem, said: "A tremendous pressure for municipal ownership is abroad, and it is our duty to the public to give them all the facts we can get together. I consider this investigation a public duty, and if we put the facts before the American public we will give them a history of to-day, and we will do a greater work for our country than ever was performed by any statesman."

There is no doubt that municipal ownership will come to be favored generally by the people wherever the existing service of public utilities by individuals or corporations is unsatisfactory. The temper of the people is daily becoming more indisposed to put up with the exactions and abuses growing out of the efforts of greedy owners to afford the least possible accommodation for the public at the highest possible rate. Wherever the public utilities are so managed as to accommodate the public there will be no demand for municipal ownership. But where the contrary is the case the ranks of those favoring such ownership will be rapidly increased. There will be an increasing tendency toward municipal ownership also if the experiments in this line now in progress in Europe and this country should prove satisfactory. The great danger is that such ownership, by increasing the number of employees subject to the city government, would by that much enhance the opportunity for corrupt political leaders to profit. Municipal ownership and non-partisanship in municipal affairs would therefore seem to be necessary accompaniments if the best results are to be attained.

The National Civic Federation Review

VOL. II. No. 7

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 1, 1905

TEN CENTS

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF IMMIGRATION.

OFFICIAL DELEGATES FROM EVERY STATE IN THE UNION WILL HOLD THE FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE UPON THIS SUBJECT.

THE first National Conference ever held in the United States upon the subject of Immigration will convene in Madison Square Garden Concert Hall at 10:30 o'clock, Wednesday morning, December 6, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation. The sessions will continue during December 7 and 8. One feature of the Conference will be a visit to Ellis Island, where the delegates will be entertained at luncheon, the food and its preparation being identical with that provided the alien arrivals after leaving the steamships and while awaiting inspection. Steamships

due to reach this port at that time should afford the delegates an opportunity to witness the arrival, inspection and disposition of approximately five thousand immigrants.

Those composing the Conference on Immigration will be delegates appointed by the Governors of States and Territories, and representatives of commercial, economic, ecclesiastical, labor and agricultural organizations. The participants have been selected because of their interest in the general subject and their expert knowledge of some of its social, economic, moral and

industrial phases as manifested in their own localities. Because of this composition of the Conference, the Committee of Arrangements has not presumed to prepare a complete program. Through correspondence with delegates the Committee will be able, however, to facilitate the discussion by outlining the several topics and in some cases by suggesting an opening speaker for a subject.

The Conference will consider the problem of immigration in its relation to our industrial and social prosperity. The discussion will include the effectiveness of the administration of existing legislation and propo-



ELLIS ISLAND, THE PRINCIPAL GATEWAY FOR INCOMING ALIENS.

sitions for new legislation. Especial consideration will be given to the relation of alien labor to domestic crafts, the industrial progress of the negro and other questions growing out of the distribution of incoming aliens. One day will be accorded for a particular discussion of the Asiatic phase of the problem.

The Conference will be called to order by August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation. Addresses of welcome will be delivered by Governor Frank W. Higgins, of New York State, and Mayor George B. McClellan, of New York City. The national Government will be officially represented by Frank P. Sargent, United States Commissioner of Immigration.

The importance of this Conference and its potential influence upon public policy toward a problem of far-reaching importance to the racial composition, the present and future industries and the political and social institutions of the nation have been widely and significantly recognized. The call for the Conference, issued by the National Civic Federation, has been followed by a continual debate upon various phases of the question that has served to clear the way, to some extent, for the proceedings of the Conference itself. Valuable papers upon the theme have been published in many periodicals, including THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW.

In this preliminary debate, the newspaper press has taken a lively part. The comment has concerned itself with the comparative quality of various elements in the incoming stream of aliens and with methods proposed for its modification. The discussion has brought out plans for more thorough inspection, at ports of arrival and of embarkation, and at original sources; for a higher head-tax; for more rigid educational requirements, and even for suspension or absolute exclusion. There has been much examination into the correct significance of statistics.

The National Civic Federation, as an organization, has taken no attitude for or against any of the propositions that have been advanced for the regulation, restriction, encouragement or exclusion of immigration. The Conference will be an open forum for debate by the best thought of the country, in the hope that its conclusions may be an efficient aid in forming a sound and consistent policy that will safeguard the social and industrial welfare of the United States, while conducing to the fullest development of its prosperity and the furtherance of its destiny as a member of the great family of nations.

At the date when this issue of THE REVIEW went to press, nearly all the Governors had appointed delegates to represent their States, and of these several have signified their intention to be present with their delegations. Some of the names of these delegations were not received in time for insertion in this issue of THE REVIEW. Here follows a list of the delegates appointed by the Executives of States and Territories:

ALABAMA.

Appointed by Governor William D. Jelks.

Hon. Robert R. Poole Montgomery.
Hon. W. H. Seymour Montgomery.
Hon. W. W. Screws Montgomery.
Hon. Erwin C. Craighead Mobile.
Col. Frank Y. Anderson Birmingham.
Hon. Wilson Brown Birmingham.
Hon. R. A. Mitchell Alabama City.
Hon. Eli S. Shorter Eufaula.
Hon. Ross C. Smith Birmingham.
Dr. Louis Edleman Huntsville.

ARKANSAS.

Appointed by Governor Jeff Davis.

Capt. E. A. Darr Atkins.
R. J. Wilson Russellville.
Dr. Love Dardanelle.
Ad. Bertig Paragould.
Dr. Wallace Carter Ozark.
B. A. Hardy Monticello.
J. H. Pryor Hamburg.
Hon. Jake Shaul Marianna.
Hon. W. H. Harvey Ponte Ne.

COLORADO.

Appointed by Governor Jesse F. McDonald.

Hon. Wilbur F. Cannon Denver.
Judge Frank T. Johnson Denver.
D. C. Packard Denver.
Dr. F. K. Dabney Denver.
C. E. Wantland Denver.
Joseph G. Brown Denver.
John T. Burns Denver.
J. L. Donahue Denver.
R. A. Morrison Denver.

CONNECTICUT.

Appointed by Governor Henry Roberts.

Rev. Joel Ives Hartford.
Hon. Wm. D. Parker Meriden.
Hon. F. Clarence Bissell Willimantic.
Hon. Robert A. Griffing Hartford.
Hon. John H. Perry Southport.
Hon. Henry H. Bridgman Norfolk.
Hon. Waterman R. Burnham Norwich.
Rev. Watson L. Phillips New Haven.
Rev. Clarence E. Bacon Middletown.
Rev. Olcott B. Colton Hartford.
Hon. Lynde Harrison New Haven.

DELAWARE.

Appointed by Governor Preston Lea.

Hon. John Hunn Wyoming.
Hon. Ebe W. Tunnell Lewes.
Hon. George Gray Wilmington.
Hon. Anthony Higgins Wilmington.
Henry B. Thompson Wilmington.
Thomas H. Savery Wilmington.
George A. Harter Newark.
Willard S. Meredith Wilmington.
Harry A. Richardson Dover.
Samuel H. Messick Bridgeville.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Simon Wolf Washington.
W. V. Cox Washington.
James F. Oyster Washington.
William F. Downey Washington.
George Truesdell Washington.
Ellis Spear Washington.
L. G. Hine Washington.
M. I. Weller Washington.
W. F. Gude Washington.
F. S. Hight Washington.

FLORIDA.

Appointed by Governor N. B. Broward.

Irving H. Welch Jacksonville.
H. S. Gateskill McIntosh.
W. R. Fuller, President Tampa Board of Trade, Tampa.
R. S. Hall Tampa.
Z. C. Chambliss Ocala.
J. R. Saunders Pensacola.
George F. Miles St. Augustine.
William M. Brown, President Miami Board of Trade, Miami.
Capt. C. E. Garner, President Jacksonville Board of Trade, Jacksonville.

GEORGIA.

Appointed by Governor J. M. Terrell.

Hon. G. Gunby Jordan Columbus.
Hon. J. E. Page Wrightsville.
Hon. Crawford Wheatley Americus.
Hon. S. F. Parrott Macon.
Hon. I. C. Wade Cornelia.
Hon. T. M. Cheatham Broxton.
Hon. J. P. Billups Atlanta.
Hon. W. G. Cooper Atlanta.
David Robinson Atlanta.
Dr. B. Wildaur Atlanta.
Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall Savannah.
Hon. Thomas G. Hudson, Com. of Agriculture, Atlanta.
Hon. William S. West Valdosta.

IDAHO.

Appointed by Governor Frank R. Gooding.

Hon. R. M. McCracken Blackfoot.
Hon. Avery C. Moore Weiser.
(The names of the additional delegates will be announced later.)

ILLINOIS.

Appointed by Governor C. S. Deneen.

A. H. Revell Chicago.
F. W. Mathieson La Salle.
Charles H. Williamson Quincy.
Charles Ridgely Springfield.
Charles E. Kiler Champaign.
John M. Stahl Chicago.
E. A. Bancroft Chicago.
W. G. Edens Chicago.
Charles H. Wacker Chicago.
George Parsons Cairo.

INDIANA.

Appointed by Governor Frank Hanley.

John Halliday Indianapolis.
(The names of the additional delegates will be announced later.)

IOWA.

Appointed by Governor Albert B. Cummins.

B. Annundsen Decorah.
Edward A. Steiner Grinnell.
V. Lyngby Cedar Falls.
W. R. Patterson Iowa City.
Rev. J. F. Nugent Des Moines.
O. H. Cessna Ames.
C. F. Wennerstrum Des Moines.
Charles Grilk Davenport.
A. L. Urlick Des Moines.
E. E. Clark Cedar Rapids.

KANSAS.

Appointed by Governor Edward W. Hoch.

Hon. F. D. Coburn Topeka.
Hon. C. C. Carver Pratt.
Hon. A. E. Case Marion.
Hon. John E. Frost Topeka.
Hon. J. H. Stewart Wichita.
Hon. H. J. Smith Ottawa.
Hon. W. L. A. Johnson Topeka.
Hon. James A. Orr Weir City.
Hon. Archie Fulton Lansing.
Hon. D. J. Hanna Hill City.

KENTUCKY.

Appointed by Governor J. C. W. Beckham.

Geo. L. Schon, Pres. Children's Home Soc., Louisville.
F. A. Burgess Louisville.

Dr. B. F. Laird Covington.
Col. John R. Allen Lexington.

LOUISIANA.

Appointed by Governor Newton C. Blanchard.

Senator S. D. McEnery New Orleans.
Senator Murphy J. Foster New Orleans.
Congressman Adolph Meyer New Orleans.
Congressman Robt. F. Broussard New Iberia.
Congressman J. T. Watkins Minden.
Congressman J. E. Ransdell Lake Providence.
Congressman Samuel M. Robertson Baton Rouge.
Congressman A. P. Pujo Lake Charles.
Hon. E. F. Kohnke, Pres. Board of Trade, New Orleans.

Hon. M. J. Sanders, Pres. Progressive Union, New Orleans.
Hon. W. E. Glassel, Pres. Board of Trade, Shreveport.
Dr. John P. Scott, Pres. Progressive League, Shreveport.

F. L. Maxwell Mound.
Hon. Thomas C. Barrett Shreveport.
Mayor A. A. Forsythe Monroe.
Hon. J. B. Lee Mansfield.
Judge R. R. Reid Amite City.
Hon. R. H. Snyder St. Joseph.
Hon. Paul Capdevielle Baton Rouge.
Hon. W. W. Duson Crowley.
Hon. John Marks Napoleonville.

MAINE.

Appointed by Governor William T. Cobb.

Edwin Riley Livermore Falls.
Robert McArthur Biddeford.
Hayward Peirce Frankfort.
Jasper Wyman Milbridge.
F. E. Wheel Rumford Falls.
H. E. Dunnack Augusta.
E. S. Clark Bar Harbor.
Charles L. Fox Portland.
D. N. Beach Bangor.
George K. Walker Millinocket.

MARYLAND.

Appointed by Governor Edwin Warfield.

Fabian Franklin Baltimore.
Norval E. Foard Baltimore.
Theodore Marburg Baltimore.
George E. Barnett Baltimore.
Richard M. Venable Baltimore.
Frank K. Carey Baltimore.
John M. Glenn Baltimore.
Charles J. Fox Baltimore.
Rev. C. E. Redecker Odenton.
Dr. D. F. Penington Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Appointed by Governor William L. Douglas.

Charles F. Pidgin Boston.
Joseph Lee Boston.
John Graham Brooks Cambridge.
Frank K. Foster Boston.
Henry Abrahams Boston.
Max Mitchell Boston.
Prescott F. Hall Boston.
Frank B. Hall Worcester.
Frank W. Merrick Boston.
Augustus P. Gardner Hamilton.

MICHIGAN.

Appointed by Governor Fred M. Warner.

William F. Bird Ann Arbor.
S. T. Fairbanks Saline.
Allen B. Morse Ionia.
Hamilton Carhartt Detroit.
Edward C. Hinman Battle Creek.
Frederick B. Smith Detroit.
F. A. Peavey Port Huron.
Gilbert W. Dickson Detroit.
Stephen Corvin Bay City.
Paul Merin Grand Rapids.
Mathew H. Walters Wegaunee, Mich.
William H. Longley Kalamazoo.

MINNESOTA.

Appointed by Governor John A. Johnson.

Hon. Adolph Bydal Crookston.
Hon. Alex. C. Johnson Minneapolis.
Hon. R. E. Burbridge Minneapolis.
Hon. R. S. Odell Marshall.
Hon. John E. Burchard St. Paul.
Hon. B. F. Beardsly St. Paul.
Hon. John M. Dahlby Moorhead.
Hon. W. D. Washburn, Jr. Minneapolis.
Hon. Wiley Tindolph Thief River Falls.
John H. Hoeschen Melrose.

MISSOURI.

Appointed by Governor Joseph W. Folk.

S. A. Huges St. Louis.
Frederick N. Judson St. Louis.
Charles L. Meriweather Louisiana.
A. B. Newland Holden.
H. H. Weaver Rush Tower.
Guy Murray Richmond.
Alexander New Kansas City.

(Continued on page 4.)

TYPICAL EXAMPLES of
ADMITTED ALIENS



COSSACKS FOR
COW-BOY PLAINS

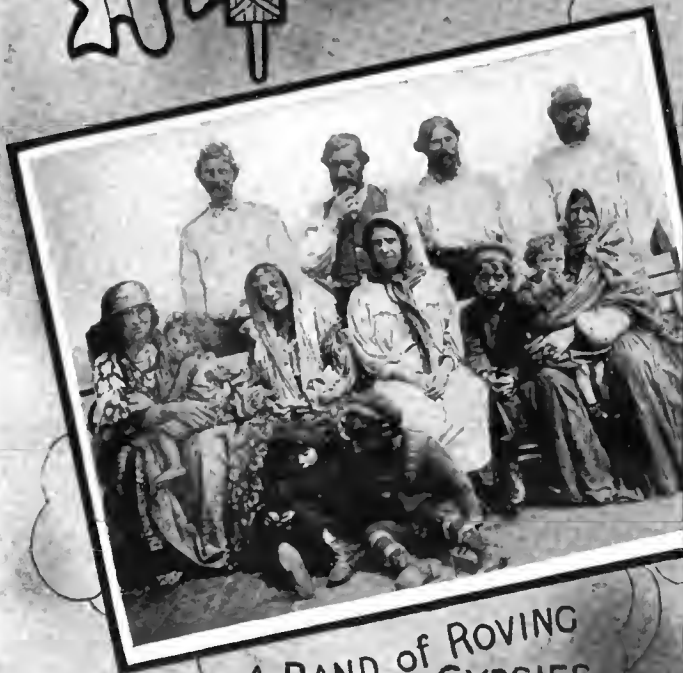


NO
RACE SUICIDE
HERE



ROUMANIAN SHEPHERDS
Bound For
THE NORTHWEST

TYPICAL EXAMPLES of
EXCLUDED ALIENS



A BAND of ROVING
GYPSIES



A PAUPER
FAMILY



LACKED
REQUIRED
FUNDS

(Continued from page 2.)

O. L. Munger Greenville.
W. S. Anthony Farmington.
G. D. Harris New London.
W. B. McRoberts Monticello.

MONTANA.

Appointed by Governor Joseph K. Toole.

L. P. Benedict Helena.
Martin Maginnis Helena.
T. H. Carter Helena.
J. H. Calderhead Helena.
John MacGinniss Butte.
J. D. Ryan Butte.
W. A. Clark Butte.
William Walsh Butte.
S. T. Hauser Helena.
Edwin Norris Dillon.

NEBRASKA.

Appointed by Governor J. H. Mickey.

Sophus Neble Omaha.
Peter Jansen Jansen.
Hon. F. E. Anderson, Editor *Posten* Omaha.
B. V. Kohout Wilber.
S. F. Nichols Beatrice.
John Rozicky Omaha.
J. F. Hanson Fremont.
Rev. J. E. Nordling Swedehome.
Paul Getzschmann Omaha.
Henry Wehn, Editor *Freie Presse* Lincoln.
T. R. Evans Norden.
V. Michaelson Omaha.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Appointed by Governor John McLane.

Hon. Jacob H. Gallinger, U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C.
Hon. Henry E. Burnham, U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C.
Hon. Cyrus A. Sulloway, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
Hon. Frank D. Currier, House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.
President William J. Tucker, Dartmouth College,
Hanover.
Hon. Henry B. Quinby Lakeport.
Col. William Marcotte Manchester.
Hon. John M. Mitchell Concord.
Hon. Seth M. Richards Newport.
John W. Kelly, Esq. Portsmouth.

NEW JERSEY.

Appointed by Governor Edward C. Stokes.

Ruford Franklin Summit.
Grinnell Willis Morristown.
Hon. Wood McKee Paterson.
Rev. Adolph Roeder Orange.
Dr. Bleecker Van Wagenen South Orange.
Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander Hoboken.
Mrs. Emily Williamson Elizabeth.
E. J. Ellis Plainfield.
Hugh Fox Plainfield.
Rev. James A. Reynolds Red Bank.
Mrs. H. E. Mott Elizabeth.
William Perry Newark.
Clinton Mackenzie Elizabeth.

NEW MEXICO.

Appointed by Governor Miguel A. Otero.

W. B. Bunker Las Vegas.
Alfred Grunsfeld Albuquerque.
J. W. Bible Hanover.
Granville Pendleton Aztec.
S. B. Grimshaw Santa Fe.
John W. Poe Roswell.
James G. McNary Las Vegas.
Charles Springer Springer.
Martin Lohman Las Cruces.
L. O. Fullen Carlsbad.

NEW YORK.

Appointed by Governor Frank W. Higgins.

Hon. Charles A. Schieren, ex-Mayor of Brooklyn,
New York City.
Adolph Strasser Buffalo.
Adna F. Weber, Chief Statistician, State Department
of Labor Albany.
P. H. McCormick, Pres. Typographical Union No. 6,
New York City.
James H. Hamilton New York City.
A. J. Boulton, Register of Kings County... Brooklyn.
Jacob A. Riis Richmond Hill.
Albert T. Fish Buffalo.
Charles Sprague Smith, Director People's Institute,
New York City.
John Kirkpatrick, Pres. State Association of Super-
intendents of Poor Patchogue.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Appointed by Governor Robert B. Glenn.

W. E. Faison Raleigh.
Z. P. Smith Raleigh.
F. W. Hossfield Morganton.
W. C. Ervin Morganton.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Appointed by Governor E. Y. Saries.

F. B. Chapman Buford.
J. A. Johnson Fargo.
J. D. Bacon Grand Forks.
B. Prom Milton.
J. L. Cashel Grafton.
H. S. Oliver Lisbon.
L. A. Simpson Dickinson.
J. B. Sharpe Kulm.
Ole Serungard Devil's Lake.
J. F. Selby Hillsboro.

OHIO.

Appointed by Governor Myron T. Herrick.

Hon. D. P. Rowland Cincinnati.
Dr. Thomas C. Minor Cincinnati.
E. E. Wright, the *Youngstown Telegram* Youngstown.
James R. Hopley, the *Evening Telegram* Bucyrus.
E. P. Hawley, Pres. Trades Labor Assembly, Columbus.
W. D. Brickell Columbus.
Col. J. J. Sullivan, Chamber of Commerce Cleveland.
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief Brotherhood Locomotive
Engineers Cleveland.
A. D. Alderman, the *Register* Marietta.
Jesse Taylor Jamestown.

OREGON.

Appointed by Governor George E. Chamberlain.

James Hutchinson Union.
James Ingham Union.
C. T. Blumenrother Bandon.
W. E. Grace Baker City.
Paul Wessinger Portland.
N. H. Bird Portland.
C. H. Gram Portland.
Grant McDonald Portland.
H. G. Kundret Portland.
H. B. Nicholas Portland.
Newton McCoy Portland.
Samuel Kafka Portland.
Harry Gurr Portland.
H. G. Thomas Portland.
James Foley Portland.
Thomas Whalen Portland.
H. Wolf Portland.
M. Ostrow Portland.
L. Greenburg Portland.
K. Bromberg Portland.
H. Abraham Portland.
M. Gale Portland.
M. Rybke Portland.
Jos. Sheminski Portland.
M. Blatt Portland.
M. Davidson Portland.
N. Horn Portland.
A. Gale Portland.
M. Sugarman Portland.
I. Weinstein Portland.
M. Wolf Portland.
A. Miller Portland.
S. Hochfield Portland.
D. Nemerovsky Portland.
M. Rein Portland.
J. Rosencrantz Portland.
M. Wax Portland.
L. Robinson Portland.
H. Gerson Portland.
J. Lesser Portland.
L. Friedman Portland.
I. Gevurtz Portland.
Philip Gevurtz Portland.
W. Fest Portland.
A. Flechman Portland.
I. Friedman Portland.
S. Julius Mayer Portland.
J. Nuddelman Portland.
M. Simon Portland.
I. Morris Portland.
Jos. S. Whiteside Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Appointed by Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker.

Hon. Wm. M. Kennedy Pittsburgh.
C. B. Price Pittsburgh.
Prof. L. S. Rowe Philadelphia.
Hon. Robert Adams Philadelphia.
Dr. Carl Kelsey Philadelphia.
J. F. Warne Philadelphia.
Edward Tingle Philadelphia.
Hon. Vance C. McCormick Harrisburg.
James M. Lamberton Harrisburg.
Stephen Collins Pittsburgh.
C. C. Latus Pittsburgh.

RHODE ISLAND.

Appointed by Governor George H. Utter.

John F. P. Lawton, Gorham Mfg. Co. Providence.
Joseph E. Fletcher, Mapleville Worsted Co.,
Providence.
Webster Knight, B. B. & R. Knight Co. Providence.
Thomas F. Kearney, President Rhode Island Building
Trades' Council Providence.
George B. Sullivan, Pawtucket Typographical Union,
Pawtucket.
Prof. James Quayle Dealey, Brown University,
Providence.

Prof. Henry B. Gardner, Brown University. . Providence.
David S. Barry, Editor *Providence Journal*. . Providence.
Arthur W. Barrus Providence.
John W. Saunders, M.D. Shannock.
George H. Webb, Commissioner of Industrial Sta-
tistics Providence.
George Lewis Smith, Chairman of the Board of State
Charities and Corrections, Providence Nayatt.
Walter R. Wightman, Agent of State Charities and
Corrections Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Appointed by Governor D. C. Hayward.

E. J. Watson Columbia.
A. G. Furman Greenville.
A. J. Matheson Bennettsville.
W. E. Lucas Laurens.
A. G. White Spartanburg.
Geo. Bell Timmerman Lexington.
James A. Hoyt, Jr. Columbia.
John S. Wilson Lancaster.
Col. Henry Schachte Charleston.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Appointed by Governor Samuel H. Elrod.

Sen. R. J. Gamble Yankton.
E. W. Martin Deadwood.
John Gray Terraville.
T. J. Grier Lead.
O. H. McCarty Huron.
W. A. Beach Sioux Falls.
M. F. Greeley Gary.
W. H. H. Beadle Madison.
Hon. August Frieberg Beresford.
Hon. J. J. McLaury Milltown.

TEXAS.

Appointed by Governor S. W. T. Lanham.

James F. Grimes Houston.
(The names of the additional delegates will be announced later.)

UTAH.

Appointed by Governor John C. Cutler.

Simon Bamberger Salt Lake City.
Abel John Evans Lehi.
W. C. Spence Salt Lake City.
J. Reuben Clark Salt Lake City.
Fred J. Pack Salt Lake City.
Will Ward Salt Lake City.
John Sears Salt Lake City.

VERMONT.

Appointed by Governor Charles J. Bell.

Cassius Peck Burlington.
James K. Curtis Georgia.
George H. Terrill Morrisville.
H. M. Farnham East Montpelier.
C. A. Bump Salisbury.
E. W. Johnson Ludlow.
G. W. Young St. Johnsbury.
L. M. Craigin Springfield.
C. W. Cram Williamstown.
W. R. Bell Lunenburg.

VIRGINIA.

Appointed by Governor A. J. Montague.

Joseph Bryan Richmond.
James M. Quicke, Jr. Petersburg.
R. H. Beazley South Boston.
W. H. Bond Wise.
John M. Chalkley Big Stone Gap.
A. Moore, Jr. Berryville.
R. C. Blackford Lynchburg.
G. W. Koiner Richmond.
W. H. Aston Meadow View.
R. L. Dibrell Danville.
Archer Anderson Richmond.
Lucien H. Cocke Roanoke.
Theo. S. Garnett Norfolk.
G. M. Serpell Norfolk.
A. A. Phleger Christiansburg.
James L. Tredway Chatham.

WASHINGTON.

Appointed by Governor Albert E. Mead.

A. J. Ferrandini Bellingham.
Col. T. M. Fisher Walla Walla.
W. B. Estell Seattle.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Appointed by Governor William M. O. Dawson.

William S. Foose Wheeling.
Frank C. Cox Wheeling.
Hon. B. F. Meighen Moundsville.
A. H. Winchester Buckhannon.
John Nugent Charleston.
J. A. Springer Flemington.
Hon. George C. Sturgiss Morgantown.
Hon. George A. Laughlin Wheeling.
Hon. John T. McGraw Grafton.
John R. Foster Charleston.
Hon. I. V. Barton Wheeling.
T. J. Edwards Montgomery.

(Concluded on page 12.)

AN INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

EVERY SHADE OF OPINION AND ALL INTERESTS CONCERNED ARE REPRESENTED IN THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

THE Commission appointed by the National Civic Federation to investigate the ownership and operation of public utilities is now organized and prepared to prosecute its inquiry into selected divisions of that subject. The general Commission on Public Ownership, as it is called for sake of brevity, held its first meeting in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York City, October 5. The Commission spent the entire day in a discussion of the scope and method of its work. A verbatim report of this meeting was published in a special number of THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW.

The impartial attitude of the National Civic Federation, in providing that the investigation should be a purely scientific inquiry, was made clear in a letter written by President August Belmont, who was unable to be present because of serious illness. In his absence, Samuel Gompers, First Vice-President of the National Civic Federation and President of the American Federation of Labor, presided at the first session of the Conference. The letter of Mr. Belmont, addressed to Mr. Gompers on the day before the meeting, follows:

"There is no function which it has ever been my privilege to exercise, and no duty I ever more desired to perform, than that of presiding at the first meeting of the Public Ownership Commission, which is entrusted by the National Civic Federation with the duty of selecting committees to seek abroad and at home information on the subject of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities.

"My physicians have forbidden me to postpone an operation which they have prescribed for me, and I will be compelled to subject myself to their treatment. Therefore it is a matter of personal satisfaction to me that you are here in New York to take my place.

"The subject of municipal ownership and operation of public utilities is forcing itself upon the attention of all thoughtful persons. Unfortunately, the very lack of comprehensive and authoritative data and information leaves the discussion to theorists on both sides who often advance arguments which can neither be accepted nor rejected, for the very reason that no authoritative data exist. The National Civic Federation, through this Commission, will now try to obtain true and reliable facts to guide the student and legislator in seeking the best means to establish peace and maintain cooperation between capital and labor. To the accomplishment of this purpose, I have encouraged this movement and advocated the missions of the subcommittees.

"The relations of capital and labor are vital to the prosperity of the individual and to the State. It is proper, therefore, that arguments should be based on correct facts and known conditions. The Civic Federation has no greater work among its varied duties than to secure these data. The committee, which this Commission proposes to send abroad, will represent every shade of thought and opinion on the subject. This committee, when it returns, will report to a larger commission of men at home, likewise drawn from every part of the country and representing every phase of life. The Civic Federation has no interests to serve and no arguments to make on the subject, but to present the facts and conditions as they may

exist abroad and at home, for the use and benefit of the entire country, without respect to party and without respect to special interests.

"Believe me, had I been able to attend the meeting, I would certainly have been present, and I trust that I may regain my health and strength at an early date, in order that I may cooperate in every way in the furtherance of the great object of the gathering over which you are to preside to-morrow."

At the conclusion of the reading of Mr. Belmont's letter, John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Work-

and other public utilities is a great impending question occupying the attention of the people of the cities of our country; and it is well that it does. I am sure the advocates of municipal ownership will have no cause of complaint if a rigid, full, and analytical investigation is undertaken, so that the real facts may be ascertained and clearly, impartially, and without bias presented to the people of our country in such form that they may understand that the truth is before them, unvarnished and untarnished by individual predilections. I am sure that those who may be opposed to municipal ownership should have their minds in such a receptive condition, that when the presentation of facts is made, these facts will find a ready lodgment."

As a result of the day's discussion, the Commission decided to restrict the initial investigation to the comparative results, in America and abroad, of public and private ownership and operation of gas, water, electric power and lighting, and street railways—those utilities being at the present time most prominent in the public mind. The general Commission elected the following officers:

Chairman, Melville E. Ingalls, Chairman Board of Directors, Big Four Railroad, Cincinnati;

First Vice-Chairman, John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis;

Second Vice-Chairman, John G. Agar, President Reform Club, New York City;

Secretary, Edward A. Moffett, Editor *Bricklayer and Mason*, Indianapolis.

In accepting the chairmanship of the Commission, Mr. Ingalls said in part: "This is a time when it is especially important that every man ought to do what he can to try to solve questions of importance to the common weal. There is a tremendous pressure all over the country on the question of municipal ownership; one side wants one thing, and another the opposite. You will find people who say that public ownership is the beginning of socialism, and that it will be the ruin of the country. You will read to-day in the newspapers that municipal ownership is a great success, and to-morrow a failure; and there does not seem to be very much solid information to guide opinion. Furthermore, municipal ownership which may be good in Glasgow, for instance, may not apply to Chicago, St. Louis or Cincinnati, because conditions are different. Those are things which ought to be studied. It seems to me that the men who would give

their time to this matter are doing a public duty. I hope no one will undertake to serve in this matter unless he comes here expecting to give his time. It is no easy task. There must be thorough investigation, careful study and impartiality. No matter what your interests are, you should report the facts to the public.

"I take this position with a deep sense of responsibility. I consider it a public duty. Whatever I undertake, I wish to carry out faithfully to the end. Let us put before the American public a history of facts as they exist in this country and abroad."

The general Commission elected an Executive Committee and a Committee of Twenty-one on Investigation. The latter was authorized to investigate the phases of the subject which have been specified, to

(Concluded on page 9.)



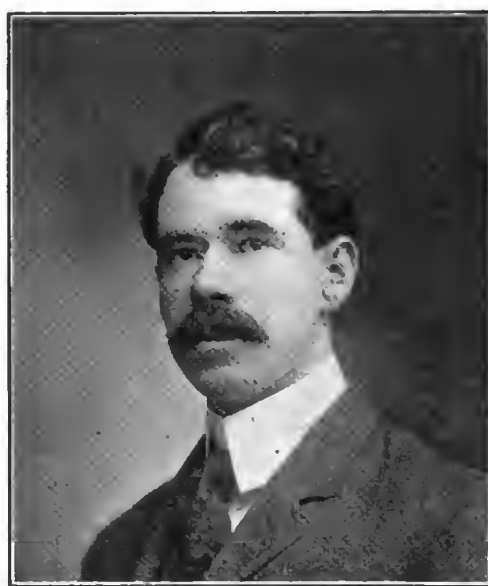
MELVILLE E. INGALLS,
Chairman Commission on Public Ownership
and Operation.



JOHN MITCHELL,
1st Vice-Chairman Commission on Public
Ownership and Operation.



JOHN G. AGAR,
2d Vice-Chairman Commission on Public
Ownership and Operation.



EDWARD A. MOFFETT,
Secretary Commission on Public Ownership
and Operation.

ers of America, moved that a letter of acknowledgment be sent to President Belmont, of the National Civic Federation, expressing regret for his illness and earnest wishes for his speedy recovery.

Prof. Frank Parsons, President of the National Public Ownership League, Boston, moved that the letter also state the Commission's appreciation of the impartial spirit, breadth of view and desire to bring out the facts manifested by President Belmont and the National Civic Federation throughout the organization of the Commission.

Mr. Mitchell accepted the amendment and the motion was unanimously adopted.

In his opening remarks, Chairman Gompers thus emphasized the impartial character of the investigation:

"The municipal ownership of our street railroads

STREET RAILWAY EMPLOYES VINDICATE PRESIDENT MAHON.

THEIR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION UNANIMOUSLY APPROVES HIS REPUDIATION OF THE INTERBOROUGH STRIKE.

THE true attitude of national organized labor toward the strike on the New York Subway last March is clearly and forcibly expressed in the report which William D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America, made to the national convention of that organization at Chicago, October 2. The keynote of that report is the inviolability of contracts. It is of great significance that the malcontents with the action of President Mahon in repudiating the strike on the Interborough signally failed in a movement for his defeat in the convention. That movement dwindled into insignificance, the result being the enthusiastic and unanimous adoption of his report, while only sixteen votes were cast against his reelection. The other officers of the Association, also reelected, are: First Vice-President, A. W. Morrison; Second Vice-President, Benjamin Commons; Third Vice-President, J. C. Colgan; Fourth Vice-President, J. J. Thorpe; Treasurer, Rezin Orr; Chairman Executive Board, D. L. Dilworth.

Besides treating of the Interborough strike, President Mahon's report dwelt upon the tendency among the organized street railway employees to increase sick and death benefits; the satisfactory settlement of a number of disputes by arbitration, without inconvenience to the public; and the increasing number of trade agreements.

President Mahon's report upon the Interborough strike follows:

"I desire to submit to you a full history of the New York Subway strike, which took place on March 7, 1905, that you may understand my attitude in connection with the same. A great deal of criticism has been heaped upon your officers and the officers of the American Federation of Labor because of our attitude in connection with this strike by persons who had no true information as to the facts or who never sought to obtain the true situation, but have misrepresented and lied about the facts in order to belittle the trade union movement and magnify and exploit their own particularisms.

"In order to give you thorough information concerning the Elevated and Subway organization, it will be necessary to refer back into the early history of this organization.

"In November, of 1902, Mr. Herman Robinson, the Organizer of the American Federation of Labor of New York City, decided to organize the Elevated railway men. An attempt showed Mr. Robinson that he could not approach an individual man, because they were all afraid to discuss with him the question of organization. So after a consultation between Mr. Robinson and myself it was decided that a letter should be drafted and published, and this letter be forwarded to each and every employe whose name Mr. Robinson could secure, and invite them to send him their applications by mail, pledging them that the names would be kept an absolute secret until enough could be gathered together to form an organization. This policy was adopted. After four months of hard work on the part of Mr. Robinson a sufficient number of names were secured to establish the organization, and on March 4, 1903, Mr. Robinson and myself called the men together and organized Division 332. The organization being once established, the men upon the service very rapidly enrolled themselves as members, and in the early spring of 1903 they made requests upon the Company for improved conditions of labor and an increase of pay. Results of their conference with the Company were unsatisfactory, and when I arrived in New York I found them on the verge of a strike. Through the assistance of the Civic Federation I was able to secure a conference for myself and the committee with the officials of the Company, and after several conferences we succeeded in securing a very satisfactory settlement; so satisfactory that it was accepted by almost the unanimous vote of the membership.

"Matters then moved along until the Subway trouble in September, 1904. Prior to this trouble, however, I had received a communication from the organization saying that they had secured a satisfactory understanding concerning the operation of the Subway when it would be opened for travel. However, on or about the first of September I received a telegram urging me to hasten to New York because of threatened trouble. I arrived in that city to find that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had made demands on the Company concerning the conditions of labor when the Subway would be open for travel. The Company had refused their demands, and they had sought the assistance of the Locomotive Firemen and Division 332 of our Association. I found that a written agreement had been entered into between Grand Master Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Division 332, in which our Division had pledged itself to strike upon the Elevated if the

Engineers did not secure a satisfactory adjustment of the Subway trouble. I again took up this matter with the Company and after several conferences we succeeded in reaching a settlement satisfactory to the Engineers and Firemen. This agreement was for three years, and covered the conditions of the motormen in the Subway, who were members of our Association.

"I speak of these matters, so that you may understand that we had always been able to secure a satisfactory adjustment with the Company of any dispute when approached in accordance with our laws and rules.

"As to the late trouble, the first knowledge I had that the situation was serious was on Saturday, March 4, when I received a telegram from Secretary Madden, requesting me to come on to New York at once. I was at that time in Columbus, Ohio. I returned to the General Office immediately, and left Sunday afternoon, arriving in New York City at about noon Monday. Shortly after my arrival I was met at the Clarendon Hotel by Secretary Madden and Vice-President May, of Division 332. They informed me that they were on their way then to the Company's office to attend a joint committee meeting. This committee was composed of members of Division 332, of the Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive Firemen. In our discussion of the situation they showed me a copy of an ultimatum that it was the intention of the joint committee to present to the Company. I asked



W. D. MAHON,
President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees.

them if they had not already presented copies of an agreement embodying the conditions which they desired for the next year. They stated they had, but, at a later conference between the organizations, they had agreed upon this ultimatum.

"Now, the ultimatum set aside all existing agreements that had been made by all three of the organizations and made entirely new demands. In this ultimatum they gave the Company until eleven o'clock that Monday night to concede to their demands. If not, they informed me they had decided to strike.

"I argued with these two representatives strongly against any such policy, and tried to persuade them not to present the ultimatum to the Company. They both seemed to agree with my position and promised to discuss the matter with the committee when they met. Secretary Madden then told me that no one knew that I was in the city; that I had not been officially called; that it was not the intention of the other officers to notify any of the International representatives as to what was taking place, and he asked me to keep my presence a secret and not to inform any one. He advised me, however, to wait at the hotel until the committee would adjourn at the Company's office, and then they would let me know what the results of the conference had been. I waited until about five o'clock in the evening, when Vice-President May accompanied by President Pepper of Division 332 returned to my room. They informed me that the ultimatum had been presented to the Company.

"I argued with them against any such a course, and pointed out to President Pepper that it was contrary to our laws and rules and that the International Organization would have to repudiate any such action. Mr. Pepper stated that he knew it was contrary to our laws, and that he expected we would repudiate, but he stated that before we could repudiate the strike,

it would be won, and they didn't care what we did. An investigation of the situation showed that the joint committees had prearranged everything, and that no meetings were to be held upon this evening. The men were then voting upon the proposition of a strike, and they were coming individually to the headquarters for that purpose. After a long discussion with Mr. Pepper, I was unable to change his views at all. So I gave up any hopes in that direction, and set to work to see if it was possible to get in touch with the organization. I then called up Mr. Edward Moffett, Editor of the *Bricklayer and Mason*, and met with him and several other representatives of organized labor of New York, and had them assist me in trying to locate the committee of the Division, with the hope of changing their views. We were unable, however, to find any meeting. However, Mr. Moffett met President Pepper, but could do nothing in influencing him against the policy that he was then prepared to carry out. So after working until one o'clock that night, we gave up any hopes of heading off this rash and unconstitutional strike.

"The Company refused their ultimatum, and at five o'clock on Tuesday morning the strike took place. I remained in New York during Tuesday, but I was unable to do anything. On Wednesday I got in communication with the representatives of Division 332, and on Wednesday night met with their committee jointly with a number of representatives of the different trade unions of New York City. We argued with them against the position they had taken, and advised them to call in their International Officers, and seek to get a settlement of the matter. The committee agreed with our position and returned to their headquarters with the hopes of having the joint committee agree with the same, but in this they were unsuccessful, and so notified me later in the night, but asked that I wait until Thursday morning to see what could be done.

"In the meantime, President Gompers, Vice-President Mitchell and Vice-President Kidd of the American Federation of Labor arrived in the city and extended to me an offer of their assistance to bring about an adjustment of the trouble. When I again met the representatives of the committee, I communicated this fact to them, and told them to lay that proposition also before their joint committee. These representatives of the committee went back and forth before the joint committee, and consultations took place until six o'clock in the evening, when they informed me that the joint committee had decided that they would not accept the assistance of any of the International Officers or the Officers of the American Federation of Labor. They stated that if any overtures for a settlement came from the Company, they must be made directly to them, the joint committee; that they would not seek any settlement. After this statement as to their position, I prepared and submitted to the press the following statement of our position, which I now submit to you just as it was published at that time.

"The present strike of Local Division 332 of the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employees was undertaken without consulting the responsible officers of the General Organization, without their consent or approval.

"Last Saturday a telegram was received at my Detroit office stating that "the situation in New York City is critical," and my presence was essential at once. I reached this city on Monday morning, and was astonished to learn that the request for my presence here was made upon personal responsibility and not at the instance of the Local Division.

"A copy of the demands to be presented to the Interborough Company on Monday afternoon was shown me, and I strongly advised against their presentation, for in addition to the demands for better conditions the document contained the indorsement of the Local Division of Engineers (Motormen), which violated the agreement that organization had with the Company.

"I had reason to believe there would have been little or no difficulty in obtaining from the Company better conditions, but our organization is strongly committed to the maintenance of its own agreements with employers, and was in honor bound not to encourage the violation of an agreement which another organization had with the employers of its members. Under our laws our Local Unions have no right to strike in violation of any agreement they have with employers, and surely they then can have no right to strike to support another organization to do an act they themselves have no right to do.

"It seemed to me that without resorting to drastic measures I might yet give whatever assistance my

(Concluded on page 7.)

A PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNION'S EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE.

NEW YORK STATIONARY FIREMEN FORM CLASSES TO INSTRUCT FELLOW CRAFTSMEN, BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE ORGANIZATION.

FREQUENTLY nowadays trade unions find useful functions beyond the mere struggle to secure or maintain standards of living wages and hours. These unions, having safeguarded with strong, protective organization the material interests of their members, set about to supply other needs—educational and benevolent.

The educational branch of this policy received the emphatic approval of the convention last year of the American Federation of Labor, which adopted a resolution recommending study and lectures upon appropriate subjects in lodge-rooms and in the homes of members.

A commendable example of putting this policy into practice is afforded by New York Local No. 56 of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. This Local has started a School of Instruction which will accommodate as many of its 4,000 members as care to embrace this opportunity to improve their knowledge of the technical equipment with which they have to deal while at their work. Both day and evening classes will be formed, so that the fireman who works either during the day or through the night may enjoy the advantages of this progressive plan. The number of classes and instructors is to be increased as the demand requires. This school is conducted in the large room in old Military Hall, on the Bowery (at No. 193), where as long ago as 1868 general conventions of labor and reform representatives were held. Susan B. Anthony tells of being at a convention in Military Hall in that year whose object was to organize the sewing women of New York and improve their condition.

The Firemen's School of Instruction will be supplied with charts and blackboards for illustrations and drawings to augment the lectures. The scheme of instruction includes engineering, and will not only teach the fireman all about handling boilers and fuel for either steam or electrical energy, but will prepare him incidentally for the promotion in the engine room that all good firemen aim to attain. Non-union firemen are also welcome to attend these lectures.

This technical education supplements the regular efforts of the union to make its members temperate and thoroughly reliable for loyal service wherever they are sent by the organization, which, moreover, holds each of its members to a strict accountability as to the performance of his duties. The employer is thus aided by union discipline to be assured of responsible service.

Stationary Firemen's Local 56 is nineteen years old.



STATIONARY FIREMEN'S SCHOOL OF INSTRUCTION.

During the past ten years it has had no strike nor lockout to interrupt its steady and prosperous growth. Every threatened trouble has been averted by conference and conciliation, or settled by arbitration. No. 56 has benevolent features which are met by the small dues of 50 cents per member a month, showing careful and economical management of the funds. On the death of a member in good standing \$100 is paid to the dependents, and on the death of a member's wife the organization contributes \$50 toward the funeral expenses.

The union maintains a business office, and a waiting and reading room for the unemployed at No. 193 Bowery. The reading tables are supplied with newspapers and periodicals and also magazines containing useful information concerning the engineering craft.

Local 56 is one of the 215 unions in the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, whose jurisdiction over the United States and Canada is under the direction of President Timothy Healy, of New York, the man to whom credit is generally awarded for building up the local union which is the subject of this sketch. Mr. Healy has been twice elected by the International Brotherhood without opposition as its general president. The President of Local 56 is James Carroll and its Business Agent is James P. Holland.

The International Brotherhood maintains a headquarters and a suite of offices for its general secretary at Omaha, where also a monthly magazine is published as the official organ of the brotherhood, and is sent to every member's home.

The 50,000 members of this Brotherhood, in the

United States, Canada and British Columbia, are employed under trade agreements which include provision for arbitration in the electric lighting plants, street railway power houses, paper mills, large office buildings, breweries, packing houses, ice-making plants, the great manufactories, hotels and theaters.

(Concluded from page 6.)

experience and position afforded to advise a way out of the difficult and questionable position in which our men and our Local Division were placed, to try and bring about an honorable adjustment and the establishment of better relations between the men, the organization and the Company. However, the repeated tender not only of my good offices, but also those of President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers of America, Vice-President

Kidd of the American Federation of Labor, and President Healy of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, they inconsiderately rejected.

"Nothing now remains for me to do but to declare that the present strike is neither authorized nor approved by the Amalgamated Association of Street & Electric Railway Employees of America, and I therefore advise all our loyal members to report for duty at once, to maintain their organization which has done so much for the betterment of their material and moral conditions, and by the result of their present experience avoid such errors in the future. In that effort I shall be glad to assist to the fullest.

"(Signed) W. D. MAHON,
Street & Electric Railway Employees of America.
"New York, March 9, 1905."

"I now submit the report of this case for your consideration and approval or disapproval, as you may decide, but in connection with the same I desire that my position shall be clearly understood by this Convention, for if this organization is to be a success its laws, rules and agreements must be strictly adhered to and carried out by its membership, and so long as I am an officer I shall adhere to that policy; and were the same conditions confronting me to-day I would act exactly as I have acted in this case."

The unions that live up to their agreements, written or verbal, are the ones that enjoy the respect and confidence of the general public and accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number all the time.—*Label Bulletin.*



TIMOTHY HEALY,
International President Stationary Firemen.



JAMES CARROLL,
President Stationary Engineers' New York Union.



JAMES P. HOLLAND,
Business Agent Stationary Engineers' New York Union.

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RALPH M. EASLEY, Editor

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William H. Pfahler, former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia.

On the Part of Wage Earners.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington.
John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' National Union, Quincy, Mass.
Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association, Detroit, Mich.
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland.
P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland.
William D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.
William J. Bowen, President Bricklayers and Masons' International Union.
J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington.
John F. Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Molders' Union of North America, Cincinnati.
James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION.

The first National Conference upon Immigration ever held in this country, when it convenes in New York City on December 6, under the auspices of the National Civic Federation, will find itself a body representative of practically every State in the Union and of every interest, ethical, civic and industrial, concerned in a problem of many phases and of the highest importance. The program, so far as it could be prepared in advance for a body that is sure to be inspired by its own initiative, is attractive and instructive. The visit of the Conference in a body to Ellis Island will enable many of the delegates to witness for the first time the actual arrival, inspection and disposition of some 5,000 aliens; to partake of the same food served to them, and to comprehend accurately how the most important gate to the Republic and its citizenship is kept. The discussions of the Conference will not be confined to a rigid syllabus, but will be elastic in their range, in the hope that the utmost freedom of expression may result in conclusions of benefit to the national welfare.

THE FACTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

There is solid ground for confidence that the people of this country, who are showing keen and wide-spread interest in the ownership and operation of public utilities, will within a reasonable time be placed in possession of the entire facts as to that question, so far as they can be discovered from experience in the United States and other countries. The Committee of Twenty-one appointed by the National Civic Federation to investigate this subject passed upon a plan for its inquiry on November 27. This plan was elaborated by a subcommittee, whose composition indicates the thoroughly representative character of the larger body. Its members are: Professor Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University; Walter Clark, of the United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia; Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent of the Cleveland Water Works; J. W. Sullivan, Editor of the *Garment Workers' Journal*; and Milo R. Maltbie, franchise expert. Here are represented the most diverse interests and the most divergent opinions. But this subcommittee has worked harmoniously in planning a comprehensive and searching investigation because of its unanimous agreement upon the desirability of ascertaining the entire truth about public and private ownership and operation; thus furnishing a basis for debate between the advocates of conflicting theories, out of which a satisfactory public policy may be evolved. Such harmony of purpose warrants expectation of agreement upon facts, regardless of differences as to their general interpretation or local applicability.

ANOTHER BLOW TO SOCIALISM.

In simultaneously adopting resolutions condemning Socialism and commending the methods for industrial peace advocated by the Civic Federation of New England, the State Federation of Labor of Massachusetts has made an exemplary demonstration of the progressive wisdom that is growing to rule the councils of organized wage-earners. It is noteworthy that the author of the anti-Socialist resolutions was David Goldstein, who was once himself a leading advocate of Socialism, but who was impelled by years of conscientious study to reject its theories as unsound. The workingmen of Massachusetts, once a hotbed of Socialism, are arrayed upon the side of rational and equitable relations between the productive forces of industry.

RECREATION ON THE ISTHMUS.

The official report to the United States Isthmian Canal Commission upon the needs and opportunities for recreation of Government employees engaged in canal construction, published in this issue of THE REVIEW, presents the carefully considered conclusions of two Welfare experts, recommended for that purpose, at the request of the Commission, by the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. This report outlines plans designed to secure the content, and consequent health and efficiency, of many thousands of men engaged in the prosecution of the greatest engineering work in the world's history, amid tropical conditions and far from their usual surroundings. Already some

of these plans have been put into effect by the Commission and others have been approved.

The recommendation in the report that the sale of beer and light wines be permitted in employes' club houses raises a question of growing importance in all large industrial establishments. Does it conduce to the welfare of employes to allow the use of beer and light wines of assured purity at cost prices in the lunch rooms or club-rooms of such establishments? Or should employes who desire such beverages be left to buy them in nearby saloons? These queries open a broad social and moral proposition, which has strong advocates and opponents. They will form one of the main topics of discussion at the annual meeting of the Welfare Department, to be held in New York City in January.

Another noteworthy recommendation of the experts is the establishment of the Saturday half-holiday, in order that the workers on the Isthmus may have opportunity to enjoy the recreative features that are designed.

WHO PAYS THE LABOR BILL?

Directly contradictory statements have recently been made, concerning the question of wages and of who ultimately pays the labor cost of production, by the President of the American Federation of Labor and by the President of the Citizens' Industrial Association of America. The first declares that high wages are both a cause of general prosperity and a preventive of industrial and commercial depression, because they increase the purchasing power of the mass, making consumption so great as to maintain production at its highest point. The other claims that the cost of higher wages must be paid ultimately by the consumer, so that the worker really gains nothing by an advance of wages, since he has to pay a higher price for every article he buys.

The wage-earners being the mass of consumers, this is a question of vital interest to them. It involves directly the relation between wages and the cost of living. Is the one to determine the other? There was a concrete presentation of this question the other day between a Chicago employer and the Wagon Drivers' Union. These teamsters asked an advance of their wages above \$2 a day on the ground that they could not live on that sum. They presented this interesting schedule of the daily expenses of an average city worker's family:

Rent	\$0.50
Food75
Fuel30
Light07
Carfare10
Extra meal25
Total	\$1.97

If correct, the figures of this schedule leave three cents a day for clothing, medicine, and minor household needs. The reply of the employer to this representation was also interesting: "No, I could not live on \$2 a day, and I don't believe that you can. But I can get plenty of teamsters who are willing to work for that price. That is really what governs wages more than the cost of living."

This incident suggests the further queries: Why can these other teamsters live on less than \$2 a day? What do they do without, that the teamsters who find \$2 a day too scant count as necessary to healthful living? If the rate of wages were thus to be determined by competition alone would the result to society at large be desirable? Or would the tendency be to degrade the American workingman to the condition of the coolie laborer?

The Industrial Economic Department of the National Civic Federation will devote a meeting to the consideration of the questions involved in this problem.

The merging of *Charities* and *The Commons*, now in charge of the newly formed Charities Publication Committee, is the concentration of policies common to each, and will give to the cause they represent a national periodical with greatly increased resources. The union brings into effective cooperation the two editors, Edward T. Devine and Graham Taylor, both recognized authorities in their special fields, the one being the head of the Department of Sociology in Columbia University and the other conducting the Institute of Social Science and Arts of the University of Chicago.

MASSACHUSETTS WAGE-EARNERS DENOUNCE SOCIALISM.

THE STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR REPUDIATES ITS PROPAGANDA AND STRONGLY APPROVES THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, at its annual convention held in Pittsfield in October, adopted resolutions denouncing Socialism as antagonistic to the trades union movement, and pledging its cooperation in the work of the Civic Federation of New England.

This is the first aggressive declaration against Socialism that this State organization has made in the twenty-five years of its history, its conventions hitherto having been content with a successful defensive attitude against the recurrent attempts to cause the adoption of Socialist resolutions. Consistent with this action was the simultaneous approval of the New England Civic Federation by the State Federation of Labor.

The *Boston Transcript* published the following editorial under the title "Organized Labor against Socialism":

"If the Socialist contingent carries out its threat of withdrawing from the State Federation of Labor because of the resolutions adopted at Pittsfield this week, it will certainly appear to the outside public as a most fortunate thing for legitimate unionism. It will relieve the trade union movement proper, in this State, of a cantankerous, disrupting element which has been making the lives of conservative labor leaders miserable for many years, frequently nullifying their efforts to hold union policies and methods within the limits of sound judgment and fair-minded moderation. The Socialist propagandists have no love for unionism as such; their connection with it is for the sole purpose, often frankly avowed, of capturing the labor movement by 'boring from within,' and converting it into a revolutionary crusade against the existing social and industrial order, which is held, regardless of the facts of steady improvement, to be destined only for abolition, root and branch.

"In denouncing this propaganda as 'intellectually unsound, impractical from an economic standpoint, and demoralizing to the general wellbeing of society,' the State Federation renders a public service which should be frankly acknowledged even by those who see little to admire in either the principles or policies of unionism. It is a service that has been rendered on many previous occasions, and cannot therefore be described as a new departure, but it becomes increasingly important as the Socialist agitation spreads. The growing disposition of organized labor bodies to ally themselves with the broader, constructive interests of the whole community, seeking progress along the lines of evolution rather than revolution, was further indicated in the resolutions strongly endorsing the Civic Federation of New England, in which respect the convention followed the action of the Boston Central Labor Union last May. It is one of the most significant signs of the times that trade unionism, whatever its shortcomings in leadership here and there, or mistakes of policy in special cases, is to-day one of the main bulwarks against the inroads of socialistic radicalism in the very quarter where those inroads would otherwise prove most effective—that is, among the wage workers of the country."

The anti-Socialist resolutions, presented by David

Goldstein of Waltham and adopted by the convention, follow:

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor, now entering upon its twenty-fifth year of work, has, by its principles and policy, gained for itself a place of usefulness and of honor within the body politic.

Whereas, trade union principles are those universally recognized as the basis of economic and civil society, namely, the right of private property in capital, the right of buying and selling potential labor, the right of free association, the right of personal protection under the law.

Whereas, the primary object of the trade union is to maintain and to advance the standards of American living, to maintain and to advance the wage earner's position relative to the economic and political progress of our nation.

Whereas, our experience—as an organization founded upon the general lines of trade autonomy—has demonstrated our tactics, high dues, collective bargaining, trade labels, trade agreements, adjustment of trade differences by conciliation and arbitration, and as a last resort the boycott and strike, to be effective in the progressive attainment of the end we have in view; and also to be sound by having won for unionism a place of well deserved importance in American institutions.

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor has for many years been harassed and is now under the assault of men holding to opposite principles, and employing contrary tactics, whose aim it is to convert unionists to socialism, that the economic power of our organization and the political power of our members may form an adjunct to social propaganda, and an accession to socialist party strength.

Whereas, the principles of socialism are intellectually unsound, impracticable from an economic standpoint and demoralizing to the general well being of society.

Therefore be it resolved, That we, the Massachusetts branch of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Pittsfield, October 9, 1905, do hereby denounce as detrimental to our progress, as destructive to our good fame, as disruptive of those personal and civic virtues, which it is our duty to cultivate, any attitude of sympathy toward socialist propaganda within our ranks.

Be it further resolved, That we recognize as the most despicable attack yet made upon the life of our national body, that organization launched in Chicago, July, 1905, known as the industrial workers of the world; headed by men of international reputation, namely, Eugene V. Debs, late presidential candidate of the socialist party; Daniel De Leon, editor of the *People*, official organ of the social labor party; A. M. Simons, editor of the *International Socialist Review*; ex-priest Thomas J. Hagerty, Messrs. Haywood and Moyer, president and secretary, respectively, of the Western Federation of Miners, and many other socialists of national reputation.

Be it finally resolved, That we condemn, in toto, this organization, and that we resist by all lawful means its encroachment upon our rightful territory, the labor world of the United States.

The debate over these resolutions consumed several hours. Among those who opposed Mr. Goldstein were James Kelly and James McCahe, Socialist delegates from Brockton, and Patrick F. Mahoney, Socialist candidate for lieutenant-governor. After the resolution had been adopted by a vote of 71 yeas to 28 nays, Mr. McCabe called upon all Socialists to leave the hall. None followed him, and he later resumed his seat.

The resolutions approving the New England Civic Federation, offered by Thomas M. Nolan, were as follows:

Resolved, That the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor, conveys to the New England Civic Federation earnest approval of the efforts made and in contemplation by that organization, in bringing about a condition in which both employer and employed will more fully recognize the rights of the other, and whose work of educating the public upon the value of mediation and conciliation as preferable to strikes, lockouts, boycotts and other similar methods, deserves the loyal and hearty support of the American trade union movement.

Resolved, That the secretary be and is hereby instructed to convey to the New England Civic Federation, the purpose of the Massachusetts State Branch to cooperate with it in every way that will make for the happiness and advancement of the wage-earners of America.

The report of the Pittsfield *Journal* says:

Patrick Mahoney, of Boston, took the floor at the completion of its reading by Chairman Frank Foster, at once wildly gesticulating. Recognized by the chair, he read first a magazine article of the most disparaging sort upon the late Mark Hanna, and touching also August Belmont. He then characterized the Federation as of no account. He reflected upon the integrity and honesty of the union labor men connected with it, and characterized the work of the Federation as of no account and the reading and adoption of such a resolution foolish and uncommon and stated that he would oppose it to the end. Frank Foster, in the most brilliant speech yet heard in the convention, replied to Mr. Mahoney. With no attempt at eulogy, he showed what Mr. Hanna had done. He characterized the efforts of Mr. Mahoney as detrimental to trade unionism, and pointed out to the convention by many examples the great good accomplished for trade unionism in New England through the assistance of the Civic Federation in Massachusetts, and closed with the assertion that the Civic Federation was brought about through the efforts of Samuel Gompers and other noted labor union men, and not through capitalists, and that it was doing good work, and what was good for him should be good for any union man.

Peter Collins, of the Electrical Workers' Union of Boston, followed Mr. Foster. He showed by actual cases what the Civic Federation had done—how it had opened doors to trade union organizations which previously were closed to them because of the influence of its members securing hearings for unionists on matters of importance to them. He cited the case in particular of the American Bell Telephone Company, where advantageous five-year agreements with the electrical union had been entered into by this company, where a lockout seemed certain, owing to the kindly administration of the Civic Federation.

The debate was resumed on the following day. The Springfield *Republican's* report says:

Peter Collins told of meeting the officials of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company through the Civic Federation and of the results attained. He said that the successful outcome of a difference between the electrical workers and the American Telephone and Telegraph Company could never have been reached had it not been for the Civic Federation. He desired to refute the allegations made against the Federation by Patrick Mahoney, of Boston, Tuesday, and wished to be recorded as standing first, last and always in accord with the Civic Federation. He believed those principles will cement the labor movement in this country and provide a common ground on which capital and labor can meet in conjunction with representatives of the public and arrive at a lasting peace with just and honorable conditions for both parties concerned.

Mr. Mahoney again attacked the Civic Federation, which he said would strip organized labor of its strength. If the workmen were organized as they should be they could enforce their demands themselves without the necessity of calling in the assistance of the Civic Federation, which would in itself be an acknowledgment of weakness.

Frank McCarthy, of Boston, spoke warmly in favor of the Federation. He said that it was formed solely to assist in arriving at some understanding between employer and employee without the necessity of resorting to strikes or lockouts. It was not organized to settle strikes and has no authority to do so; its services can only be exerted upon request of the parties involved. Its avowed object is to bring together parties who could not be brought together for a conference through any other means, and it has accomplished this object on numerous occasions. The principles of Civic Federation are in line with those of every bona fide labor organization in the country. If federation was not indorsed, laboring men will be accused by the people of the country of being afraid to stand up and openly avow these principles.

The resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority, its opponents not asking for a roll-call.

(Concluded from page 5.)

add to its members and to subdivide itself, employ experts when in its judgment necessary, and to allot its work as it sees fit. This Committee of Investigation is to report its final conclusions to the general Commission.

Since the appointment of the Committee of Investigation, a special subcommittee, appointed immediately after the adjournment of the general Commission on October 5, has been occupied in preparing a series of questions, calculated to facilitate, for purposes of precise comparison, the simultaneous ascertainment of facts in this country and in others. Its members are Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, Walter Clark, Edward W. Bemis, J. W. Sullivan and Milo R. Maltbie. This special subcommittee has held at this writing four meetings, each consuming an entire day, while its members have devoted much time to individual consideration of the questions. Its report was submitted to a meeting of the Committee on Investigation on November 27, when plans for prosecuting the inquiry, comprehensively and analytically, were elaborated. The conclusions of this meeting and subsequent steps will be presented in future numbers of *THE REVIEW*.

The following are the members of the Executive Committee:

The officers of the General Commission, *ex-officio*, and Alexander H. Revell, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Brotherhood of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Isaac N. Seligman, Banker, New York City.
E. Rosewater, Editor the *Bee*, Omaha, Neb.
William Wirt Howe, Lawyer, New Orleans, La.
Samuel Insull, President Chicago Edison Co., Chicago, Ill.
V. Everett Macy, Capitalist, New York City.
John Bancroft Devins, Editor New York *Observer*, New York City.
Frederick N. Judson, Attorney, St. Louis, Mo.
George Harvey, Editor North American *Review*, New York City.
Carroll D. Wright, President Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
Hamilton Holt, Editor the *Independent*, New York City.
Walter MacArthur, Editor, *Coast Seamen's Journal*, San Francisco, Cal.
D. L. Cease, Editor *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, Cleveland, O.
Franklin MacVeagh, Merchant, Chicago, Ill.
Henry M. Farnam, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
George H. Harries, Washington Railway and Electric Company, Washington, D. C.
Louis D. Brandeis, Lawyer, Boston, Mass.
Marcus M. Marks, Manufacturer, New York City.
James O'Connell, President International Association Machinists, Washington, D. C.
Lawrence E. Abbott, Editor the *Outlook*, New York City.
Alexander C. Humphrey, President Stevens Institute, Hoboken, N. J.
J. W. Jenks, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
John F. Tobin, President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.
Frank A. Vanderlip, Vice-President National City Bank, New York City.

The following are the members of the Committee on Investigation:

M. E. Ingalls, Chairman Directors Big Four Railroad, Cincinnati, O.
Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor *Review of Reviews*, New York City.
Talcott Williams, Editorial Writer the *Press*, Philadelphia, Pa.
W. D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association Street Railway Employees, Detroit, Mich.
Frank J. Goodnow, Columbia University, New York City.
Walton Clark, United Gas Improvement Co., Philadelphia, Pa.
Edward W. Bemis, Superintendent Water Works, Cleveland, O.
John H. Gray, Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.
Walter L. Fisher, Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.
Timothy Healy, International President Stationary Firemen, New York City.
William J. Clark, General Electric Co., New York City.
H. B. F. MacFarland, President Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.
Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen's Association, Detroit, Mich.
Frank Parsons, President National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass.
John R. Commons, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
J. W. Sullivan, Editor *Garment Workers' Bulletin*, New York City.
Leo S. Rowe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
F. J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood Electrical Workers, Washington, D. C.
Albert F. Winchester, General Superintendent City of South Norwalk Electric Works, South Norwalk, Conn.
Charles L. Edgar, President Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, Boston, Mass.
Milo R. Maltbie, Franchise Expert and Former Editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York City.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF The National Civic Federation

OFFICERS

H. H. VREELAND, Chairman.
CYRUS H. McCORMICK, First Vice-Chairman.
JOHN H. PATTERSON, Second Vice-Chairman.
EDWARD A. FILENE, Third Vice-Chairman.
CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Treasurer.

RECREATION FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ON THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

**Club Houses; Athletic Fields; Sunday Excursions;
Sea Bathing; Saturday Half Holiday; Fourth of
July Celebration; Schedule of Activities.**

THE following is the report to the United States Isthmian Canal Commission of two experts in Welfare Work, upon the needs and opportunities for the recreation of the workers occupied in canal construction. The experts, W. E. C. Nazro and Edward Moffett, were engaged by the Commission, upon the recommendation of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. This report embraces their conclusions, after a thorough study of the conditions between and including Colon and Panama. They are designed to promote the contentment and happiness, conducive to the health and effectiveness, of thousands of Government employes in a trying climate and amid novel environments. The publication of this report in THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW has been authorized by the Isthmian Canal Commission.—EDITORIAL NOTE.]

NEW YORK CITY, August 28, 1905.

To the HONORABLE THEODORE P. SHONTS,
Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission,
Washington, D. C.

SIR:

We have the honor to submit the following report as to the necessity and opportunity for wholesome recreation for employes of the United States Government in the Canal Zone upon the Isthmus of Panama. It is proper to state that our inquiries into this subject have been thoroughly facilitated by yourself and your executive officers as well as by the civil and military officials within the region upon the Isthmus controlled by the United States. We enjoyed the advantage, also, of making our investigation at a time when the great body of employes was welcoming with enthusiasm what was understood to be a new régime.

Club Houses.

After a thorough inspection of the Canal Zone, we reached the conclusion that the first and most obvious method of providing for recreation is to build club houses at suitable points along the entire route. We believe that these club houses will prove both useful and popular.

We found some plans for the club houses already drafted which, with additions and modifications, appear well calculated for their purpose.

We would recommend that there be three classes of club houses, which for convenience we may designate A, B and C. These several types are recommended to bring about the greatest adaptability of the club houses for the enjoyment of those who will naturally use them.

Class A club houses would be designed for the recreation of army officers, engineers, architects and employes who are graduates of colleges or technical schools, or who have received such a measure of higher or professional education as would cause them to be of common tastes and sympathies.

Class B club houses would be designed for skilled workmen.

"A" AND "B" CLUB HOUSES AND EQUIPMENT.

A single type of club house, as suggested in the plan marked Exhibit A-B, may be used for both classes A and B. This type of house would include in its features the following:

Swimming pool and shower baths;
Reading and writing room;
Bowling alleys;
Billiard and pool room;
Buffet;
Card room (cards, checkers, chess, dominoes, shuffleboard, etc.);
Social hall.

In the equipment of the building, all the verandas should be covered with mosquito netting and provided with rattan chairs, couch chairs, hammocks and small smoking tables.

In the billiard room there should be stands for serving cool drinks and seats for the players and the spectators, in addition to the requisite paraphernalia.

The social hall should contain a piano with a

self-playing attachment, as well as chairs and tables. The refectory should be fitted for the service of sandwiches and other light refreshments, including beer and light wines, but not spirits.

The room for shower baths, toilet arrangements and lockers should be equipped in accordance with the plan and supplied plentifully with soap and towels. The bowling alley should be equipped with seats for the players and the onlookers.

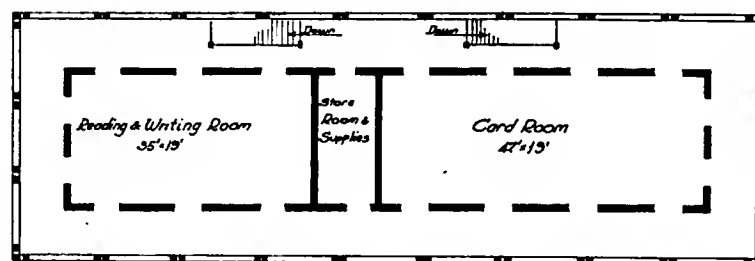
In the reading and writing room there should be desks with an abundant supply of stationery, tables, chairs, lounges and also well-kept files of periodicals and newspapers from the States.

Chairs, tables and the usual appurtenances should be provided in the card room.

In the grounds of the club house provision might be made for tennis courts, golf-croquet, rifle ranges, archery and handball.

"C" CLUB HOUSES AND EQUIPMENT.

Class C club houses would be intended for the



use of the unskilled houses should and simple in construction. The principal feature large hall, called a smoking room, with billiard, tables, equipments and simple games, of plain wooden

On the verandas, quito netting, smoking tables and The demand for these club houses great as in the be partly supplied material. It would furnish popular eign languages.

Each Class C also include a locker and toilet by the plan, marked possible shower catered.

SWIMMING
The recommenda- houses of each class with a swimming ject to approval by

laborers. These be commodious, struction. The should be a recreation and an overlooking of- tion room there pool and card for other harmless and an abundance chairs.

covered with mos- should be plenty of plain wooden chairs. reading matter in would not be as others and would from their surplus also be advisable to periodicals in for-

club house should swimming pool with rooms, as suggested Exhibit C, on which baths are also indi-

POOLS.
tion that club should be provided pool is made sub- the Sanitary De-

partment of plans for their construction, water supply and drainage. It is necessary, if these swimming pools are to be installed, that arrangements should be made to keep the water constantly in motion in order to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes. If such an arrangement is not possible, we would advise, on account of the sanitary conditions, the elimination of swimming pools. If it is decided that there can be no swimming pools, it would be wise to install shower baths in Class C as well as the other club houses.

READING MATTER.

We recommend that an effort be made to obtain contributions of newspapers, periodicals and books from the people of the United States for the use of these Isthmian club houses. Such contributions could be sent to the Commission in New York City, whence they could be readily shipped to the Isthmus. The effect of the giving and receiving of this reading matter would be most beneficial in making it evident to the employes, far removed from the United States, that their labor and hardship are the objects of friendly and encouraging popular appreciation at home.

LOCATION OF CLUBS.

We recommend the erection, at the earliest possible moment, of club houses for either Class A or Class B, or both, at points upon the route where there already is, or apparently there is likely to be, a considerable concentration of those classes of employes: for example, at Corozal, Empire, Culebra, Gorgona, Cristobal and Colon.

Understanding that it is the general policy not to encourage the concentration of employes in the city of Panama, we do not recommend the erection of a club house within its limits. If, however, there is need for a club house in that city, the dwelling now used by officers of the Commission, if available, might be put to that use.

Class C club houses should be erected wherever the work of construction is most active. If the places of greatest employment of unskilled labor are to be shifted from time to time during the progress of construction, it would be practicable so to construct Class C club houses that they could be taken apart and moved from place to place with trivial expense.

MAINTENANCE AND ORGANIZATION.

All club houses should be built and equipped entirely at the expense of the Government.

The maintenance of club houses in Classes A and B should be provided only in part by the Government, the balance of the cost of running them to be borne by voluntary organizations. It may be possible to make Classes A and B self-sustaining.

The maintenance of Class C should be borne entirely by the Government.

The process of forming clubs for Classes A and B would begin with calling two or three of the men together to talk over the matter. On becoming interested, they could bring together a number of their friends and form an organization. There should be monthly dues in clubs for Classes A and B, the receipts to go toward defraying the running expenses, as in any other club.

The members in clubs of Classes A and B should be consulted as to the appointment of the paid supervisor for each club, who, in turn, would be expected to employ the necessary service.

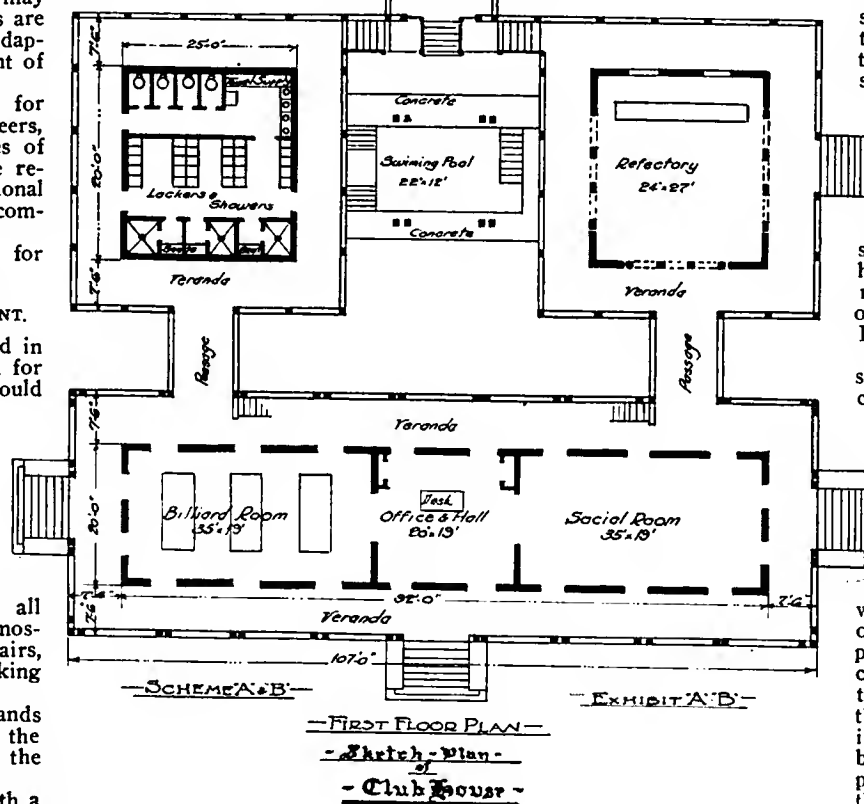
The club supervisor in Class A should be appointed by a committee elected by the members.

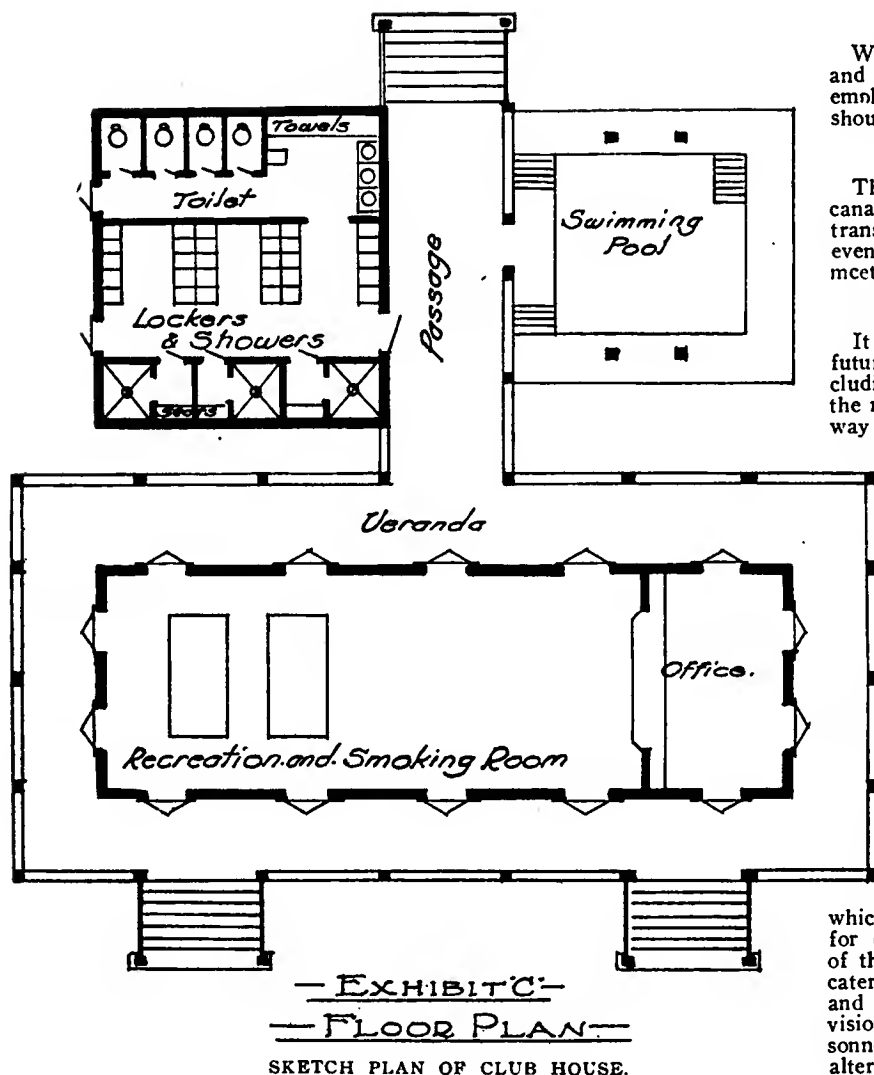
In clubs of Class B, the supervisor should be appointed by a committee of members selected by the proper representative of the Bureau of Quarters and Personnel in the locality. It will be advisable to have the Government represented on this committee by one or more persons from the organization of the Bureau of Quarters and Personnel.

The Bureau of Quarters and Personnel should appoint the necessary supervisor for each club in Class C.

Athletic Fields.

We recommend that the project to lay out an athletic field at Corozal be pushed through. In every way this location seems to be more adapted to such a purpose than any other along the route. Upon one side of the railroad at this point there is a large hotel to which the Government is making additions. We would suggest that a band stand be added to one of the wings of the hotel, to be used for popular concerts. Instead of the lawn tennis court now planned, which it is contemplated to place on the grounds directly in front of the hotel, we recommend the making of lawns; if that be impracticable, some other means by which this place can be kept as an open plaza for the people to walk about and enjoy the concerts should be provided.





On the opposite side of the railroad is an open, level field, spacious enough to accommodate all open air athletic features. In this field should be constructed a racing track for ponies. Beside the track for ponies, there should be constructed a cinder path, for those who like running sports, equipped with running and jumping bars, etc. Within this track tennis courts and a band stand may be located. Other spaces in the field may be set apart for a rifle range, a place for the practise of archery, grounds for golf-croquet, etc. Thus would be afforded a suitable opportunity for outdoor exercises for women, as well as men.

At one side of the track should be built a club house, the type marked Exhibit A-B, of extra large size, to be used by both Class A and Class B employees Saturday afternoons. In this connection we suggest the future development of Corozal as a principal athletic center, the result of the Saturday Half Holiday whose establishment we recommend at another place in this report. This club house should include a commodious cafe which could be conducted by the caterer in the hotel. It might be possible to have this club house for the regular daily use of the members of the Class B local club, if that type is needed at Corozal. If the situation should be such that Class A employees should use it as their regular club house during the week, it would be necessary to have some rooms reserved for their special use on Saturdays. In other words, an effort should be made to avoid the necessity of having this club house in addition to a club house A and a club house B at Corozal.

At Corozal, we recommend that regular evening concerts be given at the hotel and that the employees now invited to go in to Panama to hear the band play on Sunday evenings be invited instead to these concerts at Corozal. There appear, to our judgment, several reasons why this commendable diversion should be offered to the employees at Corozal rather than at Panama. Among these reasons may be specified two:

(1) The inviting of a large number of employees to the capital, whatever the occasion, is not consistent with the evident policy to keep as many of the employees as possible away from the city and its centers of fever contagion.

(2) Along the route from the railroad station at Panama to the plaza where the band now plays, visitors are exposed to many temptations; while at Corozal, after the concert it would be but a step to the train, and the surroundings would afford no inducement to detain any employee from returning home promptly. This plan would in no way interfere with the present popular Sunday evening concerts furnished in the capital for its people by the band of the Panama Government.

BAND OF THE EMPLOYEES.

We believe that the Bureau of Quarters and Personnel could organize a band of the employees. If this can not be done, a band should be provided by the Government.

FREE TRANSPORTATION.

The employees at every point along the canal route should be provided with free transportation to and from the Sunday evening concerts and the weekly athletic meetings.

ATHLETIC FIELD AT CRISTOBAL.

It may be feasible and advisable in the future to duplicate this athletic field, including all its features, at Cristobal, when the number of employees warrants. In this way there would be two centers for general recreation, one near Panama and one near Colon, available respectively for each half of the route.

A suggested lay-out for this field is presented in the plan, marked Exhibit D.

Sunday Excursions.

We recommend that the excursions that have been run from Panama to Toboga at irregular intervals be hereafter continued regularly, if possible, on each Sunday. At present there is much complaint because of the irregularity of these excursions, which are highly popular, and because of the inconvenience of carrying food for the day, most of the excursionists being able and willing to buy luncheons at a reasonable price. We, therefore, recommend that some arrangement be made by which a steamer can be chartered regularly for each Sunday so that the uncertainty of these excursions will cease; and that a caterer be permitted to sell light luncheons and soft drinks on board, under the supervision of the Bureau of Quarters and Personnel. The steamer should be used on alternate Sundays for employees paid in gold and for employees paid in silver. The present plan of issuing free tickets to employees for these excursions, until the capacity of the boat is reached, should be continued.

Sea Bathing.

We believe that facilities for sea bathing at Colon should be provided for employees who make occasional excursions to that place. At present the fear of sharks deters employees from entering the sea. The beach at Colon is well adapted for surf bathing. There should be constructed small and inexpensive bath houses as an experiment, with a view to their enlargement should they prove popular. Separate bath houses for those employees who are paid in gold and those who are paid in silver should be erected.

It would be necessary to protect those portions of the beach assigned to bathing from sharks by means of closely driven piles connected with coarse wire netting or some similar device.

Bathing suits should be provided at a nominal rental.

A paid supervisor, employed by the Bureau of Quarters and Personnel, should look after the maintenance of the bath houses, the cleanliness of the beach, the care of bathing suits and towels. Under his authority there should be an attendant qualified to teach the bathers to swim, the entire system of instruction and the insurance of safety being similar to that now employed in the municipal baths at American seaports.

Saturday Half Holiday.

If the methods of recreation we have the honor to recommend are to be provided, either in whole or in part, sufficient time should be allowed employees to make them available. Sunday alone, in our judgment, does not afford sufficient leisure for adequate recreation. Even though there were no other uses to which employees might desire to put their weekly day of rest, it would not be well, in our opinion, to crowd into that day all the opportunities for recreation which we have recommended. If employees were to devote their Sundays almost wholly to the proposed athletic field, or fields, or to the amusements in the club

houses and grounds, there would be no intervening time for rest and recuperation for the week's work which begins on Monday morning.

Moreover, many of the employees desire to devote a part of their Sundays to purposes other than either rest or amusement, including religious services, writing letters home and mending clothes.

In talking with many employees of all classes upon various subjects connected with recreation, there was brought to our attention a prevalent and spontaneous desire for the Saturday Half Holiday.

The consideration of the Saturday Half Holiday involves, we are aware, some rearrangement of the present weekly schedule. In order to secure the Saturday Half Holiday, it would not be feasible to add to the hours of work for five days in the week, inasmuch as the climatic conditions are such that the men should not work more than eight hours in any one day. This would necessitate a reduction of the weekly working hours which we believe to be warranted by the conditions.

Considering the amount of physical energy burned up in the work, we believe that the Government would be the actual gainer by the Saturday Half Holiday. The Government would apparently lose weekly the three (or four) hours' time of the salaried employees, plus the three (or four) hours' output of the larger body of employees paid by the hour. This loss of the Government would be offset by the fact that there would be introduced into the working force the element of stability, thus reducing to a minimum the continuous loss consequent upon the hiring and training of new workmen. On the other hand, the employees paid by the hour would lose weekly three (or four) hours' pay which, we believe, they would be willing to sacrifice.

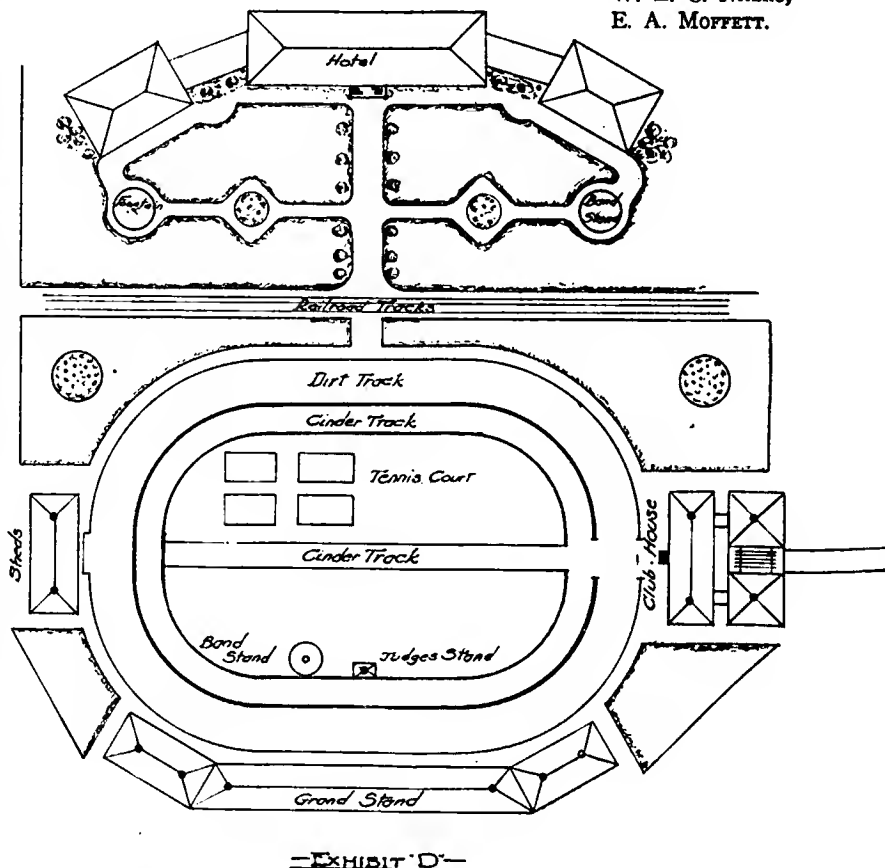
We know of no other one proposition, outside of those considerations relating to shelter and food, so well calculated to make the mass of workers on the Isthmus contented and happy as the Saturday Half Holiday. The climate of the Isthmus is such as to make this weekly half holiday important, not only for recreation but, what is more important still, for health. The Saturday Half Holiday will, moreover, afford a distinct opportunity to bring together for outdoor sports and other recreation employees from places scattered along the route, thus encouraging a feeling of communal interest throughout the zone in the social life of all its communities and in the prosecution of the enterprise that binds them all together in a common purpose.

We regard this recommendation of the Saturday Half Holiday throughout the Canal Zone as of great importance. We most respectfully bespeak for it your earnest and full consideration as a measure that would conduce to the comfort, the health and the efficiency of the working population of the Isthmus.

Fourth of July Celebration.

We found abundant and enthusiastic evidence among the employees that the celebration of the Fourth of July this year was highly appreciated, and we recommend its continuance.

W. E. C. NAZRO,
E. A. MOFFETT.



(Concluded from page 4.)

O. C. Edwards	Montgomery.
George H. Child	Harper's Ferry
J. R. Thomas	Charleston.
I. Schwabe	Charleston.
B. H. Blagg	Point Pleasant.
James A. Oldfield	St. Mary's.
R. Ad. Hall	Weston.
Hon. John H. Holt	Huntington.
Howard Sutherland	Elkins.
Hon. P. W. Morris	Parkersburg.
Hon. S. F. Reed	Clarksburg.
Dr. M. S. Holt	Weston.
Thomas A. Dennis	Lewisburg.
D. G. Lilly	Bluefield.
Rev. J. W. Telford	Lewisburg.
Prest. D. B. Purinton	Morgantown.
Hon. William G. Worley	Kingwood.
Capt. J. K. Thompson	Raymond City.
U. B. Buskirk	Logan.
Hon. F. H. Evans	Williamson.
Hon. George C. Baker	Morgantown.
A. L. Craig	Richwood.
Hon. Henry G. Davis	Elkins.
Hon. S. B. Elkins	Elkins.
Hon. James S. Lakin	Terra Alta.
Phil. C. Adams	Spencer.
Dr. J. D. Schmeid	New Martinsville.
E. C. Gerwig	Parkersburg.
M. P. Shawkey	Charleston.
F. C. Bishop	Morgantown.
William H. Prichard	Wheeling.
Perry D. Burton	Fairmont.
Hon. F. M. Gallagher	Hinton.
Robert H. Williamson	Huntington.
J. D. Prim	Clarksburg.
T. M. Spaulding	Raymond City.

WISCONSIN.**Appointed by Governor Robert M. La Follette.**

Prof. John R. Commons	Madison.
Rev. Frederick Edwards	Milwaukee.
Rev. H. H. Jacobs	Milwaukee.
Edward W. Frost	Milwaukee.
Hon. P. B. Nelson	Racine.
Hon. Burt Williams	Ashland.
John Humphrey	Milwaukee.
Hugh Carney	Milwaukee.
Mark E. Bruce	Stevens Point.
Ivar Kirkegaard	Racine.

HAWAII.**Appointed by Governor G. R. Carter.**

A. L. C. Atkinson, Secretary of Hawaii, and President Territorial Board of Immigration	Honolulu.
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(The names of the additional delegates will be announced later.)

The following have been appointed to represent the organizations preceding their names:

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

Dr. Karl Kelsey, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia.
Dr. F. J. Warne, Editor of the <i>Railway World</i>	Philadelphia.
Dr. George Mangold, University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia.
Dr. Walter E. Weyl, University Settlement	New York City.
Dr. William H. Allen, New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor	New York City.

Farmers' National Congress, Chicago.

Hon. E. W. Wickey	Ocean Springs, Miss.
W. L. Ames	Oregon, Wis.
Hon. Levi Morrison	Greenville, Pa.
George M. Whitaker	Boston, Mass.
John M. Stahl	Chicago.

Trans-Mississippi Congress.

Theo. B. Wilcox	Portland.
Herbert Strain	Great Falls.
John W. Noble	St. Louis.
Ed. F. Harris	Galveston.
A. E. Carlton	Cripple Creek.

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

S. D. Jones, President Atlanta Chamber of Commerce	Atlanta.
Marion M. Jackson, Lawyer	Atlanta.
Col. B. F. Abbott, Lawyer	Atlanta.
Forrest Adair	Atlanta.

Detroit Board of Commerce.

M. J. Murphy	Detroit.
George H. Barbour	Detroit.
F. B. Smith	Detroit.
W. P. Harris	Detroit.

Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, San Francisco.

Walter Macarthur	<i>Coast Seamen's Journal</i> .
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New York Board of Trade and Transportation.

Albert Plant	Manhattan.
John M. Peters	Manhattan.
Ludwig Nissen	Manhattan.
Charles E. Hanselt	Manhattan.
Nils Poulson	Brooklyn.

Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, New York City.

A. Foster Higgins	New York.
William Coverly	New York.
James A. Wright	New York.
John B. McDonald	New York.
Marcus M. Marks	New York.

American Economic Association, Cambridge, Mass.

Horace White, First Vice-President Economic Association	New York City.
Professor H. W. Farnam, Yale University	New Haven, Conn.
Professor H. A. Garfield, Princeton University	Princeton, N. J.
Professor Willard Fisher, Wesleyan University	Middletown, Conn.
Professor G. A. Kleenc, Trinity College	Hartford, Conn.

The Philadelphia Museums, Philadelphia.

William S. Harvey	Philadelphia.
Daniel Baugh	Philadelphia.
Henry R. Edmunds	Philadelphia.
William W. Supplee	Philadelphia.
Dr. W. P. Wilson	Philadelphia.

St. Paul Board of Trade, St. Paul, Minn.

R. A. Durkee, President Board of Trade	St. Paul, Minn.
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The American Bankers' Association, New York.

W. L. Moyer, President of the National Shoe and Leather Bank, Chairman	New York City.
G. S. Whitson, Vice-President of the National City Bank and Vice-President of the American Bankers' Association	New York City.
Homer W. McCoy, of MacDonald, McCoy & Company, Chicago, Illinois	Chicago, Illinois.
John L. Hamilton, Vice-President Hamilton & Cunningham and President of the American Bankers' Association	Hoopestown, Illinois.
W. P. G. Harding, First National Bank	Birmingham, Ala.
Col. F. H. Fries, Wachovia Loan & Trust Company	Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

The Taxpayers' Association of Paterson, New Jersey.

W. O. Fayerweather, President	Paterson.
Hon. Francis Scott, Judge Circuit Court	Paterson.
Thomas P. Graham, Lawyer	Paterson.
Joseph W. Congdon, President Phoenix Silk Manufacturing Company	Paterson.
Isaac A. Hall, Manufacturer	Paterson.

The Trades' League of Philadelphia.

Mahlon N. Kline	Philadelphia.
Colman Sellers, Jr.	Philadelphia.
William McAleer	Philadelphia.
Charles J. Cohen	Philadelphia.
N. B. Kelly	Philadelphia.

Baltimore Board of Trade.

Henry G. Hilken	Baltimore.
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The Commercial Club of Indianapolis.

Hon. John W. Kern	Indianapolis, Ind.
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(The names of the additional delegates will be announced later.)

The Merchants' Association of New York.

Henry A. Caesar	New York City.
William F. King	New York City.
George Frederick Vietor, Chairman, of Vietor & Achelis	New York City.
George C. Boldt, the Waldorf-Astoria	New York City.
Henry Sidenberg	New York City.

Board of Trade of Jacksonville, Fla.

A. J. Mitchell	Jacksonville.
Dexter Hunter	Jacksonville.
D. C. Amhler	Jacksonville.
Theo. G. Eger	Jacksonville.
Geo. W. Haines	Jacksonville.

The Portland Chamber of Commerce.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise	Portland.
A. L. Mills	Portland.

Board of Trade of Elizabeth, N. J.

James C. Connolly	Elizabeth.
Lovell H. Carr	Elizabeth.
Jos. McManus	Elizabeth.
Elias D. Smith	Elizabeth.
William F. Groves	Elizabeth.

The Albany Chamber of Commerce.

Donald McDonald	Albany.
William T. Mayer	Albany.
Edward N. McKinney	Albany.
Gardner C. Leonard	Albany.
William B. Jones	Albany.

Presbyterian Board of Home Missions.

D. Stuart Dodge	New York City.
Charles L. Thompson	New York City.
John Dixon	New York City.
John Willis Baer	New York City.
Harvey C. Olin	New York City.
Robert C. Ogden	New York City.
Henry W. Jessup	New York City.

Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Rev. H. B. Johnson, D.D.	New York City.
Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D.	New York City.
Rev. J. D. Hammond, D.D.	New York City.
Rev. George P. Eckman, D.D.	New York City.
Rev. D. G. Downey, D.D.	Brooklyn.

Board of Domestic Missions of the Reformed Church.

Rev. D. J. Burrell, D.D.	New York City.
Rev. James M. Farrar, D.D.	Brooklyn.
Rev. James I. Vance, D.D.	Newark, N. J.
John S. Bussing	New York City.
Charles Brown	New York City.

Dallas Commercial Club.

H. W. Fairbanks	Dallas, Texas.
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Mayors.

The following Mayors have accepted invitations to attend as representatives of their respective cities:

George B. McClellan	New York City.
Horace Wilson, Mayor	Wilmington, Delaware.
Alex. T. Connell, Mayor	Scranton, Pa.
Edwin R. Gerber, Mayor	Reading, Pa.
Adolph Lankering, Mayor	Hoboken, N. J.
Charles H. Gaus, Mayor	Albany, New York.
Hon. J. H. Wilson	Cohoes, N. Y.
Hon. Francke W. Dickinson	Springfield, Mass.
Hon. Julius Fleischmann	Cincinnati, O.
Hon. George Milton Hine	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
William S. Meyers	New Brunswick, N. J.
Edwin F. Sweet	Grand Rapids, Mich.
Hon. H. M. Pindell, representing A. B. Tolson, Mayor	Peoria, Ill.
Charles H. Ellis	Camden, N. J.

Delegates Appointed by Colleges.

The following representatives of colleges will attend:

Hall, G. Stanley, President Clark University	Worcester, Mass.
Lefavour, Henry, President Simmons College	Boston, Mass.
Rev. S. B. McCormick, Chancellor, Western University of Pennsylvania	Pittsburg.
Dr. Alexander S. Hunter, Western University of Pennsylvania	Pittsburg.
Dr. Walter F. Willcox, Professor of Political Economy and Statistics, Cornell University	Ithaca, N. Y.
Reed, George Edward, President Dickinson College	Carlisle, Pa.
Needham, Charles W., President the George Washington University	Washington, D. C.
Atkinson, Fred. W., President Polytechnic Institute	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Humphreys, Alex. C., President Stevens Institute of Technology	Hoboken, N. J.
Stephens, Dr. D. S., Chancellor the Kansas City University	Kansas City, Kas.
Martin, Rev. S. A., President Pennsylvania College	Pittsburg, Pa.
Hooper, Franklin W., President Board of Trustees Antioch College	Yellow Springs, O.
Nelsenius, Rev. G., Augustana College and Theological Seminary	Rock Island, Ill.
Alternate—Lilja, Rev. A. B.	New York City.
Wilson, George Grafton, Professor of Political and Social Science, Brown University	Providence, R. I.
Grant, Rev. Percy S., Member Board of Trustees, Berea College	Berea, Kentucky.
MacCracken, John H., Syndic of the University and Professor of Politics, New York University	New York City.
Dr. A. G. Fradenburgh, Professor of History and Political Science, Adelphi College	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Dr. J. H. Hollander, Professor Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University	Baltimore, Md.
Ware, Rev. E. T., Atlanta University	Llewellyn Park, Orange, N. J.
Hopkins, Henry, President Williams College	Williamstown, Mass.
Patterson, Professor W. R., Professor of Commerce and Statistics, State University of Iowa	Iowa City, Ia.
Marshall, A.M., Professor Leon C., Head of Department of Economics, Ohio Wesleyan University	Delaware, O.

RHODE ISLAND WELCOMES THE CIVIC FEDERATION.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING AT THE PROVIDENCE BOARD OF TRADE ROOMS APPROVES ITS PURPOSE AND ITS METHODS.

(From the Providence Journal, October 28.)

The work of the National Civic Federation, especially in the "welfare department," was ably expounded and illustrated to the edification and interest of a good-sized gathering at the Providence Board of Trade last evening, the meeting being preliminary to the organization of a local branch in this State. Gov. Utter made a brief introductory address and Lieut. Gov. Jackson, as President of the Board of Trade, presided. The purpose and progress of the Federation were explained by Ralph M. Easley, Chairman of the executive committee of the organization, and Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary of the welfare department, the meeting being devoted principally to this feature of the work.

The fact impressed by the speakers, that the work of the Federation was designed to bring about harmony between capital and labor, among its other purposes, was well illustrated in the attendance at last evening's meeting. The gathering included representative business men, manufacturers and representatives of labor, among those present being Joseph Fletcher, Charles Sisson, of the Hope Webbing Company; J. F. P. Lawton, of the Gorham Manufacturing Company; John W. Danielson, of the Waukegan Mills; Hon. Augustus O. Bourne, of the Bourne Rubber Company; Charles Rockwell, of the Cranston Print Works; Jesse Metcalf, of the Wanskuck Mills; Henry C. Dexter, of Green and Daniels; Stephen A. Jenks, of the United States Cotton Company and the Fales & Jenks Machine Company; Arthur W. Dennis, of the Elmwood Mills; Jere Campbell, of the Eastern Coal Company; George E. Brady, International President of the Jewelry Workers; R. A. Ripley, Secretary of the Electrical Workers' Union; James Coleman, business agent of the Plumbers' Union, and Thomas F. Kearney, President of the Rhode Island Building Trades Council.

Lieut. Gov. Jackson called the meeting to order, and with a few introductory remarks presented Gov. Utter, who likewise spoke briefly, as he had another engagement and was obliged to leave early. In part he said:

"I feel that I can scarcely do more than act as curtain raiser for the principal speakers of this evening, but I want to express my admiration for the movement of which you are to hear a description. When I was a young man there used to be in Westerly a lawyer, of whom, when he died, the Providence Journal said: 'Nathan F. Dixon may have done very little toward making legislation, but he did a great deal to prevent bad legislation. He was a good lawyer and he always did what he could to keep his clients from getting into court, to avert needless litigation.' In other words, his effort was ever to maintain harmony, a purpose that actuates this Civic Federation."

"It is natural for a man to look first to the welfare of his own family, but men should teach their children that not only does their responsibility lie toward the family but to the people at large. Selfishness is absolutely essential to the welfare of the world, but the selfishness that looks only to self is a detriment. Any organization that can enable men to see things with a common eye, without conflict, can accomplish great good for a community. It seems to me that this is the work being done by the Civic Federation. It is regrettable that we have not had a definite form of this line of work in this State, and I sincerely hope that this meeting tonight may result in the organization of a local branch of the National Federation."

The Governor was greeted with hearty applause as he rose to speak, and again as he concluded his remarks. The Lieutenant Governor then introduced Mr. Easley, who explained the purposes of the organization he represents as follows:

What is the purpose of the National Civic Federation? What terms accurately define its mission, its scope and its methods? These questions are pertinent, for the reason that the prominence accorded to a single branch of its work has so attracted attention as to convey to the public mind an erroneous impression of the real scope of the organization. The organization has been especially active during the past three years in advocating rightful relations between capital and labor, as a means of promoting industrial peace. Hence has arisen, quite naturally, a prevalent conception of the National Civic Federation as a body dealing exclusively with strikes and lock-outs and with the questions underlying these industrial disturbances; whereas this work is confined to certain of its Departments. A part has thus come to appear greater than the whole. Again, it is not infrequently described as a Board of Arbitration, which is as far from the fact as possible.

The broad and original purpose and scope of the organization are thus set forth in its by-laws, as adopted in 1901:

"The purpose of the National Civic Federation is to organize the best brains of the nation in an educational

movement toward the solution of some of the great problems related to social and industrial progress;

"To provide for study and discussion of questions of national import;

"To aid thus in the crystallization of the most enlightened public opinion; and, when desirable,

"To promote legislation in accordance therewith."

The present activities of the Civic Federation, of which the above definition permits further extension, are exercised through the following agencies:

Public Ownership Commission.
Immigration Department.
Conciliation Department.
Industrial Economic Department.
Welfare Department.
Taxation Department.

There exist, with results of acknowledged benefit and usefulness, organizations of farmers, mine operators, manufacturers, wage-earners, financiers, merchants, lawyers, scientists and other distinct but interacting elements of society. All these hold meetings for discussion of affairs peculiar to their own pursuits and callings. The National Civic Federation, in addition to its Departments for the elucidation of specified subjects, provides a forum where representatives of all these industrial, professional, commercial, scientific and other societies may meet to discuss national problems in which they have a common ethical, social or economic interest.

The membership of the National Civic Federation renders its auspices especially appropriate to such a forum. It is drawn from practical men of affairs whose acknowledged leadership in thought and action makes them typical representatives of the various elements that voluntarily work together for the general good. Its national executive committee is constituted of three factors: the general public, represented by the church, the bar, the press, statesmanship and finance; employers, represented by the heads of great corporations, large manufacturers and chiefs of employers' organizations; and labor, represented by the principal officials of national and international organizations of wage-earners in every great industry.

The actual benefit to the entire community of public discussions initiated and conducted by the Federation has been thoroughly established by the practical results of five national Conferences which have already been held under its auspices.

The first of these, the Conference on Primary Election Reform, was held in New York City in January, 1898. This was the first National Conference ever held on this subject. Its discussions brought out in vivid relief both existing evils and their appropriate remedies. Direct results were the improved primary election laws of New York and Illinois and the formation of a national organization to promote this specific reform in other States. Another Conference upon this subject has been called to meet in New York, January 15 and 16, 1906. Its discussions will embrace such topics as ballot reform, primary election reform, corrupt practices acts and naturalization.

The second, known as the "Saratoga Conference on Foreign Policy," was held at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., in August, 1898. Its date was most felicitous, being almost coincident with the advance of the United States Government to the rank of a great world-power, and with the advent of its extra-continental expansion. Public men of widely divergent views participated in its debates during two days, when they were able to agree upon a memorial. Its presentation to President McKinley elicited the following response:

"I heartily congratulate the Civic Federation upon the success of its conference. It came at a time when its able discussions and conservative resolutions did much to point the way for the nation."

This memorial asked the President to instruct the representatives of the United States at the first Hague Conference, called by the Czar, to urge the establishment of a court of international arbitration and to obtain a declaration in favor of the protection of private property at sea in time of war. It is now an historical fact that the proceedings of the first conference at The Hague were along these lines.

The third Civic Federation Conference, known as the "Chicago Conference on Trusts," was held in September, 1899. Its sessions, covering four days, were attended by more than five hundred delegates, appointed by Governors of States and by organizations representing commerce, labor, agriculture, finance, economics and the professions. Its discussions, published in book form, have furnished the basis for much of the subsequent literature upon the subject.

The fourth Conference, on "Conciliation and Arbitration," was held in Chicago in December, 1900. Its participants included official representatives of all the organizations of employers in the United States, and

of practically all the national labor unions. After two days' discussion of the relations between employers and wage-earners, which brought out clearly the principle of conference and conciliation, with the trade agreement as their object, this Conference took action which resulted in the organization of an Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation. It was the first annual meeting of this Department, in New York City, in 1901, that attracted the attention of the public to this one phase of the work of the Federation—the promotion of industrial peace.

The fifth national Conference, that upon "Taxation," was held in Buffalo, N. Y., in May, 1901. More than three hundred delegates, appointed by thirty-one Governors, attended. The call for this Conference, issued by the National Civic Federation and signed by many men prominent in legislation, economics, finance and commerce, set forth the necessity for considering the problem of taxation as no longer local, but as involving the mutual relations of localities and communities as well as the complications of interstate taxation. The two days' discussion dealt with such subjects as the interstate taxation of public service corporations; the taxation of personal property; the taxation of mortgages; the separation of State and local revenues; the taxation of the farmer; the equitable assessment of real property; the inheritance tax; the taxation of corporations; the franchise tax; the income tax. The published proceedings of this Conference have afforded valuable guidance for legislation affecting sources of public revenue. A Department on Taxation, organized at this Conference, has issued several educational bulletins looking to uniformity of legislation.

At the present time the National Civic Federation is engaged, in addition to its continual departmental work, upon the subjects of Public Ownership and Operation, and of Immigration.

It has formed a National Commission to make a thorough investigation in this country and abroad of the ownership of public utilities. This Commission held its first meeting in Earl Hall, Columbia University, New York City, on October 5, 1905. The Commission elected also an Executive Committee and a Committee of Twenty-one on Investigation.

The current discussion and acute agitation of this subject indicate its hold upon the popular mind, and the necessity for its analytical and comprehensive examination. Its present debate is often inconclusive, because of contradictory or unsatisfactory statements of fact. It is intended, therefore, that this investigation shall disclose the actual results of public ownership and operation, as far as they have been undertaken in the United States, and of their more extensive practice in foreign countries. The ascertainment of these facts will afford a solid basis upon which to found discussion and conclusions for the guidance of future policy.

The scope of this inquiry will cover the relative advantages of Public Ownership and Operation, as compared with Public Ownership and Private Operation, and Private Ownership and Operation. Each system will be examined with regard to its effect upon, among other topics:

Wages, hours and conditions of labor;
Collective bargaining;
Cost and character of service;
Political conditions, civil service, spoils system, and municipal operation;
Financial results;
Taxation.

The Committee of Twenty-one which will report to the general Commission has divided itself into two Subcommittees, which will carry on simultaneously the domestic and foreign investigations. The initial inquiry will be restricted to the comparative results of private and public ownership and operation of gas, water, electric power and light and street railways.

A National Conference upon Immigration will be held in New York December 6, 7, and 8, to which the Governors of the various States and national, commercial, economic and ecclesiastical organizations will send delegates.

The problem of immigration in its relation to our industrial and social prosperity will be considered. In its promotion of this conference, the National Civic Federation has committed itself to no attitude of approval or opposition as to any of the propositions concerning the regulation, restriction, suspension, exclusion, or encouragement of immigration that have been advocated. The Conference will be an open forum for debate by the best thought of the country in the hope that an earnest thrashing out of every phase of the subject may result in definite recommendations of far-reaching consequence and value to our national welfare. The discussion will include the effectiveness of the administration of existing legislation and propositions for

new legislation. Especial consideration will be given to the relation of alien labor to domestic crafts, the industrial progress of the negro and other questions growing out of the distribution of incoming aliens. One entire day will be devoted to the consideration of the Asiatic phase of the problem.

Three departments of the National Civic Federation are devoted entirely to the so-called labor problem. These are the Conciliation Department, the Industrial Economic Department and the Welfare Department.

The Conciliation Department deals entirely with strikes, lock-outs and trade agreements. In averting or settling strikes or lock-outs, the services of this Department, during the last four years, have been enlisted in about 500 cases, involving practically every conceivable problem or phase of a problem interwoven with or underlying an industrial controversy. Out of this experience, the lesson has been well learned that in the great majority of cases thus treated publicity is not desirable. This is usually true both during and after the negotiations in relation to any labor trouble. The work of the Department is often of so delicate a nature that publicity during its progress would defeat its very purpose; and even after its successful conclusion it has been found that both employers and employed are often averse to having the private adjustment of their relations paraded before the public. A report of the work of this Department could be made very impressive if it were to enumerate names and dates; but in most cases the statement would be displeasing to both parties concerned. Out of the 500 cases treated, probably 100 have been made public by one or the other or both of the parties; but only when publicity originates with one of them does information reach the press. Thus the public, which always receives an abundance of information, more or less accurate, about a strike, may hear nothing at all about the inner negotiations resulting in its settlement; or the public may be wholly uninformed about the quiet but effective measures taken to prevent a strike which, had it occurred, would have filled columns of the newspapers, while causing enormous inconvenience and incalculable loss.

The usual method of procedure by this Department is greatly facilitated by the character of its membership, which extends to every industrial center, and includes representatives of both practically all the organizations of employers and the organizations of wage-earners in the country. Through this membership information of any threatened trouble between capital and labor usually reaches the headquarters, from one side or the other, in advance of any public rupture. The headquarters thus serves as a clearing house where industrial news is focalized. This early intelligence is of the utmost value, since the best time to adjust a dispute is before a rupture occurs. In accordance with this information, usually two members of the Conciliation Department, who are likely to be personae gratae to either or both the employer and the employees, are assigned to the case—an employer to the employer's side and a labor representative to the employees' side. These two members, exercising special precaution against any suspicion of meddlesome interference, unobtrusively get into touch with the situation, personally and unofficially. The two investigators then consult, usually with a view to bring about a conference between representatives of the two sides. When it can be ascertained that a conference will be granted by either side, the other side is usually willing to make the request. Sometimes at such a conference the committee of our Department is present, and sometimes not. That depends entirely upon circumstances and the temper of the opponents. In many cases, the parties in interest could not entertain the idea of inviting any outside person to be present. They avail themselves of the services of the committee up to the very point of a conference; but when that has been arranged, the two sides feel competent to discuss their affairs without further aid, and the members of the committee are only too glad not to be needed. In some other cases, their presence at the conference is desired, and is found useful in allaying temper, soothing the pride of obstinacy or pointing the way to compromise without impairing self-respect or wounding dignity. In one controversy a year ago, between two organizations representing respectively 95 per cent. of the capital invested and 95 per cent. of the labor employed in an entire industry, the Chairman and Secretary of the Conciliation Committee acted in these capacities at a conference running through eight consecutive days, and lasting frequently from 10 o'clock in the morning until from 10 to 12 o'clock at night. This conference resulted in an annual national trade agreement, which was renewed last spring. Other conferences have resulted in trade agreements for a year which, upon expiration, have to be worked out afresh.

A concrete example of this method occurred only last week. The members of one of the great railway brotherhoods employed upon a street railway system in one of the largest cities in the United States, believing that they were suffering serious grievances, were on the very verge of a strike that would have tied up immense traffic and caused great inconvenience to many thousands of passengers. The national chief of the brotherhood involved, being a member of the Civic Federation, brought the threatened trouble to the attention of the Conciliation Department. One of its members promptly arranged a face-to-face conference between the chief of the

brotherhood and the president of the corporation, and the difficulty was quickly adjusted. Not one of the daily passengers upon that road ever heard of the impending strike, although it was averted by a margin of only a few hours.

At all times the Conciliation Department advocates the making of trade agreements, having a special committee for their study and encouragement. Their advocacy is warranted by experience in their operation in both the United States and England during more than fifty years, which has proved them the best practical method where organization exists, of reducing industrial disturbances to a minimum. Trade agreements now obtain in practically all the great basic industries, such as coal, iron, lumber and transportation, between employers and national organizations of labor. Each party to these agreements has at various times undergone successfully the strain of granting higher wages on the one side and of accepting lower wages on the other. The honorable maintenance of these agreements in the great industries is an object lesson that is aiding much in the education of other employers and labor organizations into a realization of the inviolability of the collective contract. The use of trade agreements is extending among the building trades, the great daily newspapers and manufacture in many industries.

In averting or settling controversies upon the great railway systems with the brotherhoods of engineers, firemen and trainmen, thus affecting the industries dependent upon transportation in practically every State of the Union; in promoting agreements between the longshoremen and vessel-owners, vitally related to all the industries in shipping, such as coal, iron, steel, lumber and the elevator interests; in adjusting street railway troubles in San Francisco, New Orleans, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, Newark and other cities; in averting troubles in the teaming industry in several large cities; in improving relations and averting strikes in many branches of manufacture, such as textiles, garment-making, boots and shoes, the metal trades, including machinists, molders, steel and iron workers, structural steel and bridge workers, blacksmiths, etc.; in promoting agreements between coal operators and miners; in bringing about contractual relations between the thirty-four crafts grouped as the building trades and the corresponding associations of employers; in establishing agreement between theatrical managers and musicians and actors throughout the country; in securing more than two hundred conferences, at the request of one side or the other, thus checking as many controversies at their incipient stage—in these and in many other directions the Conciliation Department has exerted an influence repeatedly effective for peace in industries widely diversified and of national magnitude. There have arisen cases where the spirit of antagonism on both sides has been so aroused, and where the issues presented were so utterly irreconcilable, that there seemed no recourse but to fight it out.

The Department of Industrial Economics was formed to meet the plain necessity for more light upon the principles underlying the ever recurring problems that are encountered in the work of the Conciliation Department. When once representatives of employers and employed are brought into conference for the purpose of making a trade agreement, these problems invariably arise in multifarious forms. They demand knowledge among the negotiators of such industrial subjects as "Wages and Cost of Living," "The Shorter Work-Day," "The Open and Closed Shop," "The Minimum Wage," "Restriction of Output," "The Ratio of Apprentices," "The Introduction of Machinery," "Piece-Work and Day Work," "Arbitration," etc. The drawing of any collective contract implies contact with any one of these or many other questions. For example, in the joint convention of 1904 between the organized bituminous operators of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the United Mine Workers of America, the whole controversy revolved around the question of wages. The operators advanced the industrial depression then existing as making necessary a reduction of wages of 10 per cent. John Mitchell, speaking for the Union, said: "If you reduce the wages of our 500,000 members, you will reduce correspondingly their consuming power, thus making the business situation worse, instead of better." Francis L. Robbins, speaking for the employing operators, replied that if that were sound philosophy, the thing to do when panic threatened was to double the wages of workmen. Many other instances might be cited where able disputants have differed about fundamental principles. In most cases, out of their debates light has been evolved.

To further earnest, intellectual discussion of practical economic problems, the Department of Industrial Economics was formed in 1905. Its membership is composed of leading economists, including the heads of the departments of political economy in universities, lecturers and economic and legal authors; editors of the daily press, of politico-social magazines, of trade papers and of labor journals; representatives of the pulpit; large employers and representatives of labor. This Department will soon announce a program for the discussion, by the ablest experts to be procured, of each of the vital and frequently irritating questions that arise in the Conciliation Department.

The Welfare Department is devoted entirely to efforts to interest employers in giving especial consideration to

the physical, mental and moral welfare of employees in all industries. Membership in the Welfare Department is confined to employers. While the work in the other Departments deals with controversies and may be itself controversial, as in the Industrial Economic Department, the dominant note in the Welfare Department is that of the highest altruism; yet is its work intensely practical. In extending the practise of Welfare Work, the Department has found of especial value conferences of employers, held under its auspices in different parts of the country, for the interchange of experiences. Conferences for a similar purpose are also held between Welfare Managers. Successful Welfare Work, when pictured by practical business men in connection with their own industries, exerts an influence toward gaining the application of similar ideas by other employers. Thus Welfare Work is not advocated alone by theorists and philanthropists. The Welfare Department maintains a bureau at the National Civic Federation headquarters, where information about the work is furnished and exchanged. The Department also undertakes to supply, upon request, experts qualified to examine industrial establishments, make suitable recommendations for the introduction of Welfare Work and, if required, superintend its installation. Recently, for example, the Department, at the request of the Isthmian Canal Commission, furnished two Welfare experts to investigate the needs and opportunities for the recreation of the workers engaged in canal construction. Their report, which has been made to the Commission, is designed to promote the contentment and happiness, conducive to effectiveness, of thousands of Government employees in a trying climate and amid novel environments.

The Welfare Department gives special consideration to the following topics:

- Light and Ventilation;
- Drinking Water;
- Locker and Wash Rooms;
- Seats;
- Laundry;
- Lunch Rooms;
- Rest Rooms;
- Fire Protection;
- Elevators;
- Street Cars;
- Suggestions;
- Recreation;
- Educational;
- Boarding Houses;
- Housing;
- Pensions and Relief Associations;
- Banks.

The chief mission of the National Civic Federation being educational, it presents accounts of much of its work in a monthly periodical, entitled THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW. This publication is now recognized as a valuable contribution to the economic literature of the world. It is sent to the principal libraries and educational institutions of every country; to the executive and departmental officials of every nation; to the headquarters of all professional, literary and scientific societies; to organizations, both national and local, of employers and of employees; and to thousands of editors, clergymen, educators and other leaders of thought in the professions, commerce, finance and industry. THE REVIEW has become a far-reaching educational force in the elucidation of all great public questions.

It is hoped that this statement will make clear the broadly educational purposes of the National Civic Federation and that it will enlist the earnest cooperation of those who are interested in elucidating vital social and industrial problems whose thorough comprehension is essential to national progress.

Miss Beeks was then introduced and was greeted with applause. Her talk was entirely of the work of the welfare department, and was accompanied by more than 100 fine stereopticon views showing actual conditions in scores of factories and industrial concerns of various kinds. The wonderful improvement made in provision for the comfort, health and pleasure of employees in many places was admirably illustrated, and among the model places shown were views of what has been done in this line by several local concerns, notably the Gorham Manufacturing Company and the Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company.

The views as illuminated by the speaker's explanations proved highly instructive, and the remark of Mr. Jackson at the close to the effect that "the world, as well as the sun, do move," was undoubtedly echoed by all present. The Lieutenant Governor said that he wished that Infantry Hall might have been filled with all classes of men and women to see the work that has been accomplished. Miss Beeks was given a rising vote of thanks at the conclusion of her talk.

Last evening's meeting was held largely through the efforts of Col. George H. Webb, Commissioner of Industrial Statistics, who in his forthcoming annual report will have a chapter devoted to what has been accomplished in this State along the line of work followed by the welfare department of the Federation. It is probable that within a week or two a local branch of the National Civic Federation will be formed in this State. Messrs. Joseph Fletcher, Rowland G. Hazard and J. F. P. Lawton are already members of the organization.

A GRAPHIC TALE OF FUTILE EFFORTS AGAINST RUINOUS COMPETITION.

CAPITAL, LABOR AND MERCHANTS SUFFER COMMON INJURY THROUGH THEIR UNIQUE ATTEMPT AT ARTIFICIAL REGULATION OF AN INDUSTRY.

The eleventh special Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, upon "Regulation and Restriction of Output," is a volume of nearly one thousand pages. Yet its bulk is not sufficient to permit of a really exhaustive treatment of a subject whose ramifications are exceedingly numerous and complex. But so far as it goes, this Report is of great interest and value to the student of both industrial and commercial conditions. It is a work of experts. It was prepared, when Carroll D. Wright was Commissioner of Labor, in the main by Prof. John R. Commons, now of the University of Wisconsin, assisted by John H. Gray, Ph.D., who collected the data for England; Walter E. Weyl, Ph.D., who dealt especially with the anthracite industry; and several special agents, including Ethelbert Stewart, Walter B. Palmer and Henry T. Buffington. The introduction to the report frankly states that it is impossible to present a complete summary of the evidence, "for the conditions are so widely different in various industries and in different localities in the same industry that a summary would be misleading." It has been thought best, therefore, for the purpose of conveying to the readers of *THE REVIEW* a conception of the method and results of the investigation into this subject, to republish the entire chapter upon the Window Glass Industry, which stands by itself as an absorbing narrative of attempted combination between manufacturers, jobbers and wage-earners, with its effects upon all three interests.

THE WINDOW GLASS INDUSTRY.

THE conditions in the manufacture of window glass have peculiar features not found in any other industry investigated for this report. It is the only industry where the workmen, through their organization, have attempted to join with the employers to regulate the total output of the industry according to the varying states of the market. By reason of thus entering the province of the manufacturer the history of the restrictions on output in this industry is a history of the alliances of various associations of employers with associations of workmen. More than this, the associated jobbers and wholesale dealers have become parties to the agreements, and the regulation of output has been temporarily determined by the joint action of skilled workmen, manufacturers and jobbers. The varied interests, internal dissensions, and changing market conditions have caused kaleidoscopic changes in these arrangements, and at the present time (March, 1904) alliances are broken and the output is unregulated as far as joint action of the three interests is concerned. But for more than twenty years some form of regulation, alternating with unrestricted competition, has been going on.

It is firmly believed by all parties in the trade that the peculiar nature and situation of the industry made regulation and restriction of output necessary. They point out in the first place, that the market for window glass is wholly inelastic or inelastic. That is, consumers can not be induced, even by the most extreme concessions in prices, to take a larger stock than they will take when prices are held up. This is because the market is almost wholly that furnished by the building trades, and the amount of window glass that will be purchased depends on the amount of building construction that is going on. The cost of the window glass for a building can scarcely exceed 1 per cent., or 2 per cent., of the total cost of the building, and an extreme change in the price of so small an item has no appreciable effect on the amount of construction. A concession of 50 per cent. in the price of window glass will not stimulate owners to construct more buildings, neither will a doubling of the price restrain them. Retail dealers and local builders can not be tempted to lay in a stock at low prices in anticipation of a rise, because they do not know how much or what sizes they will want. The building industry is itself largely speculative, and therefore subject to extreme fluctuations. The annual demand for window glass in recent years has fluctuated from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 boxes, irrespective of prices, so the jobbers and manufacturers say. Now, the manufacturing capacity of the country, amounting to 4,000 pots, is enough to supply this demand in three or four months. Owing to the restriction on membership and apprenticeship imposed by the organizations, there are only about 2,500 window glass blowers in the country, so that 1,500 pots are idle on that account. Yet this number of blowers is enough to supply the country's demand in four to six months, their output being about 1,000,000 boxes a month when they are all at work. Altogether the consequence is that while the factories are working, the output is beyond the current demand for building, and the stock is piling up in the hands of the manufacturers, unless they can get the jobbers to help them carry it. In either case the carrying charges are heavy, and the weaker manufacturers, if they are com-

pelled to sell, must do so at a destructive sacrifice, the jobbers not being willing to take their product when the consumers are not ready to buy. Price cutting at such times becomes utterly reckless, and, frequently, the weaker producers go to the wall. Frequent repetition of these experiences has firmly convinced the trade, all the way from workman to jobber, that restriction, or what they call regulation, of output is necessary for the protection of all. In general this regulation has been brought about in three ways, namely, by limiting the maximum output per week of each blower, by limiting the number of blowers, so that there are not enough to operate all of the pots and pot capacity, and by alliances of the unions with leading manufacturers to force a shut down of the independent manufacturers when stocks accumulate.

The window glass workers' organization began its restrictive policies in 1879, instituting the July and August shut downs. In the spring of 1879 the union passed the law restricting the output of workmen while at work, this restriction to take effect September 1, 1879. Curiously enough, this was the first year of wage agreements with the employers; and it is stated that the restrictions grew out of the demoralized conditions of trade. The manufacturers had failed to prevent destructive competition, and as a solution of troubles occurring in 1877, the union undertook to unify conditions to the extent at least of fixing the running time of all plants alike, settling an equal



JOHN R. COMMONS,
Professor Political Economy, University of Wisconsin.

amount of output per blower, and hence per pot capacity, for each; and in addition to this it gave a differential to the localities where coal was most expensive, so as to even up conditions as much as possible. Prior to 1879 the length of fire had been a go-as-you-please, and so had the output of the workmen. There was a summer vacation tradition in the industry, and few houses attempted to run without a stop. These stops varied in length and occurred sometimes in winter, when the men could work best, and then the plant would run during the summer, when the work was hardest on the blowers. The union set the limit at ten months of work, and required all plants to close from June 30 to September 1. A few of the larger plants objected to this, but it was accepted without strike. This was changed later to read: "From June 15 to September 15;" and in recent years the length of fire is fixed annually and made part of the wage-scale agreement.

At the outset of restriction (1879) the summer shut down was made a constitutional provision by the union and was intended to make a uniform working period for the men and factories, and incidentally to limit production. In practise it is found necessary to close down each year for needed repairs and changes. Especially is this true in pot furnaces, and all were pot furnaces in those days. July and August are especially disagreeable months for the working glass blower, and since shut downs were necessary it was decided that they must occur and all repairs be made during these months. With the increase in productive capacity in the United States the shut down became more and more a means to reduce the general output. The fire of 1885 was the last ten months' fire in the industry as a whole. The constitutional provision was changed to read: "Blowers or gatherers shall not work from June 15 to September 15," thus shortening the fire to nine months. With

the opening of the gas fields and the increase in furnaces, and especially with the organization of manufacturers into associations, came the further shortening of the fire.

There are four trades in the window glass workers' organization which, prior to 1880, were organized in separate trade unions with unrelated sections known as east and west. In 1880 these unions were consolidated in one organization, Local Assembly 300, Knights of Labor, and this organization remains to the present time as the only strong union among glass workers that has retained its allegiance to the Knights and has refused to go over to the American Federation of Labor. The four trades referred to are the blowers, gatherers, flatteners, and cutters. The gatherer takes the molten glass from the pot or tank; the blower shapes it in long "rollers"; the flattener smooths out the sheet in a hot oven after the snapper has cut off the ends to form a cylinder and has slit it down the side, and the cutter cuts it into commercial sizes.

On the side of the manufacturers the leading combinations in recent years have been the American Glass Company, organized in 1895 and reorganized as the American Window Glass Company in 1899. This corporation was a consolidation of the more prominent survivors of the preceding period of price war. As a result of the shortage of men the company entered into a contract with Local Assembly 300 by which a block of stock, whose par value was \$500,000, was placed in trust for the union, to be paid for out of accruing dividends, and the union was to have representation upon the board of directors of the corporation. The whole transaction was conditioned upon Local Assembly 300 furnishing this corporation an adequate number of skilled men to run its plants to their full capacity during the "length of fire" agreed upon each year. The Assembly accepted the stock and elected its president, Mr. Simon Burns, as its representative on the board of directors. The attempt to carry out this arrangement disrupted the union and caused the formation of another organization, which at first contested for the right to the title Local Assembly 300, Knights of Labor, but, being defeated in this contention, took the name of "Window Glass Workers' Association of America." This organization immediately advocated longer fires and a fair show for the independent manufacturers. Had it not been for this split in Local Assembly 300 the independents would have been deprived of a large proportion of their workmen. As it was, their plants were manned by the new organization, and at a later date Local Assembly 300, being unable to fulfil its part of the contract, forfeited its block of stock and its representation on the board of directors.

The independents being able to continue in business, a bitter war of price cutting was kept up. Jobbers took more glass than consumers could handle, and their business also suffered heavy losses. The jobbers were organized in an association which was closely affiliated with the American Company, and, indeed, was created on the suggestion of that corporation. The independents, thus threatened with a loss of their workmen on the one hand and a loss of their markets on the other, and fighting between themselves, were forced to unite in a pool to protect themselves. This they did in December, 1900, and then the American Company, "realizing the folly of senseless competition, joined with them in a share-and-share-alike agreement."

The Independent Glass Company was not a manufacturing corporation, but a selling agency, designed to regulate the output of its members. Each firm subscribed for as many shares of \$300 each as its pot capacity, which thereupon became a pledge or forfeit, binding the firm to obey the orders of the board of directors. The entire product of each firm was turned over to the company and paid for at a rate agreed upon. It then became the property of the company, to be sold, marketed, and handled with the product of the other firms. Each firm retained the management of its plant as before, except that the board of directors of the parent company had authority to designate, by a majority vote, the time for starting in the fall and shutting down in the summer, thus regulating the output for all. The board of directors was composed of one representative from each firm. This form of organization to control output was similar to that of the American Glass Company, which had preceded the American Window Glass Company. It was to expire by limitation in January, 1903.

These two combinations of manufacturers controlled about 90 per cent. of the window glass capacity of the country.

The workmen were also divided into camps, like the manufacturers—operating, respectively, the plants of each combine. Local Assembly 300, Knights of

Labor (hereafter called the old organization), manned the plants of the American Company, with a contract to furnish an adequate supply of competent workmen, while the Window Glass Workers' Association (hereafter called the new organization) manned all but three of the plants of the Independent Company. The American Company had an agreement with the old organization for a seven months' fire ending April 15, 1901.

The jobbers were organized as the National Wholesale Glass Jobbers' Association, with a New Jersey charter, the organization including every important jobber in the country. Each jobber took stock in the association to the amount of \$1,500, and the board of

SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Theodore Hardee, who has been elected Secretary of the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation, comes to that position from Portland, Oregon. There he was assistant to the President of the Lewis and Clarke Centennial Exposition, his duties including the care and entertainment of distinguished guests, and the arrangement of social functions of an official character. Mr. Hardee's previous experience has developed his qualities of tact and executive ability. After a tour of South America, he read law in California, and in 1900 became an official in the Post Office Department. He accompanied President McKinley during his visit to the Pacific coast. Afterward he was detailed as assistant secretary of the United States delegation to



THEODORE HARDEE.
Secretary of Executive Committee.

the Pan-American Congress in Mexico, where he was also special correspondent of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*.

In 1902, Mr. Hardee was assigned to accompany John Barrett, Commissioner-General of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, on a tour of the world to confirm to foreign rulers, in person, the invitation of the President of the United States for their countries to participate in the World's Fair at St. Louis. He was made the Special Commissioner to Oriental countries, and in recognition of his labors in China, the Emperor conferred upon him the Order of the Golden Dragon.

Upon his return, Mr. Hardee was appointed assistant to the General Secretary and Director of Exploitation of the Exposition, Walter B. Stevens. In this capacity his activity was devoted principally to securing attention to foreign Commissioners in fulfillment of the promises of the management. At the conclusion of the St. Louis Fair, the management conferred upon him a commemorative diploma and medal, in special recognition of his "active interest and efficient cooperation in the Universal Exposition of 1904."

Mr. Hardee is a grand-nephew of General William Joseph Hardee, of Georgia, author of "Hardee's Tactics," and Commandant of West Point prior to the Civil War. He is a graduate of St. Stanislaus College.

directors had authority, in case a jobber violated the rules regarding prices, to call for his stock, refund his money, and thus drop him from the organization. The association employed a president, on a salary, to attend to the purchase and apportionment of glass. There were two committees, a Western and an Eastern, acting with the president. The object of the jobbers' association was to make their purchases in a lump from the manufacturers and then apportion the boxes among themselves. The first purchase was 750,000 boxes, in January, 1901, at a price 30 per cent. in advance of the preceding unregulated scales, and this was furnished by the two companies of manufacturers in a proportion agreed upon between themselves.

The second purchase was made in March, when 1,000,000 boxes were taken at a further advance of 25 per cent. The jobbers' association became practically the sole selling and distributing agent of the two combines. A jobber not a member of the association, or expelled from it, could nominally purchase glass from the combines, but he would be in the position of a small purchaser at higher prices, which practically shut him out of business. Such jobbers could look only to the small number of manufacturers outside the combines, and these were not then in a position to deliver a large amount of glass.

But new conditions rapidly developed. The increase in prices was a strong motive to outsiders to build new factories, and the shortening of the fire alarmed many of the ablest and most responsible workmen. The latter went in considerable numbers into a new movement which had heretofore been experimented upon in a few cases successfully, namely, the building of cooperative factories. The workmen put in a certain amount of capital, secured a loan of the balance and elected one of their number manager. As the cost of a twelve-pot furnace—the usual size—is but a moderate figure, this form of independent action extended, until at the present time (1904) there are forty-three cooperative factories in different parts of the Middle West. Other outsiders started up, and in January, 1902, the American and Independent Companies were operating but 60 per cent. of the total number of pots in actual operation.

The cooperatives were opposed to an early stop, but an arrangement was made in 1901 by which practically all of the factories were shut down in May. It was found that both the jobbers and the manufacturers could not dispose of their stocks, and an agreement was made with the unions to advance wages 10 per cent., if they would close three-fourths of the outsiders in May. The cooperatives were placated by a contract to purchase their product for the next year, and were paid \$250 per pot as a bonus in lieu of the profits they expected to make by running to the end of June. This agreement was carried out, and by the first of June, a month earlier than the regular close, not only had the combines shut down, but the unions had withdrawn their men from practically all of the outside factories, notwithstanding the wage scale they had agreed to work until the end of June.

The wage scales agreed upon at this time for the fire of 1901-02, besides the 10 per cent. advance, provided for an eight months' fire, beginning September 15 and running to May 15. Before the date for starting, it became evident that consumers were not buying sufficient glass to warrant a start on the date arranged, and the two combines decided to postpone it to November 1. The American paid its men one-half "market money" to hold them till that time, and the cooperatives were persuaded to postpone starting till October 15. A small number of factories and workmen could not be restrained from starting the last week in September.

During the course of this season's fire the Independent Company, which was manned by the new organization whose men had declared for longer fires, announced its withdrawal from the restrictive agreement. There followed one of the most remarkable of industrial battles. The American Company joined forces with the cooperative factories, which had now in their turn organized a selling agency called the Federation Window Glass Company, which was designed to regulate output in a manner similar to that followed by the Independent Company. These cooperative factories were manned by members of the old organization (L. A. 300). This year it was agreed to shut down the factories manned by the old organization on May 24, the consideration being another increase of 10 per cent. in the wage scale for the year 1902-03. The old organization fulfilled its part and shut down the majority of the outsiders as well as three factories belonging to the Independent Company. The new organization of workmen had made an agreement with the Independent Company to work full nine months, but did not, however, secure the 10 per cent. advance granted by the American and the Federation Companies.

In the season of 1902-03 a still greater surplus stock of glass accumulated in the hands of the companies and jobbers. An early closing seemed necessary and, while the agreement of Local Assembly 300 provided that the blast should terminate May 27, 1903, the three combines shut down on or before April 18, and the old organization adopted a resolution inviting or ordering others to do the same.

The general business conditions became serious during the year 1903 and the conflict between the two labor organizations, after a temporary truce, broke out afresh. The contention turned solely on the question whether the unions should assist the manufacturers in restricting output, the old organization favoring such a policy and the new one opposing it. Wage scales were made and the members violated them by private agreements. The scales were then cancelled and lower ones accepted, and the old union made an agreement to go 5 per cent. below the wage scale of the new organization "no matter how low they go, said reductions to take effect on same day and date as their reduction." The manufacturers no longer

maintain their agreements and are selling directly to jobbers as best they can, and the jobbers' association has suspended activity and stopped expenses.

This much of the recent history of the window glass industry has seemed to be in place in order to show definitely the peculiar policy of the union for the time being in going beyond the ordinary form of restriction on output and joining with the manufacturers in attempting to control the commercial side of the business. As already stated, such a policy has not been found in any other industry. In this case it disrupted the union, caused many of its best members to venture their savings in cooperative experiments, produced an oversupply of factories, many of

CONSULTING EXPERT OF THE WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

The Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation has engaged as its Consulting Expert W. E. C. Nazro. At the time of his acceptance of this appointment Mr. Nazro was Welfare Manager of the Plymouth Cordage Company, North Plymouth, Mass. He is one of the two Welfare experts whose report to the Isthmian Canal Commission upon the needs and opportunities of recreation for Government employes in the canal zone is published in this issue of *THE REVIEW*. Mr. Nazro graduated from Harvard University in 1897, with the degree of B. A. S. upon landscape architecture, the laying out of recreation grounds, etc. In 1898 he received the degree of S. B. in architecture, having made a special study of all recreation



W. E. C. NAZRO.

buildings, such as club houses, gymnasiums, etc. After leaving college, Mr. Nazro traveled through England, France and Italy, devoting most of his time to the study of these subjects. After returning from Europe he spent two or three years in practical work along the line of architectural and mill construction, and studying particularly the adaptation of sanitary conditions, light, etc., in the construction of mills, to the needs of employes. He was for a time with a large engineering firm, which made a specialty of mill construction. From there he went to the Plymouth Cordage Company as Welfare Manager, to take up its work of mill architecture, landscape improvements, homes for employes, a library, lunch-house, recreation hall, athletic association, and the development of other Welfare features. Mr. Nazro carried on this work successfully for four years, and won the gold medal for his specialty at the St. Louis Exposition, and honorable mention and a gold medal at the Lewis and Clark Exposition for exhibits of Welfare Work.

When request is made to the Department by an employer, Mr. Nazro will study the especial needs and opportunities for Welfare Work in an industrial plant, advise the best methods of introducing such features as may be deemed most essential, and direct their installation. For example, Mr. Nazro is at present developing a new mill town at Welland, Canada. His services will be furnished to employers free, the only cost to them being his traveling expenses.

them projected for speculative purposes, and finally ended in reductions of wages and a suicidal wage-cutting war, exactly similar to the price-cutting war of the manufacturers.

Fair dealing and honorable treatment are the best business policy to pursue, and in this respect the advantages as well as the obligations of fair dealing should be reciprocal. It is not alone the duty of the corporation to be fair to its employes, but in reciprocal measure it is the duty of the employe to be loyal to his employer. —*Electrical Worker*.

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TEN CENTS

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION.*

A LARGE AND REPRESENTATIVE GATHERING ENGAGES IN FREE DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS PHASES OF THE SUBJECT.

MORE than five hundred delegates, representing commercial, economic, ecclesiastical, labor and agricultural organizations throughout the United States, gathered in Madison Square Garden Concert Hall on the morning of December 6. They met in response to the call issued by the National Civic Federation for a National Conference on Immigration, the first ever held in this country.

President Belmont's Address.

The Conference was called to order by August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation. In welcoming the delegates and outlining the course of their deliberations Mr. Belmont said:

"As President of the National Civic Federation it becomes my pleasant duty to call this meeting to order

* A full stenographic report of the proceedings of the Conference will be issued by The National Civic Federation.

and to welcome you to this Conference, held under its auspices—I repeat and emphasize, under its auspices only. The Civic Federation has no opinions and no policy to advance on the subject you are to consider, but will afford you, under its protection and through its efforts, free, uninfluenced and untrammelled debate.

"It is claimed that a change is taking place in what I may call, in a general way, the complexion or character of the immigration, which causes a very substantial portion of our most intelligent citizens to advance arguments for restrictions. They deny that this country is an asylum for the oppressed and unhappy of other nations. Indeed, they say that if this were the case, changed conditions and our growth compel us to deny what we formerly admitted. Is this really sound? You are to deliver the verdict.

"For years Europe gladly dumped her human refuse in our lap, and we housed, fed and clothed it. Of late,

however, a spirit of what we owe to ourselves has come over us. Our Federal Government has become discriminating, if not restrictive, in those matters, and it is asked by some, Do our restrictions go far enough? This is for you to answer.

"Proceeding on the theory that our national character was formed and that we had room enough for all comers, we were taught to believe that by the power of assimilation we would gain—not lose—by this constant and growing alien influx. Has the character of the flood changed, and how? If so, it is right to inquire whether from the standpoint of correct economics and sane care for our national health and mental soundness, it is for good or evil.

"Customs foreign to us and calculated to sap our national vigor are brought to our shores, and if maintained by the people to whom they have become a part of their existence, they destroy the theory of assimila-



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OPENING SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION

tion. If it were true—and unfortunately it is not true—that our people only absorbed what was good and rejected what was bad, we would have no cause to fear that menace. If, however, the enhancement of the value of material wealth is the main argument for receiving into our national existence all comers, if this is the paramount consideration, then I say you should discuss this question for the benefit of the country at large and point out a sane and beneficial course to pursue.

"That this fair land of ours, however, is not to be made a receptacle of the human refuse of nations is evidenced by the trend of Federal laws; and that the

son of unrestricted and unregulated immigration. Apart from the ordinary immigration, the general tide that may flow toward our shores by reason of some improved economic material condition, we find this artificially stimulated immigration from several sources, one of them those who are interested in the carrying of immigrants; secondly, the employer of labor, who is continually desirous of maintaining an army of unemployed workmen who shall be in continuous competition with those who are employed; and thirdly, those people whom some tyrant monarch seeks to drive out of his country as the safety valve for the maintenance of his monarchical machine. Those causes, and many others which do not now occur to me, contribute to make the condition of the American working man an exceedingly precarious one. Taking this fact, together with the industrial conditions as they obtain in our country, the highest developed machinery, the most wonderfully propelled force and power in driving the wheels with greater velocity than the wheels of any industrial machine the world over; taking again the millions of colored men, who, up to this time, have manifested but very little evidence of a desire to exert themselves to their own material improvement—all these things, my friends, make it essential that the working people of our country first exert themselves, and that you should co-operate with them and they co-operate with you, in order that the economic and material and social problems confronting them in our time may be solved in our own country without our being compelled to bear the additional disadvantage of this overwhelming number of immigrants coming from all shores and from all climes.

"I do not think that we desire to restrict immigration because we fail to appreciate the true meaning of the brotherhood of man. I do not believe that we can

we all agree that there should be some restrictions upon the natural immigration. If I have one passion and love that is stronger than another, it is for the people who are so ably and so well represented by my predecessor, President Gompers, and for that reason, for the reason that for so many centuries the laboring man has been tied to the soil and treated as a chattel belonging to the soil, that he could not leave without the permission of his seigneur—it is for that reason that I maintain that, with some limitation, the right of the human being to move from one part of the earth to another is a fundamental element of personal liberty.

"You have heard, so far as the Civic Federation is



HON. ANTHONY HIGGINS.

Vice-Chairman of the National Conference on Immigration; former U. S. Senator for Delaware.

mission of our institutions is not to afford asylum to the intemperate, the habitual beggar and pauper, the insane and the criminal of foreign nations, is well established in our minds. Other phases of this question command your time and your best thoughts. You are to consider legislation as it bears upon immigration, and to inquire whether existing laws are sufficiently comprehensive to exclude all undesirable elements; whether the volume is stimulated by extraordinary influences and whether the system of inspection as now operated is properly conducted.

"Another phase of discussion and inquiry which will be presented at this session is of momentous interest. I refer to the distribution of immigrants from ports of entry to the agricultural districts, and more particu-



SETH LOW

Chairman of the National Conference on Immigration.

be justly accused, because we desire restriction of immigration, of a failure to recognize the obligation of the fraternity of man. But the principle applies to international contests, to international questions, the same as it applies to the nation, to the family, to the individual, that self-protection is the first law of nature; and let me add this, too, that if the American people shall attempt some practical measure that shall stop to a considerable degree this wholesale immigration of people from several of the monarchical countries where tyranny is the handmaid of poverty and misery, and these people shall be compelled to remain in their own country, it will also compel them to find the remedy for their economic and social ills in their own country, and compel reform and improvement."

Oscar S. Straus.

Oscar S. Straus, Second Vice-President of the National Civic Federation, was then introduced and spoke in part as follows:

"Is it not rather remarkable that of the three gentlemen, including my humble self, who have addressed you, respectively the President, the First Vice-President and myself, two were themselves immigrants and the third is the son of an immigrant father? (Applause.) It has been said truthfully that in this country we are all immigrants; that there is simply a question of a few years between us. And therefore we, best of all, are able to study and to consider this important question and weigh in the balance the human rights, on the great platform of humanity itself. The United States is the greatest immigrant country that has ever been known to the history of the world, and I think I can say without boasting that this is, at the same time, the most prosperous, the most flourishing and the greatest country that the world has ever known.

"I think there is no difference between us upon the question that this country is not to be used as the prison house of the nations of the world. I think that



HON. W. S. WEST.

Vice-Chairman of the National Conference on Immigration; President of Georgia State Senate.

concerned, from the side of capital and also from the side of labor, and the little I have said is from the side that is neither represented as capital or as labor, but from the side of the general public; or, if I may put it in another way, you have heard from the right hand of industry and from the left hand of industry, and I am supposed to represent the heart that unites the two."

Commissioner Frank P. Sargent.

Letters expressing sympathy with the movement in favor of judicious restriction of immigration were read from Cardinal Gibbons and John H. Vincent, Chancellor of Chautauqua, after which the Chairman introduced the Commissioner of Immigration, Frank P. Sargent, who said in part:



WARREN S. STONE.

Vice-Chairman of the National Conference on Immigration; Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

"We have just passed the banner year in the history of immigration, with a record of 1,026,499 arrivals. These represented the actual accredited immigration, for which the head tax was payable to the Government, and did not include the large number coming from Canada or from Mexico, citizens of those two countries. The admission of one million people in one year from foreign countries is a large addition to our community. It makes quite a large city of itself. It is important to discover where the greater proportion of them go. You will be interested in knowing something about whence this immigration comes, what it is, where it goes, and what it is worth.



JOHN A. HOLLIDAY.

Vice-Chairman of the National Conference on Immigration; President of the Union Trust Company, Indianapolis.

larly to its effect in the South, where the industrial education and social betterment of the negro race are still unsolved problems."

Samuel Gompers.

Samuel Gompers, First Vice-President of the Civic Federation and President of the American Federation of Labor, followed Mr. Belmont. In the course of his remarks he stated the position of organized labor with regard to immigration in these words:

"Speaking primarily for those with whom I have the honor to associate most intimately, those who are usually termed the wage-earners, I know with a peculiar emphasis the conditions from which they suffer by rea-



NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE DELEGATES AT ELLIS ISLAND.

"New York, out of this figure 1,026,499, received 315,511; Pennsylvania, 210,708; Massachusetts, 72,152; Illinois, 72,770; New Jersey, 57,358; Ohio, 49,351. Six States of this Union received 777,748, or 76 per cent of the whole. The West received 43,571. The beautiful and prosperous South, just entering upon a season of great activity, commercial and otherwise, received 46,343, divided as follows: Maryland, West Virginia and Florida, 9,000; Louisiana, 5,000; Texas, 4,000; Kentucky—a glorious State for immigration, offering splendid inducements to good, hardy agriculturists, got 618. (Laughter.) Tennessee, wide-awake and prosperous, opening up some of the grandest iron industries of the South, received 782. North Carolina, a glorious State, blossoming out splendidly, got 183. South Carolina, a good second, got just 328; Georgia, 518; Arkansas, 432; Indian Territory, 438; Oklahoma, 260.

"In the great open country where immigration is required, where the best possible opportunities are offered to the peasantry of Europe to settle and grow into independence, the proportion is hardly noticeable in this great aggregation of immigration.

"Where do they come from? Austria-Hungary led the world in immigration to the United States last year with 275,693; Italy sent 221,479; Russia, 184,897; Germany, 40,574; Norway, Sweden and Denmark, 60,625; England, 64,709; Ireland, 52,945.

THE QUESTION OF DISTRIBUTION.

"Three years ago I made a recommendation, which was probably considered as rather an unusual proposition. I said: 'Let the Government go a little further than it goes to-day, merely deciding the right of the immigrants to enter on Ellis Island, and let it decide where they shall go.' In a little while you will have an opportunity to see the method of the admission of aliens

to America. There is determined what? Whether or not the alien shall come; that is all. Nothing is said as to where he shall go, but whenever he has passed the line he has the right to go wherever he pleases. I believe that in addition to telling him he can enter, we could offer, under the auspices of this Government, some information as to where it would be to his advantage to go, that we might be helpful in sending to those localities where immigration is desired a large number of those people who are to-day coming to our shores destined to the very places that are already overcrowded and where there are no opportunities for them.

"If there is any subject to-day that ought to appeal to the humanitarian in this country, it is that of the bringing of these men, women and children, some of whom you will see to-day, who have been denied admission into this country, and who have to be taken back. Why were they brought? Nine out of ten of them have been brought by the solicitation of some agent who wanted to get the percentage from the sale of tickets. In my annual report this year I urge that this subject of such vital interest be made an international one, and that a convention of the several countries be called for the purpose of discussing this subject in the interest of humanity; because if there is any person, I do not care whether he lives under a despot or under a republican form of government, who has not got sympathy for men and women and children under those conditions, I am sorry the Almighty God ever made him. (Applause.) Think that over from a humanitarian point and see if such regulations cannot be made as will provide for such inspection in Europe as will guarantee, barring an outbreak of contagion, the landing of every alien when he comes to the shores of America. (Applause.)

"Put your medical officers at the port of embarkation (applause), and let them determine there whether or not a person is afflicted with a disease that is denied admission into the United States. It is of far greater importance to us to stop the disease at the port of embarkation than to have the paltry sum of \$100 turned over to the Government by the steamship company that brings the person and takes him back.

OCCUPATIONS AND WEALTH OF IMMIGRANTS.

"Now, it may be of some interest to you to know the occupations of those who came last year. We had 162,134 agriculturists and farm laborers; you gentlemen from the agricultural districts, who are having such trouble in getting farm laborers, can realize that there was not such a very large number of farm laborers among the million who came. Common laborers, those that work at anything they can get, and get all they can for it, were 287,450. Skilled in the various trades—not all trade unionists, I am sorry to say, but many of them will be—were 180,812. Servants numbered 125,472. And yet any lady will tell you it is almost impossible to get a servant. Men, women and children without occupation were 232,018. Under the age of fourteen years were 114,668; fourteen to forty-five years of age, 850,419; forty-five years and over, 56,412.

"How much money—that is what will interest my financial friends who are present—how much money did these people bring? They brought \$25,159,012, an average of \$25 per capita. Now, would you like to know how this proportion of money is distributed? The Croatian and Slavonian races, \$15 per capita; the English, \$57; the German, \$44; the Hebrew, \$14; the Irish, \$26; North Italian, \$29; South Italian, \$17; Magyar, \$15; Polish, \$13; Scandinavians, Norwegians and Swedes, \$26; the Slavic races, \$16.

"I think that the time has come when this Government should positively assert that no convict, no man of immoral character, no man who is escaping from punishment that he rightfully deserves, no pauper, no person afflicted with contagious disease, should be permitted to obtain transportation to America on any line which has the right to enter an American seaport. (Applause.) Make every man who comes to America with his wife and children present some good evidence of his good character and his good citizenship at home. That can be obtained, if it is exacted. Bring about an influence that will prevent this promiscuous advertising and encouraging of immigration in Europe by all the interests which are involved in the carrying trade.

"Exact the most stringent enforcement of regulations for the health and comfort of those who travel by sea, especially in the steerage. Give a little more attention to the steerage and less attention to the first cabin.

"Then find some means to make known to the intelligent immigrant that it is to his advantage to keep away from New York. (Applause.) You, gentlemen, use your influence to open up some of your Southern seaports, and then immigrants can go direct to your own harbors and be landed at the gateway, where you want immigration of the right kind, and where there is plenty of opportunity for them."

Commissioner Robert Watchorn.

The first address of the second day's session was that of Robert Watchorn, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York. Dealing with the subject of the exclusion of the unfit, he urged that the present law be



FRANK P. SARGENT.
U. S. Commissioner-General of Immigration.

amended so as to exclude the feeble-minded as well as idiots and the insane. He also suggested the advisability of legislation which should prevent the recurrence of such painful incidents as the deportation or detention of alien children whose mother, by virtue of marriage with an alien since naturalized, is admitted as an American citizen. His address follows in part:

"The law provides that an idiot shall not enter the United States, and I presume that if ever there was any sound legislation, that may be considered sound. I do not believe that any idiot should be permitted to land on these shores. But the law does not say one word about those who are feeble-minded, or imbecile, and if any one here who is familiar with that subject can point out to me where idiocy leaves off and imbecility begins, I shall be indebted to him for the information, for I have not yet received it. You cannot know the number of people who are recorded by the physicians as being feeble-minded, and yet the social and political pressure that they can bring to bear upon the governing machinery oftentimes effects the landing of such persons. My contention is that persons certified by the medical examiners as afflicted with feeble-mindedness or imbecility should be classed with those certified as idiots. No amount of pressure can effect the landing of an idiot, and you should classify the weak-minded, the imbeciles, in such way as to prevent pressure effecting their landing.

"The only way you can weed out that which is, by common consent, undesirable, is by Act of Congress, for there the opinions of the country are crystallized. The way to weed it out successfully is to do what we have done in Section 9 of the present Act, the Act of March 3, 1903; and that is, summed up in a word, to make it more unprofitable to bring them than it is to leave them. In 1903 for the first time the Government could assess a fine on any steamship company or any carrying company for bringing into the United States a diseased person. Since that time, those who are afflicted with disease have fallen to such an insignificant number that they are scarcely worth mentioning. If this kind of legislation applied to loathsome

diseases can so successfully weed them out and keep them on the other side and save them the burden of a journey across the sea, surely we can extend that principle so as to include those who are also considered unworthy and those who would be a detriment to this country."

Prescott F. Hall.

Among the speakers on the topic, "What Shall be the Limitation of Immigration?" was Prescott F. Hall, of the Immigration Restriction League of the



DR. ALBERT SHAW.
Chairman, Conference Committee on Resolutions.

United States, who enlarged upon the dangers of immigration artificially stimulated by foreign steamship companies, and quoted statistics to show that the foreign-born population furnished a much higher percentage of criminals than the native-born. In the course of his remarks Mr. Hall said:

"Fifty, or even thirty years ago the expense of coming here, the hardships of the voyage, acted as a sieve to screen out the undesirable. By undesirable immigrants I mean those ignorant of a trade, lacking in resources, of criminal tendencies, averse to country life and tending to congregate in the slums of the large cities; with a low standard of living and lacking ambition to seek a better; failing to assimilate within a reasonable time and having no permanent interest in this country.

"It is significant that in general immigration legislation was found unnecessary until some years after the present flow of relatively undesirable aliens had begun. The result of this influx is shown in the large number of persons who are diseased, insane and criminal at the time of landing, or become so shortly afterward. Commissioner Watchorn asserts that the general physique



CHARLES RIDGELY.
Vice-President of Ridgely National Bank, Springfield, Ill.

of the immigrant has very much deteriorated in the last thirty years. Among recent immigrants, one Hebrew in forty-two was certified as having serious physical defects, and one Syrian in twenty-nine. Of those certified for minor defects having some bearing upon the ability of the immigrant to earn a livelihood, there was one Italian in twenty-six, one Syrian in twenty-four, one Hebrew in sixteen. The proportion of im-

migrants sent to the hospital in proportion to the landed, was for Hebrews, one in ninety, for Italians, one in one hundred and seventy-seven. Comparing male prisoners with males of voting age, those of foreign birth and parentage contributed three times as many prisoners as those of native parentage, while the foreign-born contributed more than twice as many prisoners as the native white of native birth and parentage.

"It is often said that, however it may be with the original immigrants, their children become good citizens. That this is a fallacy is shown by the fact that, of juvenile prisoners in the North Atlantic division, those of native birth and parentage furnish 855 per million, the native children of foreign parentage 2,740 per million, and the foreign born 2,252 per million. In certain special regions like the mining regions of Pennsylvania and our large cities, the figures as to criminality are more striking. In the anthracite regions from 1880 to 1890 the convictions increased nearly 10 per cent more than the population, and the proportion of Slav criminals increased nearly 25 per cent more than the Slav population. In Massachusetts the foreign-born population furnishes three times as many prisoners as those of native birth and parentage, and those of foreign birth and parentage furnish ten times as many prisoners as the natives. As regards insanity, the foreign-born furnishes 2.1-3 times the normal proportion of insane. The proportion of paupers who are foreign-born is increasing. As compared with the male population of voting age, the foreign whites furnish 4,653 paupers as compared with 2,096 of those of native birth and parentage.



JOHN W. KERN.
Representing the Commercial Club of Indianapolis.

"The last danger of the present immigration which I would mention, and perhaps the most important, is its effect, not on those whom it introduces into the country, but on those whom it excludes. It is well known that when immigration becomes of a certain low quality it tends to prevent immigrants of a better quality in foreign lands coming here. Those immigrants are diverted to other places where they will not be brought into competition with the lower grade of immigration. If we wish to have selected immigrants, it does not follow that the first effect of the selection would not be to increase the immigration of the most desirable people. But more important than that is the effect which undesirable immigration has in excluding a certain large class of persons who are never born. It is well known that the native birth-rate and even the birth-rate of more recently arrived immigrants is beginning to fall. It is falling very fast. In Massachusetts the birth-rate of the native part of the population is lower even than in France. And why? Undoubtedly this is due to several causes, but the chief cause is the desire for concentration of advantages, and one of the principal reasons for the desire of concentration of advantages is the desire for people not to have their children obliged to take up a trade and a calling in which they will be brought in close competition with a low grade of foreign labor.

"I believe we should increase the head-tax from \$2 to \$10 or \$15, so as to equalize the cost of coming to the United States with the cost of going to South Africa, Australia and South America. Let us put the United States on a level with these other countries, so that this country will not be the cheapest place to come to, the place that the poorest and least thrifty class shall seek.

"Second, let us absolutely exclude persons of poor physique, that is to say, those mentally and physically weak, defective or degenerates, so that their ability to earn a living in their particular occupation is interfered with.

"Third, I think also we should exclude the illiterates, that is, those who cannot read in their own language."

Professor Morris Loeb.

Professor Morris Loeb, of New York University, said that the spirit which actuated the last speaker was "that which whipped the Quakers out of New England towns, which drove Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson into the wilderness. It is the spirit of the grandfathers of the present generation, the Know-nothings who attempted to keep out of this country in the 50's those people who saved for the North the State of Missouri. According to the rules which the



HON. W. A. CLARK.
U. S. Senator for Montana.

Know-nothings of that period tried to bring forward, General Siegel, General Schurz, the Germans who fought for the Union in the North, as well as the Irish and the Germans who fought for the Southern States, would have been excluded. (Applause.)

RESTRICTIONIST STATISTICS ATTACKED.

"I object to the introduction of pseudo-science of every kind, and the worst pseudo-science is false statistics; and as a college professor I protest against the misuse of statistics. As an American citizen I protest against the misuse of the United States Government returns for the propagation of false statistics. I hold in my hand one of the letters of the Immigration Restriction League in which they objected to the publication by this Civic Federation of certain material which had been read in an open meeting, saying it was a one-sided representation of the facts, and that no one-



HON. ROBERT ADAMS.
Ranking Member of the House Committee on Immigration.

sided representation should go forth before an honest and fair exchange of opinion had taken place. Upward of fifty leaflets have been distributed by the League without the chance of answer. Some of them have not yet come to my hands, but some have, and I would like to show you what are the statistics upon which Mr. Hall and his friends base their aspersions upon the character of the foreign-born. He has read himself statistics about criminality upon the basis of 1,000 people of various births resident in Massachusetts. He

states that there are 3.60 per thousand of Germans who have been committed in one year for crime; 5 per thousand of Scandinavians, 5.8 of Scotch, 6 of French, and so on in descending scale, 7 in the thousand for Russians, 10 for Austrians, 16 from Poland, 15 from Hungary and 18 from Italy. Now, gentlemen, that is a serious accusation—eighteen per thousand arrested against a very small proportion, only 3 per cent. of Germans, 5 per cent. of Scotch, etc. I don't like that kind of argument. At the present time, 22.7 per thousand of the members of the United States Senate have been convicted of felony. (Laughter.) Quite a number of other gentlemen are under indictment or at least under suspicion of the commission of felony.

"He suggested that the figures that I have given you here are false, because in giving a list of arrests, for the reason that some of you will understand, arrests for drunkenness have been excluded. The Italians, the Russians and the Poles are not addicted to drunkenness, and if drunkenness had been included in the arrests, the Massachusetts figures would have had quite a different significance. (Applause.)

"We have heard about the number of dependents. Leaflet No. 42 of the Immigration Restriction League gives us the figures for dependents, which have been taken from the Immigration Commissioner's report of 1904. I quote from that leaflet verbatim:

"Considering only the insane and charitable institutions, it appears that an alien population which is only 1.3 per cent. of the total population furnishes 12 per cent. of the inmates of the institution.' Twelve per cent. of alien inmates! Gentlemen, we have 80,000,000 citizens; 1.3 per cent. of 80,000,000 is about 1,000,000. One million aliens arrive every year. Five times 1,000,000 cannot have been naturalized, therefore, and instead of having 1,000,000, that is 1.3 per cent., he should have stated five times that, about 6.3 per cent. aliens resident in the United States, if we only take into account immigrant statistics themselves. Only a born idiot or a person who is completely blinded by prejudice would have put forth figures like that without looking into it. I give the members of the Immigration Restriction League the choice of the horns of the dilemma."

Z. P. Smith.

Z. P. Smith, of North Carolina, favored an educational qualification for immigrants and thought any man an undesirable immigrant who did not purpose becoming an American citizen. Speaking of his visit to the Immigrant Station he said: "There was one thing that impressed me very forcibly: that Ellis Island ought to be on the other side. (Applause.) I was struck with the injustice that this country is perpetrating upon some helpless and defenceless people, aided and abetted by their mother country. We bring a woman here with a lot of children, and you saw them and I saw them, and we don't know whether they will be deported or not. I have no doubt that the medical examiners perform their duties faithfully and well—there is no question in my mind about that—but the examination given the immigrants is very superficial. The place to examine the immigrants is before they are allowed to get on the plank of the steamship. If you will do that, if this Civic Federation will pass a resolution saying that we demand a rigid, not a superficial medical examination and a physical examination of the man, the woman and the child, I tell you you are going to reduce this immigration a very great deal."

Mr. Carnegie for the Open Door

Andrew Carnegie was introduced as "probably the most distinguished immigrant that ever came to these shores." After remarking that immigration was not among the serious problems of the country, Mr. Carnegie said:

"We have solved the question in the present by the somewhat too drastic law that we have enacted. You heard Mr. Watchorn, and you know that the right man is in the right place. (Applause.) Now, what would this country have been without immigration, and who is there here who is not either an immigrant himself or has not immigrant blood in his veins? (Applause.) It is not a problem for us; it is the problem of the poor, unfortunate countries from which we are draining the best blood. (Applause.) Prince Bismarck declared that the United States was draining the most valuable blood of Germany, and he would pass laws preventing the Germans from leaving their country to swell the growth and the prosperity and happiness of the American people (applause), and he was a wise man.

"Now, I hold the prime test and the only test we should exact is this: Has a man ambition to enjoy the rights of an American citizen? Has he the habits of sobriety and frugality to save the sum necessary for him to reach that port? And is he skillful enough to earn that surplus? I want no better proof or testimony than that. If I owned America, and was running it as a business operation, I would not only look for that man, but I would give every man of that kind a premium to come here (applause), and consider it the best bargain that I had ever made in my life.

"Gentlemen, taking the cost, the value of a man, a woman or a child in this Republic as low as you put

the slave, and that was an average of about \$1,000, you are getting 400,000 a year, and that means \$400,000,000 cash value. And every man who comes here is a consumer, and 90 per cent. of all his earnings—even the most saving of them don't save more than 10 per cent.—every dollar of that goes to employ other labor of some kind. The grossest mistake that labor ever makes—if it ever makes a mistake at all (laughter)—is this, that a man coming in here to work injures others, and that they are all in compartments di-



W. D. JELKS.
Governor of Alabama.

vided from each other. Gentlemen, labor is one undivided whole, as society is one undivided whole, and the prosperity of one branch of labor entails the prosperity of other branches. Every laborer is a consumer, and he employs the labor of others. We are interdependent, and the laboring classes of this country have not only nothing to fear from immigration, but as the country becomes wealthy and grows in population, it will be all the more important that we should have the right kind of immigration. Now, this country is the most prosperous in the world. You will all agree with that. It is also the country that receives the great stream of foreigners. A speaker said something about the purity of blood. It is not purity of blood you want; it is a mingling of different bloods that makes the American. (Applause.)

"This question of immigration is settling itself. The net foreign immigration is about 400,000 a year. Your



HON. AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER.
Representative in Congress for the Sixth Massachusetts District.

native births are 1,200,000 a year. There is no danger of foreign immigrants ever affecting the dominancy or the characteristics of the American people. A gentleman has said here that immigration is to increase rapidly. Never was there a greater mistake. Immigration is at its height now, and it is to fall and fall. Don't trouble yourself about imaginary dangers, and don't lie awake at night over the danger to the American nation from immigration. Consider something real. You have got them here, and let Mr. Watchorn

go along with his arrangements and little adjustments that he has talked to us about, and go to bed and sleep. The American Republic does not need you to lie awake on the subject of immigration." (Applause.)

Archbishop Ireland Welcomes Aliens.

Archbishop Ireland's address was an eloquent plea for a liberal immigration policy. In the course of it he said:

"It is now proposed by some to limit immigration. Of course we should limit it to exclude the criminals, to exclude the idiots, to exclude those afflicted with con-

excel in history, a nation that will excel in art, a nation that will have high ideals as well as practical judgment. And for that we need these different races, each one bringing the best, and out of all a great world uprising that will stand unparalleled in history.

"Gentlemen, be not afraid of immigration. Be assured that the more, as the President says, of the right kind we can have, the better. And if you go selecting here and there, you will drive out the very best. Increase the per capita tax? Why, some of the sturdiest and best are those who have worked hard for years to earn in other countries \$30 or \$40 to buy tickets, and must we put on \$30 or \$40 more? We must remember that it is a dangerous thing to pick out the weeds here and there in such a manner as to pick out the good seed as well as the weed."

Congressman Adams on Discrimination.

The Hon. Robert Adams, of the House Committee on Immigration, speaking of his efforts to frame legislation which should discriminate between desirable and undesirable classes and nationalities, said:

"In a conversation with my colleague, Mr. Gardner, of Massachusetts, he made the suggestion, why not limit the number from any given country, and that ought to give the solution? That put into practical form the idea that I had in my mind, and I drafted a short bill, which simply stated that no more (and the number is empiric) than 80,000 immigrants from any one country should enter the United States in any fiscal year. That is all. Now, what is the practical result? Italy sent 232,000 men in 1903. Russia sent 106,000, and Austro-Hungary 202,000. No other nation on the entire continent of Europe sent more than 40,000 immigrants in any one year. So you see

panies would seriously object to any of these restriction laws. At heart I doubt if they seriously would object to an educational test, though they will fight it on the principle of keeping us as long at the soup as possible in order to avoid our getting at the meat. Now, if it is selection or distribution that you want, we will do our best, if that is what the people want. I do not underrate distribution and selection, but I want restriction, and if the people want that they have got a fight on their hands, and it is none too soon to begin. You cannot get restriction that really restricts without such a fight.



CHARLES W. ELIOT.
President of Harvard University.

tagious disease; but to limit it so as to exclude a man coming attracted by the freedom of America, ready to put his hand to the tiller, or to the plough, ready to be an American, would be to turn back upon all the traditions of the past—would be a mistake. (Applause.) What may be done two or three hundred years hence is another question; but to-day America has not at all the population it should have to develop its resources. It has not at all the population which it should have to be great. We need immigrants. We need them in almost every State in the country; in new States to develop our unbroken lands; in other States to give great impetus to our industries.

"It has been asked, 'But shall they vote?' That is another question. Let us dissociate absolutely the question of voting from that of immigration. When they are here it is time enough for us to say: 'Well, it will



ANDREW CARNEGIE.
Publicist and Philanthropist.

the practical working of this simple bill is that Northern Europe is left to develop from 40,000 up to 80,000; Southern Europe is reduced to 80,000.

"The immigrants that come from Southern Europe do not go out upon the land and fertilize our country; they herd here in cities. I am sorry I haven't the time to give you the facts, which I am sure would have very great weight with you, but I can only say that the Hebrew Charities Association of New York shows that there are 20,000 Hebrews dependent upon charity right here in this City of New York."

Hon. Augustus P. Gardner.

In opening the discussion of "The Method by which Immigrants may be Selected," Congressman Augustus P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, said in part:

"If every law that I have heard suggested for the selection of immigration had been in operation last year, though I cannot prove it, I venture to say that nevertheless last year would have been just the same the banner year of immigration into this country. Even your educational test would not, in my opinion, have substantially reduced the number. The figures are not available, or I have not been able to get them for this year, but taking the last previous year, out of 800,000, 200,000 could not read. There were, however, over 100,000 under the age of fourteen. Therefore it is presumable that a large part of the 200,000 illiterates were minors. But let us assume that 125,000 would have been excluded; that is not such a very big proportion. Is it not true that it would simply have resulted that the padrone or the steamship company, or the agents of the corporation would have been obliged to take Jones and Smith for his passage to America instead of Brown and Green? They would have no difficulty in selecting material to draw from, surrounding the Mediterranean, that can read and write. And I don't believe that that law would substantially restrict our immigration. I don't believe that the steamship com-



RT. REV. JOHN IRELAND.
Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Paul

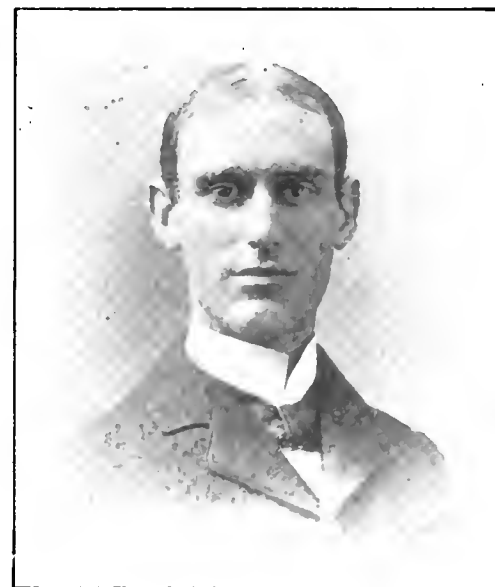
"Now, if we honestly want restriction—and I confess that I have no idea whether the people of the United States want it or not—if we really and honestly want it, let us go for it, and not waste our energies in long battles over minor issues. Really and seriously, to cut down immigration we need a law drastic in its nature, easy to enforce, independent of human frailty, of the judgment of our officials, and automatic in excluding valueless citizens. And such a measure I believe can be found in a \$40 head-tax to be imposed on males alone coming from all countries with the present excepted countries, Canada, Mexico, Newfoundland and Cuba, with, of course, such exceptions as are necessary of a humanitarian kind.

"Now, under a head-tax of \$40 it would pay no foreign nation to dump their paupers upon us. It would not be worth while for any contractor to keep a weak



WALTER MACARTHUR.
Representing the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League.

take so many years more or less to entitle them to the franchise." What we are talking of now is bringing immigrants here to develop the country, and we need them, and we need not fear them. We need all the different elements to build up one great American nation. We need the plodding men of the North, and we need the poetic men of the South. What is making to-day the greatness and grandeur of the British Empire is the fact that the Anglo-Saxon, the Scotch, the Irish, each one with his own element of mind and heart is building up that great empire. This is an age of new things, new nations. We are building up here the greatest and best of nations, a nation that will



PRESCOTT F. HALL.
Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League.

alien until he paid back that extra \$40, and I believe that the padrone would very surely find that the duty on the assisted immigrant was prohibitive."

Dr. Frankel Defends Jewish Immigrants.

Dr. Lee R. Frankel, Superintendent of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, was one of several forceful and eloquent speakers who championed the cause of the immigrant, particularly of the Jewish immigrant. "Now," he asked, "are we going to select our coming immigrants in the light of those who have come

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THE HOURS OF LABOR.

EMPLOYERS AND WORKINGMEN DISCUSS THE QUESTION AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION.

THE first annual meeting of the New England Civic Federation was held at the Revere House, Boston, on the evening of January 11. The number in attendance exceeded two hundred and included 86 employers, 86 representatives of labor organizations and 49 others, largely representative of the various professions. The subject for discussion was "Hours of Labor." A reception preceded the speaking, and Governor Guild and ex-Governor Douglas cordially greeted the members of the Federation and their guests.

Welcomed by Governor Guild.

Governor Guild was obliged to leave before the formal meeting opened, and, standing in the center of the group of those assembled, he said that he was glad to share with his friend, Governor Douglas, the opportunity to congratulate the Federation on its first year of success.

"We have The Hague Conference to adjust difficulties between nations," he said, "and we now have a no less important organization like this in our midst to adjust and bring peace, law and order in the civil as well as military life of the nation."



CURTIS GUILD, Jr.
Governor of Massachusetts.

"I congratulate you on your work and bring to you the greetings of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which has always tried to be somewhere near the front, no matter what party was in control, in matters of justice and equal rights for all men, which should be not merely the Massachusetts, but the American motto."

Secretary Robbins opened the meeting and read a letter from President Lucius Tuttle, who was delayed. First Vice-President Frank H. McCarthy presided.

Ex-Governor Douglas.

Ex-Gov. William L. Douglas was then introduced as the first speaker of the evening, and said:

"Mr. Chairman, I find myself heartily in accord with the purposes of your organization. For some years the community has felt the importance of finding a common ground in industrial matters on which the public, the employer and the employee could stand. It seems to me that you have found it. The fact that so many are here to-night proves that the mutual desire to be helpful in establishing right relations between employer and employee is entertained by a considerable portion of the community, and your success in organizing them into a power for good is apparent. Such an organization as yours would hardly be possible in any other country; it is essentially American; equality and free speech are its basis, and I am sure that as time goes on it will take an important part in establishing the relations of employer and employee."

FORMER OPPOSITION TO CONCILIATION.

"I am not a stranger to the proposition which you represent. Twenty years ago, when the idea of conciliation and arbitration had not been accepted by the public, and at a time when such a flourishing organization as yours would have had no support in the minds of the people, it became my duty on the floor of the Senate to labor for the enactment of a law which should define the policy of this State in labor difficulties."

"The arguments of those who opposed the position which the State then took seem strange to-day. It was claimed that the community had no interest in matters

pertaining solely to employers and employees; that it was beneath the dignity of the public to enter into the private affairs of the buyers and sellers of labor, who must be left to fight out their differences alone. The State, it was claimed, had no right to assert itself in any manner, even though its prosperity were at stake. It was only by overcoming a strong opposition of this sort that we are enabled to enter upon a policy which is substantially like the idea which you represent."

"The difficulty of the present industrial situation and the means of handling it are best understood by a study of the evolution of modern forms of industry. Men of my age have lived in all the stages of the development of the industrial system from the time when the employer worked side by side with his journeyman, up to the modern factory with its thousands of employees, whose very names it is impossible for the employer to know. The remedy is simply to replace what has been lost by the change. There was no need for the employer and the employee to 'get together' a generation ago, because they were together all the time."

"The personal relationship, made impossible by the factory system, we endeavor to replace by instituting boards of conciliation in each department of the business, composed of workmen who represent the interests of the individuals and bring to the employer their questions, which we feel bound to consider in the spirit of helpfulness, fairness and justice. In this way the confidence of both parties is strengthened; and by a reasonably conciliatory attitude on the part of both we succeed in many instances in speedily adjusting the matters of difference caused by the ever-changing methods and system of production, which too frequently, by lack of confidence, become the cause of chronic grievances. By means of these boards of conciliation in the different departments we are enabled to reduce the number of causes to be left to arbitration."

"I have endeavored to extend this plan of conciliation so as to embrace groups of local factories in the same industry; and while it is not always successful on that line, still I am sure you will agree with me that this plan, having been adopted at Fall River for the settlement of the six months' strike there, resulted in the establishment, for the first time in that city, of a working basis for the settlement of wage disputes, and the lasting benefits accruing to those concerned are apparent to all."



JAMES DUNCAN.
General Secretary, Granite Cutters' International Association
of America.

"Such a plan, of course, requires organization of the workman. No man needs to fear organization of his employees if he sincerely approaches in this way the questions that arise between them. As a workman at the bench, I was a member of all the organizations of my craft and since becoming an employer have always felt that my employees had the same right to belong to labor organizations that I had myself."

"It seems to me that the employees think too much of arbitration and the employer too little of conciliation in industrial matters to-day."

"I notice in the statement of purposes which you have put forward in your by-laws, Mr. Chairman, that you propose to encourage mutual agreements between

employers and employees as to conditions under which labor shall be performed, and the faithful adherence of both parties in letter and spirit to agreements so made. I understand that you refer to collective agreements."

WORKINGMEN MUST KEEP AGREEMENTS.

"I believe that this matter of faithful adherence to agreements is the most important phase of the industrial problem now before the public. I wish I could impress upon workmen the importance of unwavering support of contracts which they make. I believe that in the past laboring people have lost more by a failure to keep agreements than by almost any other cause. They have not understood that the employer must know that their agreements can be relied on in order that he may go into the market and make contracts of which he can give them the benefit. Business honor is no more the foundation of mercantile success than industrial honor is the foundation of industrial success. I hope that your Federation will require uncompromising adherence to this provision of your constitution and continually exert an active influence to assist in upbuilding that



WILLIAM L. DOUGLAS.
Former Governor of Massachusetts.

faithful adherence to contracts which you name as one of your purposes. A high standard of honor in such matters, Mr. Chairman, comes by gradual growth. Not at first, but after slow and sometimes difficult progress, do we arrive at a high standard."

"I can see progress in the last ten years. Now, we must not expect to arrive at a high standard in one bound, but rather, while we continually insist with firmness on the necessity of the fulfillment of agreements, we should at the same time be mindful of the importance of the spirit of helpfulness toward those who have not been accustomed to the importance of integrity in agreements. I believe that, in the long run, we shall do more good in this way than by wholesale condemnation of every failure. When an employee is wrong he should be told so; but then, there is such a difference in the spirit in which you tell him. We shall arrive at a full appreciation of the importance of industrial honor more quickly by the helpfulness of which you speak in your by-laws than by denouncing and speaking evil. It is the policy of some to denounce the laboring people for certain shortcomings, which they undoubtedly have, and to minimize the value of the progress already made."

"I have no desire to allow either party to compromise the right and admit that we all have much to learn in industrial relationship; still I believe that the spirit with which we approach new and knotty questions is more important than what we do. An employer who is honest with himself and his employees is not likely to go far wrong if he is determined to meet the questions which arise in a fair spirit; while he who approaches his difficulties with the opposite spirit is not likely often to be right."

A British View—Mr. Mosely's.

Alfred Mosely said in part:
"Eight hours' work, eight hours' play, eight hours' sleep and eight dollars a day. (Laughter.) That is the ideal which I often hear expressed by work people. There are some who would probably place eight pints of beer instead of the eight hours' sleep (laughter),

but I venture to think in this country that number is happily small. There are others again who doubt the possibility of this ideal of eight hours all round, including eight dollars a day, and are inclined to view the situation from an economic standpoint.

"There are some trades in which I quite agree that eight hours are more than ample, such as mining, and there are many industries where competition does not enter into the field, where you have safeguarded your



LUCIUS TUTTLE.
President of the New England Civic Federation.

markets against the intrusion of foreign products, and where you are safe from outside competition, such as in the printing trade, say of newspapers. I do not see why, with no fear of competition, providing that the work is sufficiently arduous, eight hours should not be ample in such trades, and there are others that may be enumerated. But as a whole the question arises as to whether eight hours can be made universal for all trades for all countries under all conditions.

"Personally I am one of those who think not. Before you can get such an ideal as that, it is necessary to bring, in my opinion, the labor world under one head. Organized labor must not look alone to this country, but to other parts of the world in order to bring it thoroughly into harmony before you can decide upon a universal standard of hours.

"One great question that you have to answer is—and this is a very important question, gentlemen—does the United States intend to manufacture only for itself, or are you going to try to compete in the neutral markets of the world? How can you hope to compete with eight hours' work if Germany and other countries are going to work nine and ten hours and pay their people infinitely lower wages than you are accustomed to receive in this country? Now, gentlemen, you who are representing the labor organizations, I put it to you as a serious question: Is such a thing possible as eight hours?

"The Civic Federation is an organization with which I am in hearty sympathy. I have seen much of its workings. If you will remember, some years ago I was here with an industrial commission of some twenty-two or twenty-three trade union leaders from Great Britain. The Civic Federation, to whose members I appealed for help, readily came forward and piloted the whole of my commission through the States. Mr. Marcus Marks, who is with us here to-night, kindly came forward and said: 'If I can be of any assistance, I will travel round the country with you.' Mr. Easley appointed Mr. Marks, Mr. Donnelly and one or two others to guide us, and their efforts were devoted to making our trip instructive and easy, and I have to thank the employers of this country for having so liberally opened their doors to our people. It was a great opportunity. It was a great education for our commission, and I feel that I am deeply indebted to the Civic Federation for the courtesy which they showed to my people and to myself on that occasion.

"The Civic Federation, as I understand it, lays itself out for the settlement of labor disputes. It does not wait until a strike has taken place and both sides have taken up a position from which they cannot climb down with dignity, but the Federation steps in before any breach has occurred and gets the employer and employee at a round table conference. Now, gentlemen, we all know if before any bitterness has entered into a struggle; if before any act has occurred from which neither side can recede, if you can only get them at the round table to talk out their difficulties, that as a rule half the trouble is over, and ten to one that they will succeed in finding a way out of the various difficulties presented; and I believe it is often found when they come together that they are really talking about that which each side does not understand. In other words, there is no real difference of opinion; it is only imaginary.

The Civic Federation has undertaken this work and has carried it to a triumphant issue. A thousand and one disputes that you hear nothing at all about have been, I believe, settled. It is only here and there, when the Federation unfortunately failed to bring about settlements, that it is bruited about in the papers that there is another strike, or that the Civic Federation has attempted to do something and failed. You hear of their failures very largely, but there are scores of successes they are modestly inclined to say nothing about; and I venture to think that both capital and labor are under a deep debt of gratitude to the Civic Federation, which makes for peace, prosperity and contentment, and I have no hesitation in congratulating you gentlemen upon the splendid work that has been accomplished in the past, a work which is only at its inception; and if you people will try to pull together in the future as in the past, there is no limit to the work that the Civic Federation may accomplish for the good of all concerned and especially for the good of the United States." (Applause.)

Eight Hours Enough—James P. Archibald.

James P. Archibald, District Organizer of the Brotherhood of Painters, New York City, said:

"I do not quite agree with Mr. Mosely when he is perhaps pessimistic as to the outcome of our efforts for the eight-hour day. I have been convinced for a



JOHN MASON LITTLE.
Treasurer of the New England Civic Federation.

great many years that eight hours is at least long enough for any man to labor, and I hope and trust that the American trades union movement will never for a single instant do anything that will impede the progress of that advance and its ultimate consummation in this country.

"The movement has given an incentive to the trades unionism of the country, not alone this country but of



FRANK H. MCCARTHY.
First Vice-President, New England Civic Federation.

the entire world. And I do believe that if that were eliminated from our movement to-day it would be hard to keep together that compact and solid mass of men that are coming from all trades to stand together for the purpose of achieving a distinct record in that particular line."

Mr. Archibald said that shorter hours would bring

greater opportunities for education and the development of home life, and thus make for contentment and peace between employer and employee.

Marcus M. Marks.

Marcus M. Marks, of New York, spoke as follows:

"That there has been a strong tendency—in fact, a well-defined movement—toward the shorter workday during the past few years will hardly be denied. The



ALFRED MOSELY.
Former Chairman of the Mosely Industrial Commission.

question is, has this movement a logical basis? Is it for the best interests of employer and employee? How can it be regulated so as not to affect industry unfavorably?

"The cry for shorter hours comes invariably from the side of labor. Legislation looking to the shortening of the work day has received its inspiration almost entirely from the same source. Rarely, if ever, have employers inaugurated movements in this direction. In fact, capital as a class has resisted and opposed such efforts.

"Let us see what causes these forces of capital and labor to range themselves in opposing columns in this discussion.

MACHINERY AND SPECIALIZATION.

"Labor asks for shorter hours not on account of a mere whim, nor because the call makes a popular slogan, but because the conditions of employment have been changed so much in recent years that workers feel justly entitled to a shortening of the day. They contend that the introduction of machinery has in a large degree replaced the exercise of the muscles, by the use of the eye and the mind. This causes more strain on the system. They contend further that specialization of labor has taken away the restful variety and change of occupation which formerly diversified the day's employment, and has substituted a regular monotony of daily labor which is much more tiring. For, whilst a workman might contribute his maximum efficiency in working ten to twelve hours per day when strictly physical and variegated effort was required, the greater strain of the present so-called 'improved' condition of labor may now bring about the necessity for a reduction of hours in order to preserve the same degree of efficiency. Of course, different trades and occupations vary considerably in the degree of wear and tear on the workman; some classes of work are comparatively easy and simple, while others are more complex and difficult; so that while an eight-hour day may be proper and economically successful in some, a nine or ten-hour day would be just as natural and not unreasonable in others.

"There is another consideration with prompts the demand on the part of labor for a shorter workday: it is the greater desire for self-improvement. This has been encouraged by the advance in the public school system which affects our younger workmen in particular; also by the multiplication of popular free lectures, public libraries, cheap books and newspapers, etc., that have awakened in the workmen's minds the ambition to lead a better life, possible only in the enjoyment of a reasonable amount of leisure.

"It has frequently been charged by employers that a reduction in hours of labor would mean a corresponding increase in saloon patronage. Is this so? Is it a reason, or an excuse for keeping up the grind? Human nature is very much the same whether a man is clothed in Kentucky jeans or in fine linen. When do you, Mr. Employer, feel the need of a stimulant? When you are fresh and rested, or when you are tired and exhausted? Why should you, then, conclude that your workman is differently constituted? Try him—give him shorter hours if you possibly can, a Saturday, half-holiday if trade conditions permit, and you will find that in most cases he will join his wife and chil-

dren in reasonable healthful recreations. He will take advantage of one of Nature's greatest blessings, the bright warm sunshine, and will from time to time enjoy benefits that will tend to make him a better man, a more useful citizen and a more intelligent worker.

RESTRICTION OF OUTPUT.

"If workmen expect employers to be influenced by the arguments already set forth in favor of a shorter work day, they in turn must give earnest assurance that existing restrictions of output will be withdrawn, with due regard, of course, to the protection of health and maintenance of the quality of labor; that they will do their very best work during the desired shorter hours of employment. I have heard that there are three sorts of day's work. One is a day's work, another, a good day's work, and a third, the best one can do in a day. It is the last that should be forthcoming, and then it may be found that, while the worker has gained, the employer has not lost. For it stands to reason that the quality of the stroke will be better, more energetic and forceful, when the pull is a shorter one. Also, the spirit put into the task when the worker feels that he is being liberally treated and not being made a slave of, should count favorably in the net result of his effort. When machinery is used it will be found that when the man who attends to it has shorter hours, there will be fewer repairs required, fewer stoppages, fewer accidents and in other ways many economic advantages.

"When we discuss the question of restriction of output by union regulation, we touch a rather tender spot. The existence of schedules defining and limiting the amount of work a man may do in a day is usually denied by the unions; and it is a fact that such restrictions have latterly not been countenanced by na-

manufacture. Then the effect of a reduction in output, necessitating the employment of more men to do the same amount of work, frightens the manufacturer. He fears that he will have to build a larger factory to accommodate more help in order to turn out the same product. This would mean more rent, more machinery, more supervision, more wear and tear, more expense generally. These objections may be overcome, if all manufacturers in a trade agree on a basis of hours that will be uniform, and therefore work injury

Government contract under an eight-hour work day. We are waiting for the results, and we organized workmen have no fear of these results. The figures up to the present time show that the men with the shorter day and higher pay are producing a cheaper job for the Government than the Government is getting by contract under a low wage system. The actual figures for that work can be had through the Department of Labor at Washington, to prove what I say."

Louis D. Brandeis on the Need of Leisure.

In the course of his remarks on the subject, Louis D. Brandeis said:

"Whether in a particular business at a particular time the hours of labor should be materially shortened presents usually a grave question. Such a change, owing to competition direct or indirect, may seriously threaten the prosperity or even the life of the business; or the demand for the reduction of hours may be coupled with other terms or conditions clearly inadmissible. In such cases strenuous resistance becomes the duty of the employer. But however commendable the resistance of the employer to a reduction of hours may be in a particular case, we should all recognize that a short working day is in general essential to the attainment of American economic, social and political ideals, and our efforts should be directed to that end.

"Mr. Gompers quoted some time ago the saying of Heine that 'bread is freedom.' The ancient Greeks, recognizing that 'man cannot live by bread alone,' declared that 'leisure is freedom.' Undoubtedly 'a full dinner pail' is a great achievement as compared with an empty one, but no people ever did or ever can attain a worthy civilization by the satisfaction merely of material needs, however high these needs are raised. The American standard of living demands not only a high



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.
Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, New England
Civic Federation.

to none. It is, however, quite true that in many lines of manufacture, foreign competition must also be carefully taken into account."

James Duncan.

James Duncan, of Quincy, General Secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Union, said:

"You may take any locality in this or any other country where the hours of labor have changed from ten to nine or nine to eight, and I say that temperance has increased in accordance with that reduction. I had the honor to speak in a meeting in Georgia a short time ago, where the mayor of the town was the presiding officer, and he told me when he first became a municipal officer a great part of the revenue of the town came from fines for drunkenness and disorderly conduct of the working people of the vicinity. The granite industry, with which I am proud to be connected, became busy in that locality, and we began the agitation for the shorter work day. The mayor told me that after we had introduced the eight-hour day—and we



MARCUS M. MARKS.
President of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers.

tional labor leaders. But the stubborn fact remains that shop regulations frequently do establish them with or without national authorization, and the result is very bad indeed. Many workmen still feel that by 'going slow' the job will last longer and give steadier employment. They forget that they are thus handicapping the employer, and that soon, if they continue the evil practice, he will be unable to give them a job at all, for the competition of other manufacturers, whose men are turning out a full day's product, will slowly but surely drive him out of business. Whatever injures employers soon comes to injure employes as well. Unrestricted production, inventive genius and executive talent have brought Americans to the front rank in the world's industries. If the English 'ca' canny' policy creeps in, there will be danger of our dropping out of our proud place of leadership. In the last message of President Roosevelt, under the heading of 'Labor,' we find the sentiment: 'Unless we continue to keep a quick and lively sense of the great fundamental truth that our concern is with the individual worth of the individual man, this Government cannot permanently hold the place which it has achieved among the nations.'

"Arbitrary restriction of output injures not only the employer, not only the commerce of the country, but, worst of all, it degrades the workman. When a wage-earner does not deliver a full day's work for a full day's pay, he is dishonest to himself as well as to his employer; he loses his self-respect, the safeguard of his manhood. He further fails to develop the best that is in him; his latent energies are not encouraged and die out; and he becomes in time a weary, hopeless plodder.

"There are many considerations in the employer's mind in dealing with the shorter hour question. First and foremost, on account of keen competition, he can not ignore the effect of the possible increase in cost of



HENRY ABRAHAMS.
Recording Secretary, New England Civic Federation.

were successful, and other trades working nine hours were afterwards reduced to eight—disorderly conduct and intemperance became so little known in the community that the town had to look for taxation in other directions than the saloons in order to meet its necessary expenses.

"The labor movement has proved its position by experience. Take, for instance, the competition that is going on in the building of the two great warships now under construction, one being built by contract under a long-hour work day, and the other being built by



HAYES ROBBINS.
Secretary of the New England Civic Federation.

minimum wage, but a high minimum of leisure, because we must meet also needs other than material ones.

"The welfare of our country demands that leisure be provided for. This is not a plea for indolence. Leisure does not imply idleness. The provision for leisure does not contemplate working less hard. It means ability to work not less, but more; ability to work at something besides bread-winning, ability to work harder while working at bread-winning; and ability to work more years at bread-winning. We need leisure, among other reasons, because with us every man is of the ruling class. Our education and condition of life must be such as become a ruler. Our great beneficent experiment in democracy must fail unless the people, our rulers, are developed in character and intelligence.

"Now consider what, particularly in our large cities, the chance for such development is for men and women who are required regularly to work ten or even nine hours a day. Even a nine-hour work day means, including the noon hour, ten hours at the factory or work shop. That means in Boston for most of those who live in the suburbs eleven or twelve hours devoted to the work shop and getting to and from it. When you add the time necessarily spent at breakfast and supper, dressing and undressing, housework, shopping and sleep, you find that at least twenty-one of the twenty-four hours are devoted to subsistence, and a small fraction of the day is left for living, even if after the long day one is in a condition mentally and physically really to live.

"To attain proper development of character, mind and body a short working day is essential, and the eight-hour day is in most occupations and for most people not too short. For the exceptional occupation and for the exceptional man in any occupation, no general rule is required, and right thinking on this subject cannot

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William M. Frazier, former President National Founders' Association, Philadelphia.

On the Part of Wage Earners.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington.
John Mitchell, President United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis.
E. E. Clark, Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
James Duncan, General Secretary Granite Cutters' International Association of America, Quincy, Mass.
Daniel J. Keefe, President International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, Detroit, Mich.
Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland.
P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland.
William D. Mahon, President Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.
William J. Bowen, President Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Indianapolis, Ind.
J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
John F. Tobin, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Moulders' Union of North America, Cincinnati.
James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.

THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION CONFERENCE.

The National Conference on Immigration, which assembled in New York on December 6—a synopsis of whose proceedings appears elsewhere in this issue—was a remarkable gathering from several points of view. It was the first of its kind ever called in this country; and that the importance and magnitude of the problem to be discussed by its members was fully appreciated is shown by the fact that more than five hundred delegates attended the opening session. These included representatives of every considerable section of the United States proper, and, in one case, of this country's insular possessions. That so many bankers, merchants, professional men, labor leaders and legislators should leave their callings to take part in this conference argued an intensity of interest which insured a discussion worth listening to. All shades of opinion were represented, from that of the capitalist who desired cheap foreign labor to that of the trade unionist who feared alien competition in wages; from that of the humanitarian who would welcome every strong and willing worker, however poor, to that of the reformer who would raise a higher barrier against the penniless alien. All these and many other views were presented with great fullness and frankness from the floor and platform, the widest opportunity for argument being afforded; so that the resolutions voicing the sentiments of the Conference were finally adopted with practical unanimity.

Apart from the formal results obtained in the framing of these recommendations to Congress, the educational effect of the Conference cannot fail to be of permanent value. The delegates who returned to their homes with a wider outlook upon the subject of immigration will influence their communities in the sane discussion of it; and the Department of Immigration of The National Civic Federation, one of the consequences—and not the least important—of the Conference, will, by its systematic investigation of the questions raised there, furnish a basis for intelligent and practical action upon some of the most perplexing phases of the immigration problem.

GOOD WORDS FOR UNIONS FROM THE "SUN."

Two bits of recent strike history are significant of a growing spirit of fair play in industrial differences. Under the caption of "A Model Strike" the New York *Sun* of January 13, commenting upon the action of the union printers in their contest with the Typothetae, said:

So far in its history the strike of union printers against the book and job offices in New York City has differed in one important particular from many previous contests of a similar nature, in that it has been free from violence and outrage. The union men, exercising their undoubted right to quit work, walked out of their employers' shops over a week ago. Since then the employers have borne public testimony to the good order observed by their former workmen and the absence from their campaign of violations of the law.

Too often a strike means bludgeonings, sandbaggings, attempts at arson, the distribution of explosives and similar terrifying tactics. The printers' struggle of 1906 sees the adoption of no such measures, in its early stages at least, and witnesses the use of proper arguments, offers of better treatment and the like, to induce support and win recruits. This policy indicates an understanding among the strike leaders of the public opinion that demands from all, employer and employee alike, strict observance of legal methods in the adjustment of their disputes.

Perhaps it may mean the beginning of a period in which the sober, honest, law-abiding men among the unionists of all trades are to have their way, and the passing of that class of violent agitators who regarded themselves as licensed dictators, the defiance of whose commands justified retaliation by fire and sword.

From the Middle West comes the report of a decision as to the responsibility of a labor union as an organization for the unlawful acts of a minority of its members. The Supreme Court of the State of Indiana has denied an injunction applied for by the Karges Furniture Company, to restrain the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Local Union No. 131 from "picketing, intimidating and otherwise interfering with the plaintiffs' employees." It appears that the Woodworkers' Union of Evansville, numbering about six hundred members, declared a strike for higher wages and shorter hours,

and voted to establish an orderly system of picketing the furniture factories, according to a definitely formulated policy.

It was shown by the testimony that fourteen members of the union, despite instructions to the contrary, assaulted the non-union workers and by threats and violence succeeded in closing the plaintiff's factory.

In passing upon the application for an injunction, the Indiana courts, from the lowest to the highest, held that such a prohibition would lie against the actual aggressors only, and not against the union, which had officially discountenanced coercion. Judge Hadley's opinion contains the following passages of practical comment:

The strike being properly conceived and conducted by the great majority of members, its purposes will not be defeated by the unlawful conduct of a few rowdies and lawbreakers that may be found among them. "Where a combination or association is innocent in its inception," says a recent author, "but is afterward perverted to unlawful ends, only those participating in the conversion are held to be conspirators. . . . Under no circumstances have pickets the right to employ force, menaces of intimidation of any kind in their efforts to induce non-striking workmen to quit, or to induce those about to take the strikers' places to refrain from doing so; neither have they the right as pickets or otherwise to assemble about the working place in such numbers or in such manner as to impress workmen employed, or contemplating employment, with fear and intimidation."

It is, however, generally conceded in this country and in England that workmen when free from contract obligations may not only themselves, singly and in combination, cease to work for any employer, but may also, as a means of accomplishing a legitimate purpose, use all lawful and peaceful means to induce others to quit or refuse employment.

This embraces the right to support their contest by argument, persuasion, and such favors and accommodations as they have within their control. . . . So, in a contest between capital and labor, on the one hand, to secure higher wages, and on the other to resist it, argument and persuasion to win support and co-operation from others are proper to either side, provided they are of a character to leave the persons solicited feeling at liberty to comply or not, as they please.

"Surely," says the *Sun*, from whose editorial columns we quote the foregoing, "no partisan of either side, no matter how violent, can fail to see the fairness of these statements of the court or can find fault with the justice of the decision." And such decisions, in conjunction with the repudiation by the unions of all tactics smacking of violence—and their summary punishment of offenders against a declared policy of fairness—will go far toward the removal of prejudice against unionism on the part of employers as well as the general public.

THE CHURCH AND ORGANIZED LABOR.

In admitting the Rev. Dr. John B. Devins and the Rev. Milton Smith Littlefield as "fraternal delegates" to its meetings, the New York Central Federated Union has taken a step in the direction of a better understanding between the church and organized labor. "Fraternal delegates" have no vote, but are accorded the privileges of the floor when they desire to offer suggestions in the debates of the active members of the organization. In return for the courtesies extended to its ministers in this and other cities, the Presbyterian Church invites labor representatives to the Ministers' Association and presbytery meetings. A week before the admission of these two Presbyterian clergymen to the New York Central Federated Union, the Rev. Dr. J. Howard Melish, rector of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Rev. Warren H. Wilson, pastor of the Arlington Avenue Presbyterian Church, were present as fraternal delegates at the meeting of the Brooklyn Central Labor Union.

Three of the great religious denominations are active in endeavors to promote closer relations between the church and organized labor. The general movement of which the appointment of fraternal delegates is the latest manifestation is carried on by the Department of Church and Labor of the Presbyterian Church, whose plans for the study of the labor problem have the official endorsement of the American Federation of Labor. These plans were devised, and for the last three years have been successfully executed in a number of cities by the Rev. Charles Stelzle, the special representative of the church in the interest of workingmen. The

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION.

IT ENTERS UPON ITS INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIVE MERITS OF MUNICIPAL AND PRIVATE OPERATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

THE Public Ownership Commission of the National Civic Federation is steadily proceeding in the work of investigating the relative merits of municipal and private operation of public utilities. Unusual interest has been manifested in the work of this Commission, and it is surprising to see with what willingness persons occupying important positions have given of their time and labor without compensation.

The sub-committee in charge of the investigation has laid out a broad and thorough plan involving the investigation of a considerable number of public and private water, gas, electric lighting and street railway plants in various parts of the United States. Expert accountants are to be employed to investigate the financial records of these systems; well-known engineers of recognized standing will handle the engineering aspects of the investigation; and trained investigators will report upon the history of the plant, the franchises granted, the methods of public regulation and supervision and the political and sociological results of each system of operation. When these reports have been completed to the satisfaction of the committee, they will be collated and analyzed for the preparation of the final report. Indeed, it is planned not to omit a single subject of importance in this investigation, and both municipalities and private corporations have expressed a willingness to aid the investigation in every possible way.

The plan adopted in the United States will be applied to Europe, certain of the expert investigators being taken from the United States because of their familiarity with conditions here and other investigators from Europe because of their better acquaintance with the local conditions to be studied there. The reports made to the various Government departments will be thoroughly examined and tested. If found to be accurate for the purposes of the investigation, they will be utilized; if inaccurate or incomplete, they will be omitted and their inaccuracies pointed out. In this way the ground will be thoroughly covered and a more complete, exhaustive and valuable report prepared than has ever been attempted.

The work in the United States has already been begun, and by the middle of February accountants, engineers and statisticians will probably be put to work upon a number of plans. It is hoped that the work in

Europe will be also under way by that time, so that all reports may be presented simultaneously. No date has yet been fixed at which the final report will be published, the unanimous opinion being that the work should be thoroughly done as soon as possible, but that thoroughness should not be sacrificed to haste.

At a meeting held in this city January 10 the report of the sub-committee in charge of the investigation was presented and fully discussed. The meeting was attended by members of the Commission from Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and several other places who came to New York especially for this purpose. This fact alone shows how widespread is the interest not only in the general question of municipal ownership, but also in the investigation which The National Civic Federation is conducting.

For the purpose of obtaining all the essential facts, three sets of elaborate schedules for each industry have been prepared. One set, relating to the financial aspects of the industries, is to be placed in the hands of accountants. A second set, relating to the engineering questions which are factors in the investigation, will be placed in the hands of engineers. A third set, dealing with the development of the industries, franchise conditions, methods of management, political relations and labor conditions, will be entrusted to statisticians of recognized ability. The persons in whose hands these schedules are placed will be expected to fill them out for each plant investigated.

The schedules for each industry are most complete, and they embody every possible bit of information of use to the Commission. It is impossible to reproduce them here, because of their great length, but a résumé will suffice to show their scope and character. The most important points covered are the following:

History of the plant with special reference to any changes from private to municipal ownership, or *vice versa*.

Local opinion and attitude toward management.

Duration, extent and results of competition.

Public supervision of municipalities.

Methods of taxation.

Systems of granting franchises to private companies.

Franchise restrictions.

Methods and extent of compensation for franchise grants.

Means of enforcing provisions; their success or failure.

Organization of department or company.

Character of officers and employees.

Methods of selecting and discharging employees.

Effect of political considerations.

Efficiency of workmen.

Wages and salaries paid.

Political influence of employees.

Political corruption.

Extent and conditions of free services.

Hours and conditions of labor.

Rules regarding sick leave.

Pensions and profit sharing.

Character of service rendered.

Price of service to private consumer and the city.

Efficiency of the plant and its present value.

Extent of use of service.

Economy of management.

Progressiveness of the industry.

Rapidity with which new inventions are adopted.

Powers of the city relative to acquisition, construction and operation of plant.

Provisions limiting city's power relative to the operation and management of the plant.

Supervision of private corporations.

Methods of incorporating companies and limitations imposed in original charters.

Statutory provisions regarding financial matters, equipment of plant, price and character of service.

Public inspection.

Cost of service.

Treatment of depreciation.

Disposal of profits or payment of deficits.

After these schedules have been filled out and returned to the committee, the results will be tabulated and analyzed. The public records will be examined and all available data used for the preparation of the final report, which will contain all of the special reports prepared under the direction of the Commission, a readable summary of these reports and the conclusions of the Commission. The report in its entirety will be of great value to students of the subject; for no such thorough and comprehensive investigation has ever been undertaken by any Government or organization, either in the United States or abroad.

Protestant Episcopal Church has for four years maintained a standing commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, one of whose purposes is mediation between workmen and employers; or, to quote the words of the commission, in one of its reports: "The church helps to remove the moral causes of industrial strife when she brings these different members of her family into better acquaintance." The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, which is recognized by the Protestant Episcopal Triennial Convention, has a long history of helpful effort in promoting conciliation movements, the recognition of organized labor and general industrial betterment. Miss Harriette Keyser, its secretary, has been cordially received at meetings of labor organizations, though the society does not seek regular representation at such gatherings. The Industrial Committee of the National Council of Congregational Churches, of which Dr. Frank W. Merrick is chairman, makes inquiries into the industrial situation through its own members, besides urging upon the State organizations of the church the appointment of similar committees and their affiliation with kindred agencies in other denominations and with non-ecclesiastical bodies that work for industrial betterment.

Great mutual benefit should be derived from this freer interchange of opinions between the church and organized labor. Many ministers of the Gospel know far too little of the point of view of the workingmen among their parishioners, and it cannot be denied that among certain classes of laboring men the influence of the church is nil, even if actual enmity to religious teachings does not exist. When the clergy understand the facts in the relations between employers and workmen, and workingmen see their clerical friends standing beside them in loyal co-operation for the betterment of social conditions, many problems which now vex society, while they may not disappear, will be found easier of solution.

THE DEPARTMENT OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

The Executive Council of The National Civic Federation, at its December meeting, elected the Hon. Seth Low as chairman of the Department of Conciliation and Arbitration. Mr. Low's name is almost synonymous with the words "conciliation and arbitration." He was a delegate to the Peace Conference at The Hague, and in addition to having been an arbitrator in a great many cases of industrial disputes, has been connected with all the important movements relating to such work. The full committee is as follows:

Seth Low, Chairman.

Representing the public:

Andrew Carnegie, capitalist, New York City;
Cornelius N. Bliss, ex-Secretary of the Interior, New York City;
Isaac N. Seligman, J. & W. Seligman & Co., New York City;
Louis D. Brandeis, attorney-at-law, Boston, Mass.;
Frederick N. Judson, attorney-at-law, St. Louis, Mo.;
Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President, University of California, Berkeley, California;
V. Everit Macy, capitalist, New York City;
Dr. Albert Shaw, editor, "The Review of Reviews," New York City.

Employers:

Lucius Tuttle, President, Boston & Maine Railroad Company, Boston;
Frederick D. Underwood, President, Erie Railroad Company, New York City;
Clarence H. Mackay, President, Postal Telegraph and Cable Company, New York City;
Frederick P. Fish, President, American Telegraph and Telephone Company, Boston;
Samuel Mather, of Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland, Ohio;
Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Co., Chicago;
Charles A. Moore, of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, New York City;
Francis L. Robbins, President, Pittsburgh Coal Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.;
Otto M. Elditz, Chairman, Board of Governors, Building Trades Employers' Association, New York City;
Marcus M. Marks, President, National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, New York City.

Representing the wage-earners:

Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.;
John Mitchell, President, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis, Ind.;
James Duncan, General Secretary, Granite Cutters' International Association of America, Quincy, Mass.

Daniel J. Keefe, President, International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, Detroit, Mich.;

William D. Mahon, President, Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, Detroit, Mich.;

Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief, International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland, Ohio;

E. B. Clark, Grand Chief, Order of Railway Conductors, Cedar Rapids, Iowa;

J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.;

P. H. Morrissey, Grand Master, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio;

John F. Tohn, General President, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston, Mass.

This committee will have to do with industrial disturbances exclusively. It will meet in March for the purpose of outlining a plan of procedure. At that meeting it will consider the advisability of adopting the methods of the British Board of Trade in organizing local commissions in all important industrial centers, and will also consider how best to co-operate with the various State boards of arbitration.

NEW YORK CIVIC FEDERATION MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Civic Federation of New York will be held Wednesday evening, February 14, 1906, at the Park Avenue Hotel. The subject for discussion will be "Welfare Work."

Leading New York employers will describe what has been done to better the conditions of employees in several important industries.

The necessity of making such provision for the physical comfort of employees as ventilation for stationary firemen and metal polishers, baths for moulders, sanitary dressing rooms for theatrical employees, the factory lunch room, and emergency hospitals for structural iron workers, as well as the requirements of employees in bakeries, the clothing and other trades, will be presented by leaders of employees' organizations.

"How New York City Cares for its Institutional Employees" and "The Need of Better Accommodations in the Station Houses for Policemen" will be presented by former city officials.

Stereopticon views, illustrating what has been done throughout the country by practical, successful business men in providing for the comfort of employees in the work rooms, for recreation, for educational opportunities, and in the housing of labor, will be shown.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT OF The National Civic Federation

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CYRUS H. McCORMICK, First Vice-Chairman.
JOHN H. PATTERSON, Second Vice-Chairman.
EDWARD A. FILENE, Third Vice-Chairman.
CORNELIUS N. BLISS, Treasurer.

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W. A. Clark, President United Verde Copper Company, Butte, Montana.
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Frederick S. Fish, Chairman Executive Committee, Studebaker Bros. Mfg. Co., South Bend, Ind.
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John H. Patterson, President National Cash Register Co., Dayton, Ohio.
Thomas G. Plant, President Thomas G. Plant Company, Boston, Mass.
Albert L. Pope, Vice-President Pope Manufacturing Company, Hartford, Conn.
Francis L. Robbins, President Pittsburgh Coal Company, Pittsburgh, Pa.
H. A. Sherwin, President Sherwin-Williams Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
Theodore P. Shonts, Chairman Isthmian Canal Commission, Washington, D. C.
Ellison A. Smyth, President Pelzer Manufacturing Company, Pelzer, S. C.
Nathan Straus, R. H. Macy & Co., New York City.
H. H. Vreeland, President New York City Railway Co., New York City.
J. H. Williams, Vice-President J. H. Williams & Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rufus K. Wood, Maryland Steel Co., Sparrows Point, Md.
Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary.
W. E. C. Nazro, Consulting Expert.

A SUCCESSFUL APPRENTICE SCHOOL.

The Theoretical and Practical Training of Boys in the West Lynn General Electric Shops.

The following address by M. W. Alexander, Engineer of the General Electric Company of West Lynn, Mass., was delivered before a conference of welfare managers and special welfare workers held at Atlantic City under the auspices of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation:

"The Thomson-Houston Electric Company at West Lynn, Mass.—a part of the General Electric Company—organized in February, 1902, an apprenticeship system, under which boys of at least sixteen years of age who have had a grammar school education and are desirous of learning a trade, are indentured as apprentices. The period of apprenticeship lasts four years, during which time the boys are taught the mysteries and arts of the different trades which are practiced at our factory.

"Our aim is not only to make of these boys efficient machinists and tool-makers, pattern-makers and carpenters, iron, steel and brass moulders, instrument makers and electrical workers, but to develop a class of artisans from whom we can choose men for our leading positions in the factory, for assistant foremen, foremen and master mechanics. To hold such positions requires

not only a knowledge of all the operations that have to be performed by hand or machine, but also a knowledge of the scientific principles that underlie the work, and of the ways and means of conducting the work in a businesslike manner.

"With this aim in view, we recognized the necessity of educational development of the boys and incorporated right from the beginning in our apprenticeship system a school especially fitted for the needs of our apprentices. The lack of proper educational opportunities in the evening in the city of Lynn, such as, for instance, the city of Philadelphia offers in the Spring Garden Institute, was one reason which prompted our company to start its own school. The other reason was the desire to give to the boys eminently practical knowledge of the very kind which they will need later on as journeymen and foremen. We therefore selected our own engineers, draughtsmen and shop foremen as teachers. These men know the needs of our factory and can impart to the boys the specific knowledge which they require in our own factory and, in a general way, in any manufacturing establishment of a similar character.



M. W. ALEXANDER.

Engineer of the General Electric Company of West Lynn, Mass.

The contact during school hours with the same men who direct them during working hours in the factory has a tendency to maintain better discipline among the apprentices, because school does not then appear to them as a separate institution, but as only one part of our apprentice work.

"The school first met in the evening, when the factory closed; the boys assembled in the school rooms, partook of a light lunch furnished free of charge by the company and received instruction for about two hours. It soon became apparent that after a day's work the boys were too tired to reap the full benefit of the school instruction, and the evening school was therefore changed to a morning school. The blowing of the factory whistle in the morning is now the signal for the commencement of the school. The boys come to the school room physically and mentally rested. Formerly we had difficulty in keeping the apprentices in the school; now we rather experience difficulty in getting them out of the school room into the shop. The improvement in the results has been marked.

"Each boy receives three years of instruction. He enters school after he has been an apprentice for about six months and he graduates from the school several months before he graduates from his apprenticeship. Each school year consists of forty weeks with two sessions of two and one-half hours each per week. The comparatively small amount of time devoted to instruction does not permit us to go very deeply into the various subjects which we teach. In fact, a large part of the teaching is merely a review of some of the grammar school work, but applied to practical factory conditions. Experience has prompted us to devote a good share of the time to this review and to carry it back to the elementary stage of the subjects which we desire to review. The rest of the time at our disposal is devoted to subjects which either have not been taught in the grammar school at all or have been touched upon only in a general way.

"The question will arise: Why should we, who have had no pedagogical training, attempt to review what has already been taught in the public schools by pedagogically trained teachers? With all due respect to our public schools, excellent as they are in the main—and nobody has a higher regard than I for a teacher and his efforts—I find from my years of experience that the public schools fail to teach the boy to think for himself and to think clearly and logically. The school has taught the boy a great amount of knowledge and has committed to his memory many formulas, but when it comes to the application of this knowledge and of

these formulas to practical uses, many a boy finds himself blocked, because he has not acquired the faculty of independent thinking. Our review, then, aims to instil in the boy the habit of independent thinking.

"Those of you who are closely connected with the management of an establishment will have experienced the difficulty of finding men who can occupy positions of responsibility as foremen. The head as well as the hand must constitute the foreman's equipment. Our industries require of the men who want to rise above the rank and file this very faculty of clear and logical thinking which we find so often lacking in otherwise excellent artisans. I venture to make this criticism of the public schools, because in it I only give you the benefit of my experience. It does not apply to the schools of any particular locality. Our boys come from all parts of the State of Massachusetts and neighboring States, and we have one or more representatives from almost every State in the Union; my previous activity in the Middle West has shown me that about the same conditions exist there.

THEORETICAL INSTRUCTION.

"There is, however, another aim in our review of grammar school subjects, namely, to give the boy additional knowledge by giving him an insight into technology. To make my point clearer I shall take the liberty to outline briefly the course of study.

"During the first year we teach English and mathematics, devoting one-third of the time to the former and two-thirds to the latter. In English, the spelling of technical terms is first taken up and then followed by short dictations explaining technical processes, describing materials and their properties and various kinds of apparatus. The boy, therefore, becomes acquainted in a general way with all our practical work.

"Mathematics is the second subject which we review during the first year. We start with simple processes of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division, first of whole numbers and then of decimal and common fractions, finishing the year with proportion and percentage calculations. Alternating with arithmetic, we review mensuration.

"Only concrete examples are given by the teachers, who as stated before, must aim to lead the boy on to independent thinking and to make him acquainted with the very technical arithmetic which he may have to use as a shop foreman. It is only a test of the boy's memory if you ask him to solve '3 x 420 x 12,' but it is an entirely different test if you put the same problem in the following manner: 'A factory consists of three rooms; each room is lighted with twelve arc lamps, each of which requires 420 watts of energy. How much horsepower of energy will have to be provided for the lighting of the whole factory if 746 watts equal one horsepower?' In stating such a problem, we explain in the very briefest manner the meaning of 'watt' as a unit of measurement of energy, and we also explain briefly the nature of an arc lamp, showing the outside appearance of the same and the inside mechanism. In fact, whenever a teacher speaks of a piece of apparatus or a part thereof, I insist upon having such apparatus or part shown to the boys, if this is at all possible. The boys will associate the picture with the name of the apparatus and will therefore retain the name better in their memory. I do not expect that the boy will learn fully the meaning of a watt of energy, or a volt of pressure, or an ampere of current, or for that matter, the operation of an arc lamp, the characteristics of an incandescent lamp, or the principles that govern the running of a motor. The terms 'watt,' 'volt' and 'ampere,' 'arc lamp,' 'incandescent lamp' and 'motor' will become, however, familiar to him by frequent usage, and when, later on in the teaching of physics and magnetism and electricity, these same terms are brought before him again, they will appear to him as old acquaintances and will therefore make their study so much easier to him.

"I desire to give one more illustration, taking this time mensuration as my subject. A problem may be commonly stated as follows: What is the weight of a steel rod one-half inch in diameter and fifty inches long? We state the problem in a different manner: 'The machine shop is ordered to produce seventy-five steel pins, each to be one-half inch in diameter and three-quarters of an inch long. These pins are to be cut from a long steel rod and the tool for cutting off the pins will waste one-sixteenth of an inch of material between each two pins. How long a steel rod will be required, and what will be the weight of the same?' This is a problem which we meet in everyday factory life and which involves nothing else than plain multiplication and addition. It is simply a question of multiplying 75, the number of pins, by $\frac{3}{4}$ inch, the length of each pin, and adding to it 74 x $\frac{1}{16}$ inch, which we have wasted by the cutting-off tool. The whole will give the length of steel rod required. Now this length is multiplied by the area of a half-inch circle to obtain the cubical contents, which, when multiplied by the specific gravity of steel (a figure which we give to the boy) will give the total weight.

"During the first part of the second year, two-thirds of the time is devoted to square and cube roots applied to practical problems and to calculations of weights of different materials and machines. The remaining one-third is devoted to English.

"We teach the boy to write 'shop notes,' by which

I mean that we teach him to express himself in a very brief and clear manner and without flourish and frills. To illustrate: if a boy should be unable to finish a piece of work because his machine is worn out and, therefore, cannot be run at the proper speed, I expect him to notify the superintendent of this fact immediately—nothing else than what we would expect of any proper shop foreman. His note should, perhaps, be as follows:

I. F. Baker, Supt.:

I shall be unable to finish the 20 motor shafts by next Friday as promised, because my lathe is in very poor condition and cannot, therefore, be run at the proper speed. I expect to finish the shafts by Monday of next week.

(Signed) N. M. SMITH.

"It is not necessary for the boy to start the letter with 'Dear Sir.' The superintendent knows how 'dear' he is to the right boy without being reminded of it. It is a waste of time for the boy to write and for the superintendent to read a letter like the following:

I. F. Baker, Supt.:

I am extremely sorry to report that I shall not be able to fulfil the promise which I made you a few days ago in regard to the twenty motor shafts which I expected to finish by Friday of this week. The lathe on which I am turning these shafts is in very poor condition. I cannot, under the circumstances, turn out as fast work as I could if my machine could be run at a higher speed. I shall endeavor to finish these shafts by Monday of next week and hope that this delay will not cause you any inconvenience.

I remain, yours very truly,

(Signed) N. M. SMITH.

"Many a good shop foreman impairs his usefulness in a position of responsibility because he cannot write a correct and concise letter.

"During the second part of the second year, English has been dropped entirely, and mathematics is only pursued on alternate mornings; the other mornings are taken up with physics with particular reference to mechanics.

"During the third year, one morning per week is devoted to mechanical draughting, the other mornings to mechanics and mechanism, magnetism and electricity. Again we pursue the policy of speaking in concrete terms and illustrating these terms by the objects of which we speak. Our whole factory is utilized as a laboratory which not only aids in the proper understanding of the subject matter, but also arouses and keeps awake the interest of the boys. Mechanical drawing does not aim at the designing of machinery, but rather at the designing of the tools which journeymen need in the process of manufacturing machinery. We give, for instance, to the apprentice the cover of an arc lamp which has nine holes of different sizes and ask him to sketch a jig or holder by means of which these different holes can be drilled by a machine accurately and quickly without the necessity of laying out each hole separately.

"The last few weeks of the third year are devoted to lectures on factory organization and factory systems. A boy too often acquires the idea, which sticks to him even after he has become a journeyman, that a foreman is after all nothing but a slave driver, whose chief duty is to obtain from the man the last ounce of work. We endeavor to show to the boy that the foreman is only one link, though an important one, in the big chain, which cannot operate if even the smallest link gives out. As soon as the boy begins to realize this, he begins to understand that even his own little efforts have their importance and are needed in the carrying on of the whole work; he will become a supporter rather than an antagonist of the foreman.

"I attach quite an importance to these few lectures and to the effect they should have upon the future working men. An ambitious working man may inquire the reason for doing a certain thing in a certain way. What is the usual answer that most foremen will give him? They will tell him in a more or less polite way that it is none of his business; that he should bother about his own work and not waste time by asking such questions. I believe most decidedly that it is an ambitious man's business to understand, in a general way, the conditions that surround him and the reasons for carrying on work in the way in which he is directed to perform it. A question asked in the right spirit deserves some answer in the same spirit. The man will be benefited by it and the company will be better off for that.

"I think it of sufficient interest to state here a psychological element in our school work. If we ask a boy to figure out the weight of a piece of brass three inches long by one inch in diameter and tell him that he is wrong if his calculation does not give the proper figure, he may assume an attitude of antagonism to the teacher. We give to the boy a piece of brass, let him measure the same and sketch it on a piece of paper and calculate the weight. We then hand to the boy a pair of scales to check his own results. If now the scales tell him that he is wrong, he will feel rather ashamed of himself and re-calculate the problem with the earnest

desire of arriving at the proper figure. The boy has, so to speak, a greater confidence in the veracity of the scales than in the veracity of the teacher.

"An examination is held at the end of each term, and only those apprentices who obtain a percentage of 60 or more are allowed to advance to the next school term. Some have been left behind. The knowledge of their failure, however, became quickly known among their shop-mates and had a most stimulating effect on the mental machinery of these boys. The final examination after three years of schooling is a competitive one, wherein everyone who obtains a percentage of 95 or more is presented by the company with a technical book or a useful working tool. The standing obtained in the school is also stated in the 'certificate of apprenticeship,' which is given to the boy at the successful termination of his apprenticeship, together with a cash bonus of \$100.

PRACTICAL TRAINING.

"At the same time with the theoretical instruction in the school, practical instruction in the handling of tools was carried on in the shop. We soon recognized, however, that there must be a very close connection between the theoretical and the practical instruction, so that a boy may be stimulated to apply every day to the work-shop what the school has taught him. The difficulty can easily be understood of giving systematic practical instruction in the factory with an equal chance of giving the same training to all boys and yet of taking into account the individuality of every apprentice—the quickness of his mental grasp, the dexterity of his hand.

"The work which apprentices perform in the different shop departments must of necessity be governed to a large extent by production requirements. One department may be very busy to-day and may offer splendid opportunities for the boys, while to-morrow, it may have to work up only a small amount of production of a character, perhaps, which does not give the apprentices a really good chance. Then, again, the practical instruction in the shop is influenced materially by the individuality of the workmen, assistant foremen and foremen, all of whom act as instructors to the boys.

"In order to equalize and improve the conditions it was decided a year and a half ago to concentrate the first practical instruction in a separate department, the apprentice training room, and to make the factory a post-graduate course, for the purpose of acquiring increased speed and accuracy on a greater variety of work. The factory would then not only apply the finishing touches to the boy's practical education, but would bring him face to face with real factory conditions and the emergencies that arise. The apprentice training room is, therefore, a second part of the apprentice school and may justly be called a trade school in contradistinction to the theoretical school which we have just described. The training room is in charge of a man who is not only an expert mechanic with inventive ability, but one who takes an interest in boys and understands how to handle them. This man, therefore, has the responsibility of not only initiating the boys into the trade in such a manner as to lay a solid foundation for their future work, but also of arousing in them the proper interest in and respect for manual labor. He furthermore has the opportunity of studying closely the boy's make-up, so that he may drop from the apprentice course those who do not display the qualities which are essential for a successful career, and he has a chance to develop an inventive capacity in those who by nature are endowed with inventive minds.

"Every apprentice has first to enter the training room, where he will be kept from nine to twelve months, according to his ability. Bench-work during the first month is followed by work on simple machines, such as drill presses, from which the boy advances to work of a more difficult character on different lathes, on planers and shapers, on boring mills and milling machines. Some old machines have been rescued from the scrap heap and placed in the Trade School, in order to afford the boys a chance to make repairs—an excellent training for a machinist and an opportunity to develop the ability to meet emergencies. They are also taught to take care, for a short time, of the stock room, which is a part of the training room, and to perform such clerical work as making out time-cards and order blanks, which is required of every assistant foreman and foreman. During the last few months of their stay in the trade school, the best boys act as assistants to the man in charge, looking after some of the new apprentices.

"The present equipment of our training room is limited, due to lack of sufficient room, so that we can take care in it of only about forty apprentices at a time, while about 150 apprentices are distributed through the shop. As those at the top are graduated into the factory post-graduate course, new freshmen, or, rather, fresh young men are taken in. We expect to move into a large, well-equipped building next spring, when we shall be able to accommodate a larger number of apprentices.

"It is a most gratifying pleasure to me to find this trade school and our whole apprenticeship system so universally endorsed by the large body of our working men, whose sons and relatives are always given preference in the selection of apprentices. The trade

school movement is a movement of the present time, which is especially alive in our State of Massachusetts. We have therefore only undertaken what in due time and on a better foundation the State or municipality will undertake, and when the State has established trade schools of the proper character, I think there will be no further reason for a private corporation like our company to maintain its own trade school.

"The object of our whole apprenticeship system, as I have already pointed out, is to develop a very high class of employees. Their technical education should therefore be of as broad a character as possible, because with this better education goes a greater sense of responsibility, a firmer grasp of the work, a better understanding of the business methods. This aim cannot fully be accomplished within the compass of our theoretical school. I have therefore supplemented this school by an apprentice club, where the apprentices may congregate in their leisure hours for social as well as educational enjoyment. Expert engineers lecture to the boys once a week on various subjects which are allied to their business and stand ready to enlighten the boys further by answering any questions which may be asked during discussion. The club has been handsomely furnished by the company, but is conducted by the boys themselves, with a representative of the company on the board of directors. It is very interesting to observe how well the boys conduct the business of their club, which develops in them a business instinct and self-reliance.

"These three institutions, therefore, namely, the theoretical school, the trade school, and the apprentice club, constitute the apprentice school of the Thomson-Houston (General Electric) Company at West Lynn, of which you did me the honor to invite me to speak to you to-night."

THE COST OF THE EXPERIMENT.

At the close of his address Mr. Alexander gave additional information about the school, in response to a number of questions put to him by the delegates. He said that at the present time 148 apprentices had signed the apprentice agreement and that 21 were serving on trial. If these latter prove satisfactory they will be allowed to sign the agreement, otherwise they will be asked to leave the company.

A high standard has been set by the General Electric Company, and only boys who give fair promise of becoming first-class men are wanted in the apprenticeship course. Some time in May of each year a letter is sent to the superintendents of schools through the State of Massachusetts, wherein the opportunities offered to boys at the General Electric Works are set forth, with a request that the superintendents recommend good boys who want to learn a trade. Most of the boys are grammar school graduates, although lately a number have applied who have had either a partial or complete high school training.

Apprentices are paid from the hour when they enter the service of the General Electric Company, even during the trial month, and their wages are advanced at stated periods. Grammar school graduates receive six cents an hour for the first six months; high school graduates receive eight cents an hour for the same period; thereafter all apprentices are advanced two cents per hour after six months and again after six months, and so forth as stated in the agreement. Regular wages are even paid for the hours spent in the school rooms. This means considerable expense to the company, but it is believed that it is fully offset by the appreciation of the boys manifested in the zeal to learn in the school and to apply the knowledge thus gained to the work in the factory.

It has been found more convenient to start the day with school work than to take the boys out of the shop and into the school room during the day. "It is no hardship to the foremen," said Mr. Alexander, "to start certain machines at 9 o'clock in the morning instead of at 7 o'clock. It would be a hardship on the foremen to stop such machines in the middle of the afternoon and start them again at say 4 or 5 o'clock."

The form of agreement under which apprentices are engaged is signed by the apprentice and his father or guardian and binds him to perform satisfactory service for a certain compensation. Mr. Alexander values the contract, not so much from the legal standpoint, as for the moral effect which it carries. He illustrated this point by giving the following example: "Some boy who has been with us for perhaps six months or so thinks that in a pop-corn store at the corner he can make a dollar a week more, and he is therefore very much tempted to make that extra dollar. The agreement holds this boy down until he comes back to his senses and prevents him from taking a rash step and thereby, perhaps, spoiling his future. If a boy, however, shows a disposition to break the agreement, that is taken as sufficient indication of his unfitness for the company's purpose."

In response to a question in reference to the limitation of the number of apprentices, Mr. Alexander said: "There certainly will be a limit to the number of apprentices which can be employed by the company. We have, at the present time, about 7,500 employees, and the works are constantly growing. We consider that we should have 250 to 300 apprentices and figure that, if 25 per cent. of all the apprentices who graduate stay

with us, we shall have a sufficient number of trained employes from whom to choose our leaders in the shop. The other graduated apprentices will go to other establishments, which we hope will be benefited by them, and by and by, other establishments will turn out good apprentices who will come to us; so we shall gain about as much as we lose. As stated before, we encourage graduated apprentices to remain with us. At the present time we have graduated eight apprentices, six of whom have remained with us, while two have gone into small machine shops where well-trained men are in demand. I feel sure, however, that these boys will come back to us after a while."

Referring again to the use of old machines in the training room, Mr. Alexander said: "We have placed in our training room a number of old machines which nobody could use, because they were on the point of breaking down. We know that something will happen to the machines as soon as they are started, but we do not tell the boys about it. We have a boy start the machine and run it until something happens. We then instruct the boy how to repair the machine, which sometimes may require a new bearing, or a new spindle, and sometimes the inserting of a new tooth in a gear. When the repairs have been finished and the machine is able to perform work again, it is noticeable that the boy takes a greater pride in his machine and pushes his work along with increased pleasure. In this manner we have not only made some first-class tools out of almost useless machines, at a reasonable expense, but have at the same time taught the boys one of the most valuable things—to meet emergencies as they arise and to overcome the difficulties themselves."

The cost of equipment in the training room has been about five thousand dollars, and an additional three thousand dollars will be spent within the next half year for the purchase of new machines. These machines are a good investment and can be used anywhere in the factory. "The General Electric Company," Mr. Alexander said, "does not believe in letting anything go to waste. No money is spent in a purely sentimental way; there is always a straight business proposition at the bottom of things. If that were not the case I would not care to help in the work."

MILL CONDITIONS AND TUBERCULOSIS.

At the Boston Tuberculosis Exhibition, December 29, the reduction of the death rate from tuberculosis, as the result of modern conditions in the factory and home, was given consideration. Among the papers read was one on "Sanitation in the Textile Industries" by C. J. H. Woodbury, Secretary of the New England Cotton Manufacturers' Association. In the course of his address Mr. Woodbury said:

"Every humane and every commercial motive impels those in charge of others to desire that the people in their service should be in the best of physical health. The sound body is more directly essential for those who labor with their hands than for those whose occupations are mental."

"Changes in mill construction and equipment, I believe, have fulfilled their purpose of contributing to the health and comfort of those employed in the mills. The early mills were low-studded, and, after the days of the stoves, heated by cast-iron pipes, about six inches in diameter, hung from the timbers above, to the discomfort of those employed beneath them, owing to the severe exposure to heat radiating upon the head; the walls were of uniform thickness at each story, and questions of strength limited the size of the windows."

"Sanitary and washing accommodations were such as the ignorance of the time afforded."

"Lighting by kerosene or by gas vitiated the air far more, I believe, than the respiration of the help, and the same was true of whale or lard oils earlier in use."

"In contrast with these conditions, by the inorganic evolution of commercial advancement, the modern mill has displaced the old plant by improvements in which the building and equipment has shared with the machinery in receiving the benefit of engineering skill and invention."

"The more economic distribution of masonry in buttressed wall construction establishes greater rigidity of the structure and also permits larger windows with increased introduction of sunlight, and I believe that a layman is warranted in expressing the opinion that this change furnishes more healthful conditions. A practical measure of the increased sunlight through the large windows of the modern mill is shown by the fact that under the same conditions of hours of labor and class of goods, a new mill requires 300 hours of artificial light a year, and an old mill 450 hours. This also means that the purifying effect of the sunlight is more efficiently applied throughout the day in the new mill, as well as extended 150 hours a year."

"The upper portion of the modern mill window is generally swung on a transom, so that incoming air strikes the ceiling and is diffused throughout the room without being concentrated into rapid currents, producing draughts. The rooms are higher and, if heated by a number of elevated wrought-iron pipes, of small diameter, the heat is diffused without discomfort to those employed beneath them. Many mills are heated by a method which also furnishes ventilation, by blow-

ing warmed air throughout the building, and in later instances, a combination of the two methods produces efficient results with greater economy. The humidity artificially produced in mills, primarily for the removal of the disadvantages of unduly dry air in the textile processes, also furnishes more agreeable and, I believe, more healthful conditions."

"The sanitary and washing accommodations have water-proof floors and are equipped with modern appliances such as were unknown a few years ago."

"The appliances for the removal of dust from the air are of two types. In napping and card rooms it is done, when necessary, by centrifugal extractors which whirl the fine fibres from the air and send it back into the room cleaned. In polishing and grinding rooms the metallic dust flies into hoods from which it is drawn by exhaust blowers to the open air. In both cases, it is evident that the removal of dust from the air conduces to conditions which apply more directly to the purpose of this meeting than the other improvements which merely establish more favorable hygienic conditions."

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION.

(Continued from page 6)

here in the past? Shall we establish, as has been suggested, an educational test? Has it any merit? Has it any demerit? Congressman Gardner has stated that of those immigrants who came here in one year 200,000



SIMON WOLF.
President of the Order of B'nai B'rith.

could neither read nor write. But there is a brighter side to this picture. Out of the census reports of 1900 we find that out of the children in the public schools, or rather the children of native parents, 5.70 per cent. were illiterate, whereas of the children of foreign-born parents, 2 per cent. were illiterate. If that demonstrates anything, ladies and gentlemen, it demonstrates that the test of our immigration is not the immigrant. The test of immigration is the American generation. (Applause.)

"Congressman Adams said that there were 20,000 Jews in the City of New York who are at present dependent. They are, to a greater or less extent, because they are driven here from countries where they have been so persecuted that when they arrive here they are, to all intents and purposes, poverty-stricken. But out of those who needed assistance ten years ago, less than 2 per cent. are in need at the present moment. Of the immigration that has come here in the last twenty-five years, less than 2 per cent. of Jews in the city of New York or the United States that require help is native born or the children of the first generation. This is true of Italians and every other immigrant. Given an opportunity, these people no longer remain dependent upon either public or private support."

"Shall we select our immigrants along the lines of race? I think we need not go over this subject again. I think we have been convinced by what has been said to us to-day in particular that we can draw neither racial nor religious lines, and that if anything the citizen of the future, the American of the future, is going to be a composite of the various races that have come into these United States, whether he belongs to the Anglo-Saxon or to the South or East European races."

"Shall we select on volume? The statement has been made here to-day that we should limit it to 80,000 from any particular country, and I am going to ask Congressman Gardner how is he going to know that the first 80,000 are the desirable ones?"

"Or shall we adopt the extreme of a head-tax of \$40 on males? This means that you are going to debar

whom? The wage-earner; and you are going to allow the women and children and those who may become dependents more readily to enter this country in any number they may deem fit or wise." (Applause.)

Broughton Brandenburg.

Discussing the possibility of keeping undesirable aliens from starting on their journey to this country, Broughton Brandenburg said:

"The European districts from which immigration is profuse and dangerous occupy a limited area no larger than the State of New York. Lay these spots off into districts and appoint through civil service a small board for each, with one medical member, all speaking the language, to visit each community once a month, say, and issue certificates to intending immigrants. Secure these from forgery and transfer by photography, or other means. Then, when the immigrant has sold his few belongings and made ready in the time limit of thirty days, let him join a group that shall travel in charge of a courier direct to the nearest large port where they shall be delivered directly on board. On every steamer put an officer and enforce all the present laws for decent treatment, hygiene and cleanliness. I estimate \$12 as the average amount grafted off each immigrant before he reaches Ellis Island. Make him pay the heavy cost of his examination with a fee of \$5, and, having been safeguarded by the direct delivery and supervision, he will be saved the other seven."

President Eliot Condemns Exclusion.

The address of President Eliot, of Harvard, was as strong in its advocacy of a policy of free and unrestricted entry for sound labor as was that of Mr. Carnegie. He began by saying, in reference to a remark previously made by Mr. Gompers:

"I want to express a doubt that the doctrine of self-protection is one which is going to be useful in the settlement of this question. The word protection has been very much overworked in this country. (Applause.) Self-protection is a natural idea if we are thinking of protection from the elements, from the forces of nature, but the moment we begin to think that self-protection is a sound motive for dealing with men, we are getting on dangerous ground. (Applause.) That is not the nobler thought. That is not the generous thought. And in my opinion it is not a thought that will ever commend itself to the American people in regard to immigration. (Applause.)"

"I suppose it is wholly useless to talk about the desirability of excluding pauper criminals and imbeciles. There is no difference of opinion about that. There may be better devices than we now have for that purpose, but the present arrangements are very tolerably satisfactory in that respect. When it comes to excluding labor, sound labor, on the ground that it has been induced to come here, we enter upon an altogether different discussion. I have no belief whatever in endeavoring to prevent sound, healthy, moral laborers from coming hither (applause), no matter whether they are induced or not induced. (Applause.) They are welcome, and I think we may all be sure that the American people mean to welcome them, although coming in masses from time to time they may somewhat depress the average rate of wages."

"Moreover, there is another thing going on in this world that needs to be taken into consideration in dealing with this problem; namely, the mobility of capital is becoming greater and greater. It is more mobile than population, than working people—much more mobile. We have seen it moved about in a wonderful way already in our own country, and now we are seeing it move out of our country into other countries where there are laborers and a market. This is a process that is going on more and more and must be taken into account. Do we, on the whole, prefer to have the laborers come here and build up our country, or to have our capital go elsewhere and build up other nations? Trade, commerce, manufacturing are becoming international, in spite of tariffs. Now, we see that even in the names of trade unions. How often we read now of the international union of such and such a trade! Why? Because labor organizations themselves perceive that the industrial problems are transcending national bounds. Let us remember this when we are asking Congress or any other authority to deal with this problem of immigration. Let us remember that capital can take care of itself. It will take care of itself. It is taking care of itself. Just remember, too, that national greatness, after all, depends on the soundness of the brain and the brawn of the people." (Applause.)

Jesse Taylor.

The Conference then passed to a general discussion by delegates (under a five-minute restriction) of the subject,—a discussion which reached its climax in the impassioned declaration of Jesse Taylor, a delegate from Ohio, that if influential Protectionists did not soon advocate some way of protecting the American laboring man against the "riffraff of Southern Europe," there were many people that belonged to the old full dinner-pail Republican party who would "flop over, body, bag and breeches, to the other side." He continued:

"In fairness to the farmers and the laboring people

of this country, if you multimillionaires and owners of factories, with all due respect to you (I am not jealous of you because you have got money and because you wear diamonds by the quart), if you have the right to go into the markets of the world for your labor and bring it into competition with American labor, the raff of Southern Europe that can live on two beers and



AUGUST BELMONT.
President of The National Civic Federation.

a hard biscuit a day, then I say to you the time is coming when the laboring people of this country will assert their right and say to you: 'Down with the high tariff; we will go some place else to buy our goods.' (Applause.)

Rev. Joel Ives.

The Rev. Joel Ives, of Connecticut, laid special stress upon the undue proportion of immigration received by the New England States. "The early immigration," he said, "moved Westward and merged itself into our life and civilization, and the last census names Dakota as the most foreign State in the Union. But statisticians tell us to-day that Massachusetts is the most foreign State in the Union. The census gives us four cities in Massachusetts and one city in Rhode Island with a larger percentage of foreign parentage than New York City, Chicago or San Francisco. If we are to maintain the New England ideals we have a large proposition on our hands when Southern New England is already 65 per cent. of foreign parentage, and when our towns, our farming communities are so largely depleted of that New England stock. Our common schools must be maintained, and a righteous and honorable press must be maintained, and all the influences both of the press and the school and the church must be of a kind to maintain that New England life which



HON. OSCAR STRAUS.
Publicist.

has sent out its people and its influences from the Atlantic to the Pacific; for it is said to-day that there can be found communities on the Pacific Coast that are more purely New England than can be found upon the Atlantic Coast.

"I am proud of the growing generation of the immigrant. One of our people went into one of the schools

in Hartford in a section of the city where very few of the native stock are to be found, and looking into the faces of the school children, the question was asked: 'How many of the school are Americans? Please raise your hands.' Every blessed little hand in the school went up. They were all Americans. They all loved the flag; they all are seeking after the knowledge of the English. I am told that there are not as many newspapers printed in a foreign tongue in New England to-day as there were ten years ago, in spite of the enormous increase of the people of foreign tongue within our borders. And therefore there is every reason for an optimistic view in regard to this large immigration if we can properly distribute it."

Dr. Edward A. Steiner.

Speaking on "Distribution of Immigration," Dr. E. A. Steiner, of Grinnell, Iowa, held that the question of distribution was the question of wages. "If South Carolina," he said, "would offer, instead of the \$2 which a man earns here, \$2.25 or \$2.50, she could have all the immigrants that she could take care of. They will go first of all into the industrial centers because work is ready for them. They will stay largely in the city of New York, not because New York is attractive to them, not because they are used to skyscrapers and electric cars, but because New York pays the highest kind of a wage.

"Has this congested immigrant proved a political menace? It has been said that there are 30,000 illegal citizenship papers in the possession of foreigners in the city of New York. That may be a fact. I have been offered citizenship papers for \$10, but by an American. (Applause.) I have seen Polish peasants herded and made drink and pulled to the polls. They sold their votes cheap for a drink of whiskey, the man behind them swearing that they had been long enough in this country. And it was done not by aliens, but it was done by Americans—in this case by members of the Republican party. (Applause.) If you wish to go with me, I will take you among them here in this city, and you will find that it is that East Side that elected Jerome. It is that East Side which put Low up and Tammany down. It is not the fashionable West Side, but the unfashionable, dirty, congested East Side which has over and over again saved the city of New York. And they are ready to do it everywhere, wherever you find them. Politically, wherever you get them they will rise at least as high as you are.

"Now, gentlemen, I believe in scattering the immigrant as quickly as possible for his own sake and for our sakes. But it cannot be done by resolutions. The fact is that the immigrant who comes here has not much more than his muscle, his strong heart and bellows for lungs. The West calls these men. It wants them to buy land, and they have not the money to buy land with. I could send you 20,000 agriculturists if you gave them five acres of ground to call their own, and they would make the wilderness blossom as the rose, where some Yankee farmer has been starving on fifty or seventy-five acres. (Applause.)

"I am strongly in favor of a measure which may never be passed, that every alien, who, after three years, becomes a public charge, who is convicted of crime and serves his time in the penitentiary, should be sent back. But let me say that the figures about crime lie; that the men who figured did not lie, or intentionally so. It has been my privilege to walk from penitentiary to penitentiary in all our Eastern and Central Western States. I have conversed with the prisoners and with the wardens. These men who are convicted and imprisoned—a very large number of them—are there for some petty crime. They could not defend themselves, they had no money to hire able lawyers, and, more than anything else, they had no political power, and so they were pushed in, and they stay there."

Hon. R. A. Mitchell.

Speaking for Alabama, the Hon. R. A. Mitchell said: "We live at perfect peace with the negro as a citizen and are trying in every way to elevate him and to make him occupy that condition which his intelligence and standing would justify. But the greater the demand made on the negro for work just to that extent do his efforts relax, until to-day he is not as efficient as he was years ago, and in fact has steadily declined for the past two decades.

"While Alabama is not a large State, her population being approximately 2,000,000, I believe that 75,000 people could find profitable employment there to-day. The farmer, the manufacturer, the railroad, in fact every industry, is languishing for lack of labor.

"We think that the distribution of the immigrant North and South can be furthered by getting Congress to pass laws allowing the different States to appoint their agents to go to Ellis Island and present the advantages of their respective communities. As an Alabamian, as a manufacturer and a native citizen, I wish to say that we do not lay much stress upon the money that an immigrant shall bring. All that we demand is that he be of good character, that he be not a criminal convicted of some crime involving moral turpitude. What we want is a good, healthy, strong man, and it doesn't matter whether he has a dollar or not. He is rich in his brain and his muscle, and there is a place in our section for profitable employment for him. We

want all we can get. And we are not particular about nationality. I want to say for one I don't believe all the good things reside in any one nationality. They all have good qualities, and we should be very glad to have you aid us by sending them down to us, where land and living are cheap, and they can get plenty of work." (Applause.)



SAMUEL GOMPERS.
President of the American Federation of Labor.

Ex-Senator Higgins on Asiatic Immigration.

Ex-Senator Anthony Higgins, of Delaware, took part in the discussion of the subject of "Asiatic Immigration," speaking in part as follows:

"The reason that has controlled my judgment in favor of the rigid exclusion of an Asiatic population on this continent is one of a character that if well founded makes, as it seems to me, discussion on any other branch of the subject almost unnecessary; and in what I am going to say I would not for an instant be considered as desiring to exclude those classes whose exclusion seems to have given such umbrage, and just umbrage, to the people of China. I mean their scholars, merchants, travelers, their men of science and all men who do not come here as laborers. But with our nation having the great Pacific shore, to be filled with a great American population, we confront a problem of the utmost importance when they are faced by four hundred millions of Chinese upon the other side of that ocean.

"We have a race question already, and with our experience with that race problem, how should it be possible that any plain American would either welcome or be willing to permit that this country should be vexed and troubled with another? (Applause.) I can say this because the active and militant part of my life has



REV. THOMAS R. SLICER.
Chairman, Conference Committee on Rules.

been much absorbed in making as good a fight as I could for the equality of rights to be given the negro. I therefore feel that I can speak as I shall speak without any reproach from any member of that race. But, saying that, I ask first, What would any sensible, sane American give if no negro, slave or other, had ever landed on our shores? (Applause.) We should have had no

negro problem, no North, no South, no slavery, no secession, no rebellion, no war, no destruction of life, no public debt, no pension list, no problem of reconstruction. Should we be willing to invoke another race rebellion? The negro can probably never rise to more than his already demonstrated capacities, but the silent, patient, enduring Chinaman brings into your body other elements that make him absolutely impossible of assimilation. The great problem of America has been assimilation. We have assimilated the Spaniard of Louisiana, we have assimilated the Frenchman of Detroit and St. Louis and all that Western country. It has not been done in a century. But assimilate the negro, except to a certain extent, you cannot. And so you have here this practical problem. It seems to me that it is a great, substantial, abiding reason why there should be the most rigid exclusion of the laboring element of China."

Ng Poon Chew Speaks for China.

Much interest was aroused by the speech, delivered in fluent and forcible English, of Ng Poon Chew, of San Francisco, editor of the only Chinese daily newspaper in the United States. He minimized the danger to American labor and American institutions to be apprehended from Chinese immigration, saying:

"An often cited objection to the Chinese is that we do not assimilate. Assimilating humbug! You don't give us a chance. You throw all the obstacles you can in our way. You pass laws against us becoming citizens of the United States. You have passed laws on the Pacific Coast forbidding us to intermarry with other nationalities. You have passed laws forbidding us to bring our women over, and at the same time you damn us for not helping you to solve the race suicide question. (Laughter.) You say we take money away from the country. Gentlemen, we have taken hundreds of dollars from the country. At the same time we have

capacity. Therefore, if the Emperor of China or the Empress Dowager ever had the audacity to try to reach this country they would be deported. A teacher is one who teaches the higher branches of learning in a recognized institution of education. A student is one who pursues the higher branches of learning in a recognized institution of learning. A merchant is one who has a fixed place of business in his own name. If he does a million dollars' worth of business a year, and if at the same time he is interested in a hotel like the



CHARLES A. MOORE.
President of the New York Civic Federation.

Waldorf-Astoria, the very fact of his having one dollar's interest in such a hotel would invalidate him as a merchant, and he can be deported. A traveler is one who has all his pockets full of money to support him through his trip, and when he gets through he has to get out of the country immediately. But it is much easier for a rich, fat American millionaire, with all his tainted dollars on his back, to climb to heaven through the fire escape than for a Chinese to come through the ports of the United States. (Laughter.) Therefore, outside of those five classes—an actor, we cannot get an actor over here to amuse us in our leisure hours; we cannot get a minister of the Gospel over here to come and minister to our spiritual welfare, to tell us which way to go to heaven and which way to the hot place; we cannot get a doctor over here to heal us, or to kill us, either way. Here we are; we are supposed to come in, but all those are not.

"Now, I have a letter in my pocket written by a friend of mine of the class of '99 of Yale College, and he went back to teach English in our college in Singa-

"When we wake up from our slumber we will never submit to discrimination. And fifteen years from now, if you want to restrict our labor, that restriction law ought to be universal. Restrict all the unworthy people from all the nations. The Chinese Exclusion Law should be modified, because it is opposed to the American sense of justice. It is opposed to this twentieth century civilization, because in all civilized countries every man is looked upon as innocent of crime until he is proved guilty. But under this Chinese Exclusion Act every Chinaman in the country is looked upon as guilty until he can prove himself, by the aid of at least two creditable white men, to be innocent of smuggling into the country."

Senator W. A. Clark.

Senator W. A. Clark, of Montana, who followed Mr. Chew, spoke in part as follows:

"We have in China alone four hundred millions of people. In India, if India is to be considered, and in Japan, the Philippines and other Pacific islands there are several hundred millions more. If we are to throw down the barriers and allow these people to come to our shores unrestricted, we are in danger of an invasion of those hordes that will practically exterminate and destroy American labor.

"In my opinion, in any exclusion act that may be passed by Congress there should be such provision as will enable us to treat the officials of our neighbors in the East or in the West with some consideration. Under the present law, men high in authority in China and other countries have been treated with the greatest indignity. We are laboring to establish and keep the open door in China, and we will succeed. But while working for this plan, let us not lose sight of the fact that we should establish friendly commercial relations with these people, and I believe that we should in



ROBERT WATCHORN.
Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of New York.

never taken the money; we never send money out of the country in the form of coin. We do not use gold in China, and we do not use your American dollar. Every dollar here amounts to 100 cents, but if your money goes to China it amounts to 47 cents; therefore we leave every American dollar, whether it is tainted or not, in the country (laughter), and we only send the value of money in the form of goods; and if we do send the value of money in the form of goods it helps this country.

"From 1848 to 1882, a space of thirty-four years of free Chinese immigration, when every grade of labor was open to them, the largest number of Chinese who came in was 106,000. Those 106,000 would not be a great menace to the country. During the same period you got from Europe several million people. I am demanding, not the repeal of the Exclusion Law, but the modification of the Exclusion Law. (Applause.) I demand that you should modify the Exclusion Law so as to admit those who do not in any way interfere with the laboring class of the American people. (Applause.) I am here, gentlemen, twenty-five years; I obtained my education in this country; I own property and I pay taxes, and I have raised a family of five children, and yet I am excluded. I am not deported because I am so insignificant that the Chinese inspector could not find me with a great magnifying telescope, and because I came here before the year 1882. Therefore, as long as I stay in this country I am permitted to stay here, but if I should leave the country I should never be able to return to this land of liberty and human progress.

"The Act excludes everybody except five classes—officials, merchants, travelers, students and teachers. The official is one who holds a commission from the Chinese Government to come here in an official ca-



AVERY C. MOORE.
Editor of the Weiser (Idaho) World.

pore. He taught three years there, and then he taught in other colleges in China, and eight months ago he came over here and tried to take the post-graduate course in philosophy in Columbia University. Eight months ago he arrived in San Francisco; after a month in the detention shed he was deported. I have got a letter in my pocket, and I defy any Chinese immigration official to write a letter in such beautiful English, in such well-chosen diction and in such elegant style as that letter was written by a Chinaman they deported.



JESSE TAYLOR.
Representing Junior Order United American Mechanics.

this Exclusion Act, when it shall be passed by Congress, provide that all of the officials who enter this country from any other countries, all persons who are seeking to come here to obtain knowledge from us, all students, all professors who are making a tour of observation and students who come to study our customs and to take places in our schools and institutions, all travelers and all persons of respectability who are not coming here to come in competition with the American laborer should be treated as the subjects of the most favored nation. (Applause.)

"Now we come to the question, Shall the bars be thrown down, and with the restrictions that apply to the reception of immigrants from European countries shall we allow an indiscriminate entrance upon our shores to people from Asiatic countries? I believe that I voice the almost unanimous sentiment of the people of the State which I have the honor here to represent, both employers and employees, that we should not allow what we call the coolie labor to come into this country unrestricted. I think it would be an act of inhumanity to the people who are struggling in this country to secure employment and a maintenance for their families and to build up homes in our midst to allow the immigration of hordes of people who, as the distinguished gentlemen who preceded me recently stated, had no idea of making homes amongst us, who had no idea of assimilating themselves with our institutions."

Walter Macarthur Opposes Japanese Immigration.

The views of organized labor on the Pacific Coast were presented by Walter Macarthur, of California, editor of *The Coast Seamen's Journal*, and representative of the Japanese, Chinese and Korean Exclusion League, who asserted that, so far as Asiatic

immigration was concerned, there were no labor men and no capital men in California; all were exclusionists, without exception. Continuing, he said:

"The discussion of the question up to this time has been confined to the Chinese phase. There is another phase which is equally, and in fact more important than the Chinese, and that is the Japanese and Korean phase. The people of the West stand not only for the literal, strict maintenance of the Chinese Exclusion Act, but for the extension of the provisions of that Act so as to exclude Japanese and Korean labor. We take that position because all the objections that may be raised to

"In the State of California and other States of the Union on the Pacific Coast the Chinese and the Japanese have driven the white man off the soil. They have driven the white man out of certain industries, not only the laboring man, but the business man. In some sections of California they are establishing banks and driving the bankers out of business. It is not simply a question of protecting labor; it is a question of protecting all classes of men. Just as sure as these Japanese are permitted to come in here without let or hindrance, they will drive us all across the Rocky Mountains.

exclusion were not kindred subjects; the West was willing to abide by the results of closing its ports to Asiatics. He also said:

"It is the testimony of history that cheap labor promotes social degeneracy and national degradation, and yet it was not a great while ago that a well-known master of transportation stated that what this country needed was cheap labor. But I make bold to say that the problem is not how to secure laborers in foreign lands who will work for less than the prevailing wages, but how to secure better wages for the laborers who are already here. (Applause.) The West does not claim



PROF. J. W. JENKS.
Professor of Political Economy, Cornell University.



DR. EDWARD A. STEINER.
Professor of Applied Christianity, Iowa College.



PROF. JOHN R. COMMONS.
Department of Political Economy, University of Wisconsin.

Chinese labor apply with equal and with added force in the case of the Japanese and the Koreans. We object to these classes of labor upon three general grounds: the racial ground, the economic ground and the political ground.

"We object to the Asiatic laborer, whether Chinese or Japanese, because he comes from a different and an unassimilable race; because he comes from the Mongolian as opposed to the Caucasian race. And we regard this problem as a problem of race preservation. We object to these classes of labor upon the economic ground because they tend to undermine, and do, as a matter of fact, undermine the standard of living to which the American laborer is accustomed, and which he desires to maintain.

"We object to them upon the political ground, upon the main ground that, being incapable of becoming citi-

"It has been assumed in certain quarters that we are enforcing the Chinese Exclusion Act because China was not able to protect herself, because China was not able to insist upon a recognition of her equality with the other nations. And it is now hinted that that time and that conditions are passing, and that the day is near when China will be able to protect herself, will be able to compel the United States to throw down the bars and let in the Chinaman upon the basis of equality with other nations. Now, you can clearly see the suggestion. I am a man of peace, and the men of the West are men of peace, and we are pursuing a peaceful policy. We are pursuing a policy in demanding the enforcement and maintenance of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the extension of that act to the Chinese and Japs; we are pursuing in that respect a policy designed to preserve the peace between ourselves and other na-

to have a solution for this problem, but it has reason to know that the free admission of Chinese labor would postpone its solution indefinitely.

"We are opposed to any modification of existing laws on this subject, and 'modification' constitutes the whole program of China. Chinese diplomacy is a subtle science that hides infinite menace in simple words. A few days ago the Chinese Minister to Washington appealed to the Government for a more liberal interpretation of the exclusion laws. He asked that the bars be let down to the professions, as they are now down for students and travelers. But we of the West know the Chinese character—as nearly as it is possible to know the inscrutable and the contradictory—and we see the hidden danger in the word 'professions.' We have learned that the destination of the Chinese 'traveler' is nearly always a cheap labor market, and that the brain



PROF. H. A. GARFIELD
Professor of Politics, Princeton University.



PROF. H. W. FARNAM.
Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.



PROF. MORRIS LOEB.
Sociologist and Lecturer on Immigration.

zens of the United States, they are a standing menace to the perpetuity of our political institutions. We cannot afford to have in the United States a class of labor permanently proscribed, permanently denied political rights, because, after all, it is upon the laborer and upon the exercise by the laborer of political freedom that the whole superstructure of our Government rests, and to the extent that the laborer is denied the right to participate in the political affairs of the nation you endanger and undermine the political institutions of the nation. (Applause.)

tions, and unless that policy is adopted the peace will be broken. The time will come, unless some restrictions are placed in the way, when the people of the West will be forced to take a stand in the defence of their birthright, regardless of the consequences to themselves or others."

No Modification, Says Avery C. Moore.

Referring to the remarks of Mr. Chew, the next speaker, Avery C. Moore, editor of the *Weiser* (Idaho) *World*, said that Chinese trade and Chinese

of the Chinese 'student' is too often located in his hands. This, therefore, is our will: Close such loopholes as now exist—and create no new ones."

Hon. A. L. C. Atkinson.

Hon. A. L. C. Atkinson, Secretary of the Territorial Government of Hawaii, spoke of his territory as "facing the full power of the Orient." More than 60 per cent of the population, he said, was Asiatic. "Shall we," he asked, "advance along traditional American lines, as our President says? I am willing to admit that

the introduction of say twenty-five or fifty thousand Chinese will mean 25 or 50 per cent more dividends. But shall civilization hold its own, or shall we be driven back and the decay of America commence?

"How we intend to meet this problem, and what the present administration in Hawaii is doing is this: it is our definite policy to Americanize these islands and to prevent them from being Japanized. We have done more than that; we are opening our islands; we are making it easy for the homesteaders to obtain land. Our plantations, or some of them, are giving land to every man who will work a certain length of time.



GEORGE PARSONS.
Secretary of the Conference; Mayor of Cairo, Ill.

They will build the buildings, they will give medical attendance, water and firewood. Our whole idea is that we will domicile our labor. We are opening the Government land and fixing the roads so that while the tropical crop is growing men can obtain employment and thereby support themselves. My present mission to this country is to obtain laborers for that purpose. We want to make and build up an American community out there."

Warren S. Stone.

Speaking on the same subject, Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, remarked:

"The great question which seems to stand in the background to-day is the boycott, which is only sleeping, they say. The question for you to solve is whether, for the benefit of having American manufactures go into China, you can afford to pay the price by letting down the bars and letting the yellow flood pour in. Do you want Chinese immigration at that price? I think not."

In the course of a paper dealing with the question of employing Asiatic labor in the tropical dependencies of the United States, D. G. Ambler, of Florida, advocated the importation of Chinese coolies for the digging of the Panama Canal, but the proposition excited no further discussion.

The Rev. Dr. Arthur J. Brown, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, premising that he was not arguing for unrestricted Chinese immigration, defended the average Chinaman, testifying to his honesty, industry, frugality and peaceful disposition. The real question at issue, however, was whether Chinese who came to this country, not as uneducated laborers, should be treated with common decency.

President Penrose Defends the Chinese.

President S. B. L. Penrose, of Whitman College, State of Washington, declared himself frankly in favor of the admission of Chinese laborers. He spoke in part as follows:

"The exclusion of the Chinaman costs something to the United States. It costs in undeveloped territory; it costs in the neglect of orchards; it costs in the retardation of our Pacific civilization, because we have not at the present time such a labor supply as to meet the demands of the present occasion. I believe that the total exclusion of the Chinese of the labor class from the United States is unwise, because the psychological differences of the Chinaman and the American are not so fundamental as to place him beyond the pale of civilization and the consideration of a decent regard.

"It seems to me there are certain definite things which we should accept with reference to the peoples of Asia. In the first place, we ought to have a fair and honest and impartial examination of all kinds for admission to the United States upon the far side of the Pacific—an honest examination. I have it on very good authority, that of an intelligent, well-informed Chinaman who told me quietly, not thinking that I would ever make use of it in any way, that the fixed

price that a Chinaman had to pay in order to get into the United States over on the far side was \$60. It seems to me that the United States must have an enforcement of honest laws rigidly and impartially administered. I believe also that we ought to make a distinction between our insular possessions and the land of the United States proper. To insist that the same restrictions upon foreigners, upon labor, shall hold in the Philippine Islands, for example, as in the United States seems to me to be confounding the question by failing to recognize the difference economically between those insular possessions and our own country."

The Committee on Resolutions then submitted a report on Asiatic immigration consisting of four resolutions. The first three were adopted without opposition and were as follows:

"Resolved, That we heartily endorse the position taken by the President that the Chinese exclusion laws forbidding the admission of laborers ought to be maintained and rigidly and honestly enforced.

"Resolved, That a rigid examination of all incoming passengers from the Orient be made at the port of departure, as recommended for incomers at the Atlantic ports, so as to eliminate entirely, if possible, the hardship of detention and deportation.

"Resolved, That we request Congress to provide better facilities for inspection and examinations at the Pacific Coast ports, similar to those provided at Atlantic ports."

The fourth resolution read as follows:

"Resolved, That, in the words of the President's recent message, our laws and treaties should be framed not so as to put Chinese students, business and professional men of all kinds, not only merchants, but bankers, doctors, manufacturers, professors, teachers and the like, in the excepted class, but to state that we will admit all Chinese except Chinese of the coolie class, Chinese skilled or unskilled laborers."

Samuel Gompers.

A *viva voce* vote was taken on this resolution, and the Chairman declared it carried. In view of the fact, however, that Mr. Gompers, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, had opposed the wording of the resolution, and in view of the desire of many delegates that he should state his objections to the Conference as



JAMES P. ARCHIBALD.
Secretary of the New York Civic Federation.

a whole, the vote was reconsidered, and Mr. Gompers addressed the assemblage. He expressed his reluctance to oppose a resolution containing so large a quotation from the message of President Roosevelt; but, he added:

"There is given no opportunity to the President of the United States to understand the underlying causes and motives that lead the American workman and so large a portion of the American people to insist upon Chinese exclusion. The American workmen do not want to keep the Chinese student, or the Chinese traveler, or the Chinese merchant from coming into the United States; but experience has demonstrated beyond question that the deception practised upon our Government in the effort to evade the exclusion law is so great that as a matter of truth the larger portion of those who have been excluded are those who came here under the pretence of being merchants and students.

"It is all very well for our reverend and professional friends to stand up on this platform and tell you that you ought to throw your gates wide open. Some of them have been more cautious than to say that. Some of them have said that we do not want the laborer to come in here; but others have said: 'We want the Chinese laborer to come in here'; less cautious, less adroit. But underneath it all the motive is to let down

the bars of exclusion to Chinese labor. You may come to us in honeyed words. We possess neither the polish nor the urbanity that you professional and reverend gentlemen possess, but into our hard heads have been pummelled by experience the devices that are resorted to to trick the workingman into consenting to conditions. (Applause.) The sugar planter of Hawaii, the adventurer in the Philippines, are all of the one stripe in trying to deceive the working American people into the belief that there is a dearth of workmen, and that the only recourse is to the Chinaman. (Applause.)

"To speak of Chinese immigration, to speak of Chin-



SAMUEL B. DONNELLY.
Secretary of The National Civic Federation.

ese laborers and to refer to the 72,000 Chinese who are here now is begging the question. It is an insult to our intelligence to refer to the 72,000 Chinese who are now here in the United States and ask us to judge from them, as much as it will be an insult to our intelligence to imagine for a moment that the intelligent Chinese gentleman who occupied this platform can be counted as a criterion for his fellow countrymen who have come here in such large numbers, when there was no law upon the subject."

A motion made by Professor Commons that the resolution be referred to the Executive Committee of the National Civic Federation was lost. Mr. Corcoran, of Minnesota, then offered as a substitute for the fourth resolution the following, which was adopted:

"Resolved, That our laws and treaties should be so framed and administered as carefully to except Chinese students, business and professional men of all kinds, not only merchants, but bankers, doctors, manufacturers, professors and travelers, from the action or enforcement of the exclusion law."

This closed the warmest debate of the Conference, and in a manner which was apparently satisfactory to all interests.

Dr. Shaw then offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That The National Civic Federation is entitled to the commendation of this Conference and the public for the interest manifested in the subject of immigration, and that the thanks of the Conference are extended to The Civic Federation for its painstaking and complete arrangements of this meeting, and the many courtesies extended to the delegates."

RESOLUTIONS ON WHITE IMMIGRATION.

The resolutions on white immigration, which were unanimously adopted, practically without debate, were as follows:

"Resolved, That the members of the National Conference on Immigration heartily endorse the wise suggestions of the President of the United States in his annual message to the Congress, regarding the enforcement and amendment of the laws concerning immigration, and regarding an international conference to deal with the question. They urge upon the Congress the speedy passage of the laws required to put such recommendations into effect.

"Resolved, That the immigration laws should be amended in the following particulars:

"(a) By placing in the excluded classes 'feeble-minded persons'; 'imbcciles';

"(b) By carefully defining the term 'persons likely to become public charges,' so as to permit the exclusion of those persons of permanently enfeebled vitality, whether this condition is due to accident, inheritance, disease, advanced age or other defect;

"(c) By making provision so that the air-space allotted to each person in ships carrying immigrants be not less than two hundred cubic feet, instead of one hundred and ten cubic feet for the main deck, as now provided, and that the space be proportionately increased for the other decks;

"(d) By making such provisions as shall compel the service of food at tables with seats, in compartments not used for sleeping.

"Resolved, That the penalty of \$100 now imposed on the steamship companies for bringing diseased persons to the United States be also imposed for bringing in any person excluded by law.

"Resolved, That the Government of the United States provide some methods of investigation, examination and certification of foreign immigrants in their home countries, or at the port of departure, so as more certainly to avoid the hardship of deportation by preventing the embarkation of persons excluded by law from admission into the United States.

"Resolved, That in order to prevent the undue concentration of immigrants in some parts of our country, and to encourage their better distribution in sections where conditions may be more favorable, the United States Government afford to the separate States and Territories opportunities to furnish to incoming immigrants at the ports of entry, and also so far as it may be found practicable, before their arrival in this country, trustworthy information regarding the material resources and the conditions of life and labor which confront the followers of different occupations in the various States and Territories.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the Congress that it furnish sufficient means to the Commissioner-General of Immigration to improve the facilities for handling immigration at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports, in order thereby to promote the better distribution of immigration over the undeveloped lands of the South and Southwest.

"Resolved, That on account of the large number of alien immigrants who are admitted contrary to law because of the possession of naturalization papers fraudulently obtained, this Conference recommends that

all naturalization certificates should contain a description of the applicants similar to that provided in the case of passports issued by the Department of State.

"Resolved, That we recommend to the Congress the establishment of a Commission with competent authority, to be appointed by the President, to investigate the subject of immigration in all its relations, including the violations and evasions of the present law; and to report to the President the results of its investigations with recommendations.

"Resolved, That we heartily commend The National Civic Federation upon its initiative in calling together this First National Conference on the important subject of immigration; and in order that this work may be advantageously continued, we request the Civic Federation to appoint a standing committee on that subject."

The officers of the Conference were:

Chairman, Hon. Seth Low; vice-chairmen, John H. Holliday, Indiana; Gov. W. D. Jelks, Alabama; Hon. W. S. West, Georgia; ex-Senator Anthony Higgins, Delaware; Warren S. Stone, Ohio; Hon. Frederick N. Judson, Missouri; secretaries, Professor H. A. Garfield, New Jersey; Professor H. W. Farnam, Connecticut; Hon. George Parsons, Illinois.

The committees were constituted as follows:

RULES—Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, New York, chairman; Hon. A. L. C. Atkinson, Secretary of Hawaii; Dr. A. Tilzer, Portland, Oregon; David Robinson, Georgia; D. G. Ambler, Florida; D. J. Keefe, Michigan; Wiley Tindolph, Minnesota; Charles Ridgely, Illinois; Warren S. Stone, Ohio; Prescott F. Hall, Massachusetts; Hon. Adolph Meyer, Louisiana; Thomas Parker, South Carolina.

RESOLUTIONS: Members-at-large—J. W. Jenks, New York; John M. Stahl, Illinois; Samuel Gompers, Dis-

trict of Columbia; John F. Smulski, Illinois; John R. Commons, Wisconsin; D. J. Keefe, Michigan; J. J. Sullivan, Ohio; Charles P. Neill, Washington; John Willis Baer, New York; Stephen Collins, Pennsylvania.

State members—Dr. Albert Shaw, Chairman, New York; Ross C. Smith, Alabama; David S. Snedden, California; Frank T. Johnson, Colorado; Rev. Joel S. Ives, Connecticut; Hon. Anthony Higgins, Delaware; M. J. Weller, District of Columbia; D. G. Ambler, Florida; Dr. B. Wildauer, Georgia; A. L. C. Atkinson, Hawaii; Avery C. Moore, Idaho; W. G. Edens, Illinois; John W. Kern, Indiana; Edward A. Steiner, Iowa; John E. Frost, Kansas; George L. Sehon, Kentucky; Geo. H. Smith, Louisiana; Dr. F. E. Wheat, Maine; Dr. Fabian Franklin, Maryland; Frank B. Hall, Massachusetts; Edwin F. Sweet, Michigan; W. D. Washburn, Jr., Minnesota; Samuel A. Hughes, Missouri; Hon. W. A. Clark, Montana; B. V. Kohout, Nebraska; Hon. H. B. Quinby, New Hampshire; Hugh F. Fox, New Jersey; L. Bradford Prince, New Mexico; Z. P. Smith, North Carolina; Hon. E. J. Watson, South Carolina; C. H. Salmons, Ohio; Dr. A. Tilzer, Oregon; James W. Kinnear, Pennsylvania; George H. Webb, Rhode Island; N. F. Thompson, Tennessee; H. W. Fairbanks, Texas; Simon Bamberger, Utah; Geo. H. Terrill, Vermont; Theodore S. Garnett, Virginia; S. B. L. Penrose, Washington; Geo. C. Baker, West Virginia; Mark E. Bruce, Wisconsin.

These vice-chairmen occupied the chair at different sessions of the Conference: Hon. John H. Holliday, Governor W. D. Jelks, Hon. W. S. West, ex-Senator Anthony Higgins and Warren S. Stone.

On the afternoon of the first day the delegates were the guests of Commissioner Watchorn at Ellis Island, where they observed the details of the inspection and disposition of immigrants.

"SMASHING THE UNION" IN AUSTRALIA.

THE CRUSHING OUT OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS HAS RESULTED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A POWERFUL SOCIALIST PARTY.

Hugh O'Neill, in Kansas City Independent.

It was Malcolm Donald McEacharn, ship owner and capitalist, who delivered the Commonwealth of Australia to the Socialists. He is the one Conservative on the continent that the Socialists fight without malice. They are under a debt of gratitude to the shipping millionaire, and the bitterest offence he suffers is the occasional reminder of that fact.

Of course McEacharn didn't want Socialism. He only wanted to break the power of the trades unions. He thought that their exaction had become intolerable, and there was some justification for that view. Strikes were common, and frequently the cause of quarrel was trivial. But the strikers were always successful because the country was being flooded with British money, and the voice of the boomster was abroad in the land. The union leaders were ignorant of all economic laws, and they mistook the existing condition for one of natural prosperity. (That's where they made their mistake.)

McEacharn knew better than that. He knew that the burst would come sooner or later, and he prepared to attack labor on a falling market. He figured to smash the unions and remove the heel of aggressive democracy from the throat of capital. A partial victory was not what he wanted. He was after the whole hog. He got it. (That's where he made his mistake.)

The unionists were lions led by asses. McEacharn knew that. Time after time the shipping union made demands upon his company; time after time he granted these demands with smiling readiness. But day after day he went on building together the units of a force to fight trades unionism that was destined to sweep organized labor out of existence. The plan was colossal, but the solid patience with which in the meantime he bore the galling exactions of the trades was quite as great.

And then one day he loosed his thunders and struck hard and straight and true. He chose the time of battle, the cause of battle, and the place of battle. The unions chose nothing. They were arrogant with riches.

The cause of quarrel was childish, as McEacharn meant it should be. A difference arose between the quartermaster and the steward of one of his coasting steamers over the charms of a stewardess. The captain, to settle the difficulty—as he thought, poor man—discharged the sailor. The union demanded his reinstatement. McEacharn, knowing what the reply would be, offered to put him on another ship. The union demanded reinstatement on the same ship. McEacharn in very courteous terms pointed out that that was impossible. Then the asses who led the lions told him that unless the reinstatement was effected within twenty-four hours they would call the crews off all his ships and order a general strike.

Then, like a flash, McEacharn unmasked his guns. Back went the reply that the unions might strike and be damned.

The strike was ordered. And then there followed a

battle grim and great. Union after union was called out, ship after ship was laid up, State after State was involved in the quarrel, until the whole continent stood under arms. In less than four weeks the fires of nearly every coasting steamer were drawn. The trade of Australia was paralyzed. Four hundred thousand unionists were idle, and every man of them was drawing half pay. Also every unemployed man who looked like becoming a free laborer was paid a weekly allowance from the general fund to prevent remanning the ships.

But the Shipowners' Union that McEacharn had organized didn't even try to reman the ships. The land boom had reached its limit, trade was declining, very large coal reserves had been laid up, the funds and membership of the unions were known to a dollar and a man. The shipowners simply sat down on their hunkers and waited.

The trades leaders organized pickets, but there was nothing for them to do. The problem was a new one. They couldn't solve it. The owners were apparently not trying to run their ships at all. Patterson, who owned one fleet, wrote to the strike committee, and in a vein of pawky Scotch humor offered to sell them his ships.

Then it dawned upon the union that the strike had become a lockout. The besiegers were besieged. The weapon of capital was not free labor, but starvation.

Starvation won easily. Ten weeks after the first shot the unions capitulated to the grim foe hunger that before then had bowed the neck of many a proud city. McEacharn had meant to break the unions. And they were broken all right.

Funds gone, membership decimated, courage wilted, the once great trades unions of Australia were counted out.

The capitulation was announced in the biggest public hall the labor leaders could get. John Hancock, big bodied and big hearted—the finest platform man in Australia—rose in that hall of silent hundreds to tell the men that they must return to work on the best terms they could get. It was the shortest and most pregnant speech he ever made in his life. "Friends," he said, "men of Australia, we have not been beaten, we have been starved into submission. Unionism is dead, but anything can happen in a democracy, and from the ashes of the funeral pyre that the shipowners have lighted will rise the phoenix of our liberties."

Nobody knew what he meant. It is doubtful whether he knew himself. But it sounded large and fine, and something with that sort of sound was just what those depressed people wanted that night.

But one year later big John Hancock took his seat in Parliament—the first labor member sent in by the first political labor party in Australia.

Vanquished in the industrial war, the members of the battered trades unions had reorganized their forces on

a political basis and sought to win by the ballot the privileges capital had denied them. Someone discovered that where all men have votes and the bulk of men are wage-earners they only have to decide among themselves what they want from the State to get it.

That was only ten years ago. And now they have gotten nearly all they wanted. Think of it. Eleven years ago the unions were battered, dead, done for. To-day their direct lineal successor owns the whole blessed commonwealth of Australia.

They attacked municipal councils first, and enforced the minimum wage and eight-hour days on all of them. They attacked the State Parliaments next and gained factory legislation and old age pensions and compulsory arbitration. No factory in the country can now employ child labor, or work its people more than eight hours per day, or pay less than the minimum wage fixed by the wages board. In two of the six States the Labor party are the Government in office, in two others they hold the balance of power, and in two others they are the direct Opposition.

But it is their success in the Commonwealth Parliament—the national assembly—that marks out Australia as a Socialistic nation.

In the Senate half the members are pledged Socialists—definite servants of the labor party. In the Representatives the direct Opposition are pledged Socialists also—members of the same party. Compulsory arbitration in labor disputes is the law actually operating in two of the States, and the national legislature has passed a law enforcing compulsory arbitration in any labor dispute that extends from one State to another.

McEacharn, the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, the man who smashed unionism, was defeated last year by a labor candidate in the contest for election of a member of the House of Representatives.

Twelve years ago in Australia there were two parties, the Freetraders and the Protectionists. To-day there is one party—the Labor party—and the dragged remnant of another that occasionally totters helplessly before a tired public and tries to get itself taken seriously as the Anti-Socialist party. But it has no power, it never had a policy, and its friends are ashamed to recognize it in the daylight. Some day a man may arise in Australia who will evolve a policy big enough to cover the anti-labor party and those others who at present remain outside, but so far as the writer knows he hasn't sent word of his coming. And the gentleman who precipitated all this on the country has sought his country seat and the tiresome seclusion of a friendless man.

The writer points no moral. But he has heard the suggestion that Socialism was a coming force in American politics treated with derision, and he thinks that perhaps this story may be worth thinking over, because manhood suffrage prevails in America, and the great, big bulk of Americans are wage-earners, too.

THE HOURS OF LABOR.

(Continued from page 9)

be aided by reference to such exceptional instances. Most professions, many positions in business and some in trades fall within the class of excepted occupations. Good work in such occupations almost necessarily brings with it joy, because it implies development of faculties and, ordinarily, pecuniary advancement. In every occupation there are such possibilities for the exceptional man. But in most industrial occupations—in the unskilled trades and in many so-called skilled trades—the limit of development and of financial success for any individual is soon reached, and consequently there is little joy in such work except as compared with the hours of idleness, or such satisfaction as comes to the needy in securing the means of subsistence.

"LIVING" AND "SUBSISTING."

"And what is necessary to living as distinguished from subsisting?

"In the first place, bodily health is necessary; that is, not merely freedom from illness, but continued physical ability to work hard. For those engaged in the more favored occupations, like the professions and the higher positions in business and some trades, such health, including the postponement of old age, has been measurably attained by better conditions of living, and notably by outdoor recreation. What has been found necessary for continued health and working capacity for those engaged in these favored occupations we should seek to make attainable for all our citizens. The burden and waste to the community and to the individual, and the suffering attendant upon sickness and premature superannuation, may be and should be lessened by a shortening of hours of labor which will permit of proper outdoor recreation.

"In the second place, mental development is necessary. Massachusetts, recognizing the education of her citizens to be an essential condition of a free and prosperous people, has made compulsory the schooling of her children to the age of fourteen, has prohibited their working in manufacturing or mercantile establishments under the age of fourteen and has withheld the right to vote from illiterate adults as inexorably as from idiots. But the intellectual development of citizens may not be allowed to end at fourteen. With most people whose minds have really developed, the age of fourteen is rather the beginning than the end of the educational period. The educational standard required of a democracy is obviously high. The citizen should be able to comprehend among other things the many great and difficult problems of industry, commerce and finance, which with us necessarily become political questions. He must learn about men as well as things. In this way only can the Commonwealth be saved from the pitfalls of financial schemers on the one hand or of ambitious demagogues on the other.

"But for the attainment of such an education, such mental development, it is essential that the education shall be continuous throughout life, and an essential condition of such continuous education is free time, that is leisure; and leisure does not merely imply a time for rest, but free time, when body and mind are sufficiently fresh to permit of mental effort. There is full justification for the common practice in trades of charging at the rate of 50 per cent additional for work in excess of the regular hours. Indeed, I doubt whether that rate of pay is not often grossly inadequate to compensate for what it takes out of the employee. An extra hour of labor may render useless those other hours which might have been devoted to development, or the performance of other duties, or to pleasure. The excess load is wasteful with men as well as with horses or vehicles or machinery. Whether the needed education of the citizens is to be given in classes or from the political platform, in the discussion of the lodges, or in the trade unions, or is to be gained from the reading of papers, periodicals, or books, freshness of mind is imperative, and to the preservation of freshness of mind, a short work day for most people is essential.

"Bodily and mental health and development will furthermore tend to promote innocent, rational pleasures and in general better habits of living. Such conditions will tend to lessen the great curse of drink and with it some of the greatest burdens of the individual and of society.

"It is of course no answer to the plea for a shorter work day to say that the leisure resulting from shorter hours may not be profitably employed. The art of using leisure time, like any other, must be learned, but it is certain that the proper use of leisure, as of liberty, can never be attained except by those who have the opportunity of leisure or of liberty. Nor is it an answer to the plea for a shorter work day, to say most working men secure a certain amount of free time through the irregularity of their work. Such free time is literally lost. Such irregular excessive free time presents an even greater evil than that of excessive work.

"Although the reduction of the hours of labor is clearly desirable, it may, as already stated, be impossible on account of competition or other cause to grant the reduction at a particular time in a particular business. But in my opinion employers are apt to exaggerate the resulting loss of earnings, at least in the long run.

Greater freshness, better health and mental development that go with shorter hours may be relied upon within reasonable limits to make up in many businesses, at least in part, for a shortening of working time, where the employer receives as he should the co-operation of the employees to secure the largest possible production. Obviously no limitation should be imposed upon the output of the individual, nor any rule be insisted upon by the employer which would hamper the most efficient use of machinery. Such arbitrary restrictions are wasteful and uneconomic at all times, and necessarily act as a brake on the movement toward shorter hours. The natural gain in vigor and working efficiency on the part of the employee should be allowed to show itself in the shop results. If this gain in potential efficiency is nullified by artificial limitations on what and how much a man shall do with the facilities placed at his disposal, the decrease in working time must inevitably mean increased cost, without either economic or moral justification, and under such circumstances the employer has no other course open to him than that of resistance to any attempt to reduce the working time.

"If in any case we should find that despite the fullest co-operation of the employees, the reduced working time results in immediate economic loss, the welfare of our democratic community compels us to work, nevertheless, for a reasonably short work day as a condition essential to the making of good citizens."

President Lucius Tuttle.

Lucius Tuttle, President of the New England Civic Federation, in closing the meeting said:

"As you all know, the Federation does not undertake to command any man or any interest. It does not undertake to arbitrate anybody's difficulties. It simply stands ready to hold out the olive branch of peace whenever strife is in prospect, and in the work it has accomplished during the last year it has more and more proved its efficiency and its value in this whole community.

"The principle of this association is the one that I have been working with for more than twelve years, and successfully, I believe. In the companies which I have the honor to represent there are employed about twenty-five thousand men—a good sized army—and we find many differences to work out and many difficulties to solve; and we have had many weeks, many months, of patient negotiation and discussion, and I take it as one of the proudest things I can say that up to the present moment there never has occurred a difference that has not been honorably and amicably settled to the satisfaction of every interest involved. (Applause.)

"It is that kind of thing which the Civic Federation of New England is trying to work out, and I take to this association the credit of much of the industrial peace that exists throughout New England to-day. There never has been a time within my knowledge when there was so little of strife and so little of threat of strife in the borders of New England as at the present moment (applause), and I believe that to no one instrumentality is more of that condition due than to the work which has been accomplished and the influences exerted by the members of your executive and conciliation and other committees.

"I want to add one word more. No organization is ever a success without having in it one man who is the pivot upon which that success turns, and I wish to say, not because he wants or expects me to say it, that this association has that one man in its secretary. (Applause.) Your secretary has conducted, has originated and has helped on negotiations which have resulted in practical good to thousands of people, but he does it in that quiet, unobtrusive way which almost amounts to self-effacement; yet the work has been accomplished. I know of these things, and some of the other members of the committee know of them, but the generality of the Civic Federation cannot, and I think it ought to reach you who may not know, even though our secretary in his modesty would not like to have me speak of the subject.

"Just this much in closing: Every man who works—and we all work—ought to have and must have an interest in every other man, and particularly in every man who works under his direction. There are, of course, well-meaning people who believe that the work of an association like this is unnecessary, but that is usually due to the fact that they have in their own way in the control of the men who work under their direction carried out the same idea. They have met with no troubles, and therefore they do not see why the Civic Federation is necessary. There are others who in a somewhat slurring way criticize the work of the association, who hint that it is giving the workingmen too much control of the business of the employer. The man who says that as a rule is a man who never had twelve men employed under his direction in his whole life (Applause); and the man who says the way to deal with these things is to 'fight it out' is the man that, if he did have the responsibility of a larger number of men, would crawl under the table the moment the fight began." (Laughter.)

OFFICERS FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Lucius Tuttle, president; Frank H. McCarthy, first vice-president; Louis D. Brandeis, second vice-president and chairman of the conciliation committee;

John Mason Little, treasurer; Henry Abrahams, recording secretary; Warren A. Reed, vice-chairman of the conciliation committee, and Hayes Robbins, secretary.

Twelve new members were added to the executive committee as follows: On the part of the public, President W. J. Tucker, of Dartmouth College; President W. H. P. Faunce, of Brown University; Hon. John D. Long and Alvin W. Sulloway, of New Hampshire; on the part of employers, Hon. W. L. Douglas, C. L. Edgar, President of the Edison Electric Company; T. E. Byrnes and J. L. Richards; on the part of wage-earners, John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers of America; Samuel Ross, Secretary of the National Spinners' Association; P. F. McCarthy, President of the Vermont State Branch of the Federation of Labor, and Thomas F. Kearney, Secretary of the Building Trades Council, Providence, R. I.

A vote of thanks was tendered Charles H. Taylor, Jr., for his services in the office of treasurer for the past year.

Just before adjournment, upon motion of T. M. Nolan, of the Typographical Union, a rising vote of thanks was extended to the officers and committees of the Federation for their efforts in behalf of mediation and conciliation during the past year.

AS AN AUSTRALIAN SEES US.

Octavius C. Beale, of Sydney, New South Wales, was an honorary delegate and an interested listener at the National Conference on Immigration. His visit to the United States was largely due to his desire to investigate the extent of harmful adulteration of foods and drugs and the means adapted by Government and other agencies for its suppression. He is now in Europe on a similar mission. Mr. Beale, who is the head of Beale & Co., Limited, of Sydney, manufacturers of pianos, is not only a large employer of labor, but is President of



OCTAVIUS C. BEALE.
President, Federal Council of Chambers of Manufactures
of Australia.

(By courtesy of the Music Trades.)

the Federal Council of Chambers of Manufactures of Australia. This organization may be described as analogous to the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, so that Mr. Beale speaks as an Australian with the same authority with which Mr. D. M. Parry might discuss the business and trade conditions of this country. There is this marked difference between the two presidents, however: that Mr. Beale carries among his letters of introduction strong credentials from the labor leaders of his own commonwealth.

In a conversation with a representative of the REVIEW, the Australian manufacturer spoke with much emphasis of his surprise at the attitude of many American employers toward the question of shorter hours for their workmen. It was almost beyond his comprehension, he said, that in this age and country he should have found so large a number of industrial plants where the day and night shift system of eleven and thirteen hours was in operation, not to mention many cases of a less aggravated nature. He thought it a most serious mistake for any employer to show as little concern as he had seen some men exhibit for the length of the working day; and he was again most emphatic in his prediction that, unless employers in the United States themselves inaugurated reforms in the hours of labor, it was only a question of time when the workingmen of the country would unite and force them to grant an amelioration of present conditions.

Mr. Beale had several interviews with President Roosevelt during his stay in the United States. In one of them the President charged him to advise his Government to encourage immigration, especially from Southern Europe, into the northern part of the island commonwealth.

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TEN CENTS

REFORM OF PRIMARY AND ELECTION LAWS.

RESULTS OF THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

ONE of the most interesting and important conferences which has yet been held in the interest of Election Reform and of clean government took place in New York City on March sixth and seventh, under the auspices of The National Civic Federation. More than one hundred delegates were present, representing nearly all sections of the country from Massachusetts to Georgia and Texas.

The following were among the delegates present:

Joseph T. Alling, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Clarence A. Barbour, Rochester, N. Y.; Albert S. Bard, Citizens' Union, New York; Hon. William S. Bennet, M. C., New York; Robert S. Binkerd, Secretary Municipal League, Buffalo, N. Y.; Henry T. Blake, New Haven, Conn.; R. L. Borden, Leader Conservative Party, House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada; Ernest Bross, Delegate Mayor Bookwalter, Indianapolis, Ind.; Frank T. Brown, Norwich, Conn.; L. Barion Case, West Side Republican Club, New York; Charles Hopkins Clark, Hartford, Conn.; J. Reuben Clark, Jr., Delegate Joseph Howell, M. C., Utah, New York; Alexander Cumming, President Yale Law School Political Club, Yale P. O., New Haven, Conn.; Horace E. Deming, Delegate City Club of New York and National Municipal League, New York; Richard H. Dana, Boston, Mass.; Elmer Dover, Secretary National Republican Committee, New York; Henry M. Doremus, Mayor of Newark, Newark, N. J.; John A. Dutton, Republican Club, New York; Ralph M. Easley, The National Civic Federation, New York; Mark K. Edgar, Director Department of Public Safety, Delegate Mayor Connell, Scranton, Pa.; A. Frank Ferris, Good Citizens' Federation, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Walter L. Fisher, President Municipal Voters' League, Chicago, Ill.; George L. Fox, New Haven, Conn.; Julius J. Frank, Reform Club, New York; George R. Gaither, Delegate Mayor Timanus, Baltimore, Md.; Richard L. Gay, Secretary Election Laws League of Massachusetts, Boston, Mass.; Prof. H. A. Garfield, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.; Henry M. Goldfogel, Member of Congress, New York; Henry Johns Gibbons, Philadelphia, Pa.; Abraham S. Gilbert, 38 Park Row, New York; James W. Hawes, Delegate Republican Club, New York City,

New York; Learned Hand, Delegate Citizens' Union, New York City, New York; Hon. Lynde Harrison, New Haven, Conn.; William B. Howland, The Outlook, New York; Richard W. Jennings, State Returning Board, R. I., Providence, R. I.; Edward S. Kaufman, Reform Club, New York; Robert N. Kenyon, Alternate Delegate Republican Club, New York, New York; Irvine L. Lenroot, Speaker of Assembly, Wis.; Hon. Seth Low, New York; Robert Luce, Boston, Mass.; Col. Theo. H. MacDonald, Connecticut Commission on Primary Reform, etc., New Haven, Conn.; Frederick F. Meyer, Jr., Newark, N. J.; James G. Monahan, Madison, Wis.; Hon. Roswell R. Moss, Delegate J. Sloat Fassett, M. C., Elmira, N. Y.; Hon. Franklin Murphy, ex-Governor of New Jersey, Newark, N. J.; William Church Osborn, New York; N. G. Osborn, New Haven, Conn.; John E. Owens, Delegate Mayor Dunne, Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; John H. Perry, Southport, Conn.; Roland Phillips, National Civic Federation; Josiah C. Pumpelly, New York; Josiah Quincy, Boston, Mass.; George L. Record, Jersey City, N. J.; Howard D. Ross, Delegate Mayor Wilson, Wilmington, Wilmington, Del.; George Frederick Rusb, Chicago, Ill.; Charles R. Russell, Chairman Committee on Elections, General Assembly, Ga., Columbus, Ga.; Joseph E. Ransdell, Member of Congress, Louisiana; Ralph Curtis Ringwalt, New York; Hon. John O. Sheatz, House of Representatives, Pa., Philadelphia, Pa.; Thomas K. Skinner, Delegate Mayor Wells, St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo.; David S. Snedden, Professor Stanford University, Delegate Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, California; Edward B. Sturges, Scranton, Pa.; Mark F. Sullivan, 215 West 23d Street, New York; Hon. A. W. Terrell, Austin, Tex.; Charles Arthur Trimble, Elizabeth, N. J.; Col. Isaac N. Ullman, Delegate Mayor Studley, New Haven, Conn.; C. V. C. Van Deusen, New York; William D. Washburn, Jr., Minneapolis, Minn.; William R. Wheeler, San Francisco; Fred H. Whitin, Delegate West Side Republican Club, New York, New York; Oliver Whitson, Delegate Hon. William W. Cocks, M. C., New York; Leighton Williams, New York; Rev. Alfred Wshat, Trenton, N. J.; Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia, Pa.

The discussions were listened to with great interest, the speakers being for the most part men who have taken leading parts in the practical solution of the questions under consideration. At the close of the

conference, which took up in order the three general subjects of (1) primary laws, (2) ballot reform, and (3) corrupt practices, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, the purposes being, first, to make provision for the permanent organization of the conference under the direction of The National Civic Federation and, second, to put on record the consensus of opinion of the delegates on the subjects of the purchase of votes and of corrupt practices legislation.

These resolutions were adopted:

First, "Resolved, that The National Civic Federation be requested to establish a permanent department or branch of its organization to take jurisdiction of the subjects which the conference was called to consider, all of the members of this conference to become members of such department, and that the Civic Federation be requested to call another meeting of this conference at such future time as may be deemed expedient;" and, second, "Resolved, that experience shows that existing provisions of criminal law against the purchase of votes are inadequate; that proper corrupt practices legislation should include (1) the publication of all contributions and expenditures; (2) the prohibition of political contributions by corporations; (3) the definition and limitation of permissible political expenditures; (4) provisions for judicial inquiry into election expenditures and existence of corrupt practices, in which proceeding any citizen may participate; (5) the punishment of corrupt practices by further penalties such as disenfranchisement or disqualification for office, in addition to fine or imprisonment."



HON. OSCAR STRAUS.



HON. R. L. BORDEN.



HON. SETH LOW.

The committee appointed to prepare these resolutions as announced by Oscar S. Straus, temporary chairman of the conference, consisted of:

Josiah Quincy, Chairman, Boston, Mass.; Walter L. Fisher, Vice-Chairman, Chicago, Ill.; A. W. Terrell, Austin, Texas; Richard Henry Dana, Boston, Mass.; Richard W. Jennings, Providence, R. I.; John H. Perry, South Port, Conn.; Lynde Harrison, New Haven, Conn.; Wm. Church Osborn, New York; James W. Hawes, New York; Harry A. Garfield, Princeton, N. J.; Henry M. Doremus, Newark, N. J.; Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia, Pa. (Henry John Gibbons, proxy); John D. Sheatz, Philadelphia, Pa.; Howard D. Ross, Wilmington, Del.; Geo. R. Gaither, Baltimore, Md.; Percy C. Jones, Toledo, Ohio; Ernest Cross, Indianapolis, Ind.; John E. Owens, Chicago, Ill.; Irvine L. Lenroot, Superior, Wis.; T. K. Skinker, St. Louis, Mo.; D. S. Snedden, San Francisco, Cal.; Charles R. Russell, Columbus, Ga.; Joseph E. Ransdell, M. C. La.; Leo E. Bennett, Indian Territory; A. Frank Ferris, Grand Rapids, Mich.; W. D. Washburn, Jr., Minneapolis, Minn.

The Session on Primary Reform.

In opening the conference, Oscar S. Straus read a paper vigorously denouncing the pernicious system of "boss" rule in our political life. He sounded the keynote of the conference in asserting that a free and full discussion of Primary Laws, Ballot Reform and Corrupt Practices would be a decided step in our progress toward clean government. Mr. Straus said in part:

"Eight years ago in these rooms, on January 20th and 21st, 1898, under the auspices of the Civic Federation, since enlarged to The National Civic Federation, was held the first National Conference for the Reform of Primary Elections.

"The subject was debated for two days, and a committee on permanent organization was elected, and as the chairman of that committee I have the honor to welcome you to this second National Conference, likewise called under the auspices of The National Civic Federation.

"There is no subject to-day of more vital concern to the people of this great democratic Republic, irrespective of party affiliations, than that the principles of popular government which the fathers of our Republic wrested from the grasp of monarchical usurpation shall be handed down from generation to generation pure and undefiled.

"The brave and fearless conflict between honest and dishonest politics has seldom if ever won so signal and precious victories for the moral law as were achieved by Governor Folk of Missouri, by Mayor Weaver in Philadelphia, by Senator Colby in New Jersey, by Jerome in New York, and by the Prosecuting Attorney in Boston, and by similar victories against long entrenched bossism under the stimulating helpfulness and uncompromising attitude of Secretary Bonaparte in Maryland, and Secretary Taft in Ohio.

"The encouragement following these victories has spread far beyond the States and cities in which they were won, so that throughout the length and breadth of our land the 'plain people' who love their parties and their country, who by degrees have been literally disfranchised by the bosses, have been aroused to an appreciation of their rights and to a sense of their power; and from this awakening has resulted a renewed effort to break the chains of boss rule and to reclaim their rights as members of their party and as free and independent American citizens. Let us not forget in the discussion of the topics of reform that will come before us, important and necessary as they are, that all these are but means to the end, and that no political contrivance, however minute and drastic, can serve as a substitute for the indifference of the general body of electors, or for the lack of the ever-watchful spirit of unselfish patriotism."

Following the address by Mr. Straus, the Honorable Josiah Quincy, ex-Mayor of Boston, took the chair as chairman of the first session of the conference and introduced Horace E. Deming, delegate of the City Club of New York and of the National Municipal League. Mr. Deming contended for more appointive and fewer elective offices and pointed out what in his opinion are some of the proper conditions and safeguards of candidacy for such offices as are elective.

As it is the intention to have the speeches made at the conference reprinted *verbatim* in pamphlet form, only the briefest résumé of the proceedings can be given in this issue of the Review. Mr. Deming said in part:

"Under the present system, each citizen, in order to influence nominations, must ally himself with a recognized political party organization, and in casting his nominating vote must choose his candidates for national, for State, and for municipal offices all from a list of men bearing the badge of that organization. The individual citizen may appreciate the incongruity of this, but he has no choice in the matter. The nominating election should be a public election to determine as to each elective public officer who, as a candidate for that office, shall have the right as the sole representative of a given set of political principles properly applicable to its conduct to have his name



HON. A. W. TERRELL.

appear upon the official ballot used at the general election. Prior to registration day, let every candidate for nomination be announced as such candidate, together with a statement of the platform of political principles upon which he stands, each distinct set of principles being denoted by a short title or phrase; let the names of all candidates for the nomination be printed by the State upon an official nominating ballot delivered to the voter upon a registration day and immediately after registering, and let the voter mark secretly upon it his preference among all the candidates for nomination to each office; let the ballot then be deposited in the ballot-box under exactly the same circumstances as at the general election, and at the close of the polls let the votes be canvassed and the result be announced, as at the general election; upon the official ballot used at the ensuing general election, let only such policies and candidates appear as have successfully passed the two tests set forth above. In this way the local interests of the city could be freed from confusion with national politics; and municipal elections could be fought out by local parties, which would appear and disappear according as local issues did or did not warrant their existence.

"The incongruity and absurdity of having so many elective offices would be brought out clearly, and the day would be hastened when the nine out of ten offices now elective which should be appointive would be taken out of politics."

THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARY LAW.

The chairman then introduced the Honorable George L. Record, Corporation Counsel of Jersey City, who spoke on the New Jersey Primary law. "The New Jersey law," said Mr. Record, "is a combination of the direct vote and the delegate vote. This law was passed under the Governorship of Governor Murphy, to whom the credit in my judgment almost entirely belongs for placing it upon the statute book. Now, a contest was had in Essex County, New Jersey, in which Everett Colby fought a machine successfully. I will tell you exactly the steps that he took to do it, and in that way you will see the New Jersey law. In each ward of each city and in each township of that county ten Republican voters signed a petition to the local city or municipal clerks something in this fashion: 'To the County Clerk of _____ Township: We, the undersigned ten voters of the Republican party residing in this Ward or Township, petition you, the Town Clerk, to print upon a Republican primary ballot the names of the following men as candidates or delegates to the County Convention of the Republican Party.' Then followed the names of the number of delegates which the law provides shall go to each township or ward. Thus far, you have simply the delegate system. We provided that the delegates next nominated might, if they chose, add a petition, in which they could say, 'We petition the City Clerk when making up the official ballot to group our names together, to put a bracket opposite, and opposite that bracket to put the name of Everett Colby under the words, 'Choice for State Senator.' Then those petitions went to the Town Clerk. Meanwhile, what we will call the Machine put in its petitions too, in which it nominated in each ward its delegates, and these delegates had their names printed upon the official ballot. Now, the Town Clerk or the City Clerk made up the official ballot for the Republican party, and this appeared: 'Official primary ballot for the Republican party. Candidates for the delegates to the County Convention. Vote for six (or whatever number there may be in each ward) by erasing all the names except the six, for whom you wish to vote.' Of course all the other conventions are represented,

but I am taking one as a sample. The City Clerk made up the ticket in that way, and he grouped the delegates pledged to Colby in the manner in which I have indicated, and then at the bottom, or ahead of them he put the delegates named by the Machine or by any other group in the party that chose to contest, and there was the ticket. You could buy that ticket under the New Jersey law by depositing money with the City Clerk and distribute it in advance of the election.

"Now, the voter on primary day, which is the first registration day, goes to the polls and there registers and asks for a Republican ticket, gets it, puts it in his pocket, goes into the booth, draws a line through every name except those bracketed opposite the name of Colby, if that is his preference, comes out and unless challenged votes that ticket in the Republican box, there being a ballot box for the Republicans and another for the Democrats. If challenged, he makes oath as to his membership in the party, and if he makes that oath his vote must be received. There is no discretion in the Election Board, but he can be punished for a false oath. At night those ballots are counted; they are certified by certificates to the Town Clerk; the Town Clerk adds them all up and the delegates in the party receiving the highest number to the extent of six, we will say, in each Ward, or whatever the number may be, receive from him certificates that they are elected, and these certificates are their credentials in the ensuing election. If there is any attempt to evade that, we have provisions for appealing to the courts."

One of the points brought out by Mr. Record in explaining the operation of this law was that under the system it required a strong man to defeat such a candidate as Colby; and as the "boss" could not put up a strong man and still retain his supremacy his defeat from the start was pretty certain. He added, however, that in his judgment no such system would be successful if the "blank checks" of corporations as in the Colby campaign were available for the "machine" candidate.

THE MINNESOTA PRIMARY LAW.

William D. Washburn, Jr., delegate from Minnesota, outlined some of the provisions of the Minnesota law as follows:

"The Minnesota Primary Law involves the return to the first principles of Democratic Government.

"Its object is to permit the free citizen to vote for whom he pleases without restraint. The existing law includes the following features:

"It applies to all candidates for all elective, district, county and city officers, and elective members of school board, park boards and library, in all cities having over one hundred thousand inhabitants.

"The Primary Election is held seven weeks before the regular election, and includes the safeguard of the Australian Ballot System under the General Law.

"Political parties must have had at least ten per cent. of the vote cast in the preceding election or such party may appear on the ballot by filing a petition with ten per cent. of the actual vote. New parties may also go upon the ballot by a petition provided under the General Election Law.

"All candidates must file their intention to run with the County Auditor at least twenty days before the election. The fee for filing is ten dollars in one county and twenty dollars for an office covering two counties.

"Two weeks before election the County Auditor must prepare a separate ballot for each party for public inspection. Such tickets must be twice printed in full in a legal paper of the county. Rotation in place upon the ballot is also provided, so that each candidate appears first upon the ticket an equal number of times.

"The City Clerk must also give public notice of the time and place of election, and must post the names of all candidates at each precinct voting place.

"Judges and Clerks are appointed under the General Election Law and each Judge appoints two clerks. Ballot boxes are provided for each party, and one box for such women as wish to vote for the school board. No voter may receive a ballot until he has registered and he is required to cast a ballot of his own party, which must be the party for which he voted at the last election.

"This machinery thus provides that the voter be permitted to cast his vote without any restraint, and while it may possess certain defects, these are inherent in the character of the voter, and not in the system which is provided for free registration of his vote."

THE NEW YORK PRIMARY LAW.

Hon. Abraham S. Gilbert, of New York, spoke of some of the features and of some of the objections to the New York Primary Law as it now stands. Mr. Gilbert said:

"In our Republican County Committee in the City of New York, the leaders of which were in favor of direct nomination, what happens when a broad and important question is presented? A committee is selected to investigate and report. Why? Because the subject cannot be properly handled by seven hundred and eighty men in one room; because a committee of seven intelligent, earnest men can hear the arguments pro and con and get down to the meat of the question, say what, summing it all up, they believe, and

then present their conclusions to the seven hundred and eight men for discussion. Now, under the law of New York this is generally the plan, and I will try to point out my objections to our law. Under the present law a man may enroll himself as a member of either one of the dominant political parties, take part in the official primary of the party in which he is enrolled as a member, be elected a delegate to a nominating convention and even take part in the nominating convention, and yet, after the nomination of the party has been made, join in an independent nomination in opposition to the party nominee. I say that this is wrong. I say that when I join a political organization I agree to be bound by the majority decision. Now, here is the trouble. The organization presents the ticket on which we first find in every election district the names of all the delegates to the County Committee, and they run as high as sixty or seventy in an Assembly District, sometimes—the members of the District Committee. You then find a dozen delegates to an aldermanic nominating convention, and so on, and you don't know the men on the ticket. Now, you have absolutely free say. You can vote that ticket or mark another one, but there is your trouble; you have to vote a complete ticket of delegates selected by the leaders. The leader has the selection of all these delegates and he chooses or selects all he knows. That is my objection to the law as it now stands. The delegates are then elected to the convention. I am not at all talking in favor of conventions as they are now conducted, but of conventions properly conducted. These conventions nominate the party candidate. Now, the independent people of New York have the simplest kind of a law, providing that one hundred men in a whole assembly district can sign a petition and nominate any independent man they please for assembly; five hundred for other offices, a thousand for still others. Their names go upon the official ballot. Now, in this city we appreciate that in one block or in half a block there are anywhere from five to six hundred voters. That means a good many thousand people; five or six hundred voters in a block. My contention is and has been for some time that those five or six hundred men ought to have a direct voice in the selection of candidates. My plan is, to have an assembly district cut into small districts; have the enrolled members of the party in an election district select a representative to a district committee, which shall be a powerful organization, and a representative one, one close to the people—as close as you can get it—and let those men, according to the population of the party vote, one or two in an election district, select the candidate for assembly, select the candidate for alderman, and be the delegates to every other convention in the City of New York.

Mr. Gilbert's speech closed the first session of the conference. At the afternoon session of March sixth the Honorable Franklin Murphy, ex-Governor of New Jersey, was introduced by Mr. Reynolds, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, and was selected as Chairman of the second session of the conference. Ex-Governor Murphy spoke of the value of the information given by the various speakers and suggested that the Committee on Arrangements adopt the necessary plans to put this information to practical use. The Hon. George Fred Rush, of Chicago, was then introduced and spoke on the Illinois Primary Law.

THE ILLINOIS PRIMARY LAW.

"Many writers," said Mr. Rush, "have stated that most of the evils attending primary elections would

vanish if party nominations as such were abolished and placed on the same footing as nominations by individuals, as in England. But this simple method of nomination in the United States cannot, in my opinion, be put into effect here, because the party prizes of government and of office holding are greater here than there. In the experience of Illinois two systems have been tried:

"(1) The indirect or convention system, wherein the law gives to the parties a method which simply ensured that the delegates to the nominating convention were honestly elected and seated.

"(2) The direct system, wherein the law furnished parties a method whereby the members of a party should vote directly on various names to determine the nominee of the party.

"Illinois has progressed beyond the first method and is making fair attempts at the second method. A sound, acceptable, simple and complete direct primary law has not yet been placed upon any statute book, and the Illinois law has its defects.

"Governor Deneen and Mr. Roy O. West deserve great credit for their labors to make good the Republican State platform demand for a compulsory primary law for the whole State. The Governor and his co-workers exceeded their party promises and caused the enactment of not merely a compulsory primary law, but one containing so many features of a direct primary system as to entitle it to the name of a 'direct primary.' Its chief defects of substance are that nominations depend upon a majority vote instead of a plurality vote, and that too many offices are exempted from the operation of the law."

Mr. Rush then noted the main features of a direct primary law drawn by himself for the City Club of Chicago and closed his remarks with a discussion of the rights—or in his opinion the *lack* of rights—of citizens to vote at a party primary.

The Honorable Irvine L. Lenroot, Speaker of the Assembly at Madison, Wis., who followed, spoke on the Primary Law in Wisconsin:

WISCONSIN'S PRIMARY LAW.

"It would be interesting," said Mr. Lenroot, "to detail the history of the contest, waged for eight years, which finally resulted in the adoption of our law, a contest which has no parallel in the political history of this nation. Upon this issue Senator LaFollette was elected governor for three successive terms. Arrayed against him, and the measures he advocated, were every railroad and other public service corporation, every politician without visible means of support, and every interest seeking or enjoying special legislation for private purposes.

"The machine fought every inch of the ground. Nominations by direct vote were promised in three successive platforms of the Republican party, and in one of the Democratic party. But we learned that under the delegate and convention system the power of the machine was greater than the binding force of a party pledge; that with a majority of the members of our State Senate, when they were compelled to make choice of masters, the people or the machine, the machine was chosen, and the honor of the member, the will of the people, counted for nothing. To bring this about every resource of the professional lobbyist, of the corrupter of good government, was employed. Many members served the machine through gratitude for past and present favors, and the promise of others to come. Others served it through fear of railroad discrimination in their business, and financial ruin to

themselves if they refused to do its bidding. But to the honor of the people of Wisconsin be it said, that few of the men who betrayed their constituents in that great contest are in public life to-day.

"The contest was finally won, and won, it is true, under the caucus and convention system, but it was only through the greatest popular uprising which the State had ever known. It was won in spite of the caucus and convention system, not because of it.

"In 1903 our Primary Law was passed and signed, but attached to it was a referendum, providing for its submission to, and adoption by, the voters at the general election of 1904, before becoming operative. It was adopted by a majority of over 50,000.

"In 1901, seeing that the Primary Bill was beaten in the Senate, its friends proposed a referendum. It was refused and was the subject of savage attack by the machine as being socialistic and revolutionary. In 1903 the machine proposed the referendum, not in good faith, but to postpone the operation of the Primary Law until after the campaign of 1904, and in this it was successful.

"Our law provides that all candidates for elective offices (town, village and judicial officers excepted) shall be nominated at a primary held under the provisions of the act, or by individual nomination papers. One primary for all parties, conducted by the general election officers, at public expense, and so far as possible in accordance with the general election laws, is provided. For general elections the primary is held upon the first Tuesday in September preceding, at the regular polling places in each precinct of the State. Other primaries are held two weeks before the election for which the primary is called. Ample provision is made for public notice of the primary.

"The name of no candidate can be printed upon the official primary ballot, unless at least thirty days prior to the primary, a nomination paper, signed by a certain number of electors, shall have been filed in his behalf. A minimum number of signatures to such nomination paper is prescribed for each office, the smallest being one per cent. of the voters of the party of the candidate, in the case of State officers, based upon the vote at the last preceding Presidential election.

"The names of all candidates appearing upon the ballot are published for three consecutive weeks in at least two, and not more than four newspapers of general circulation in each county.

"Separate tickets are provided for each party, the names of all candidates being placed thereon alphabetically, under the appropriate title of each office. In addition a non-partisan ticket is provided for, and non-partisan nominations may be made in the same way as party nominations.

"The open primary is adopted. The official ballot is made up of the several party tickets, securely fastened together at the top. No person not registered can vote, where registration is required at general elections, but primary day is also a registration day, and the voter may register at that time.

"The voter receives the ballot from the clerks, and retires to the booth. There he selects his party ticket from the ballot, and prepares it in the same way as a ballot is prepared at a general election, making a cross opposite the name of each candidate for whom he desires to vote. After the ticket is prepared he detaches it from the remaining tickets, and folds it. The others, attached together and unmarked, are also folded, and the elector votes the marked ballot, and deposits the remaining tickets in a separate box, designated as the blank ballot box.



GEORGE L. RECORD.



I. L. LENROOT.



ROBERT LUCE.

"The votes are canvassed in the same manner, and by the same officers as at a general election. The person receiving the greatest number of votes is nominated as the party candidate for the designated office, and his name is placed upon the official election ballot. But one ticket can be marked. In other words, the voter must select his party in the booth, and confine his votes to the candidates of that party.

"In each precinct a committee of three is elected at the primary. The person receiving the largest number of votes is made chairman. The precinct committees of each ward or town elect from their number a ward or town chairman, who must be a chairman of a precinct committee; they also elect a member of the county committee. The Assembly District Committee is composed of the chairman of the precinct committees in the district. The State senatorial committees are composed of the chairman of the Assembly District committees in each senatorial district; the congressional committees, of the chairmen of the senatorial district committees.

"Candidates for the United States Senate are nominated at the primary in the same manner as State officers.

"The candidates for the various State offices, and for senate and assembly, nominated by each party at the primary, and the holdover State Senators of such party are required to meet at the State Capital on the fourth Tuesday of September, succeeding the primary, and formulate the State platform of the party. They shall also select a State central committee of at least two members from each congressional district, and a chairman of such committee.

"Penalties are prescribed for bribery and violations of the law.

"This is a general outline of our law. As you have observed, it provides for nominations by a plurality vote. At the next session of our legislature we shall endeavor to secure the adoption, in its general features, of the plan of Mr. Remsen, of this city, providing for the elector expressing his first and second choice for the candidates for the different offices.

"As you have noticed from this outline, the prominent features of our law are:

- "1. Nominations by direct vote.
- "2. A compulsory primary for all parties, held on the same day, conducted by public officials, at public expense.
- "3. The open primary and method of voting.
- "4. The selection of party committees and the adoption of party platforms.

"The first and second are the really important features. The others are matters of detail."

DEFECTS IN THE WISCONSIN LAW.

Mr. James G. Monahan, of Madison, Wis., Collector of Internal Revenue for the Western District of Wisconsin, followed Mr. Lenroot and said that, in his opinion, far from being a good thing for the State, the primary election law of Wisconsin contained many features which were both burdensome and bungling. Mr. Monahan said: "The primary election law of Wisconsin, instead of curtailing the power of the boss, increases it; instead of destroying machines, fosters them; instead of protecting the rights of the people, in many instances takes away those rights; instead of relieving them from taxation, adds to their burdens; instead of bringing the people nearer to the source of power, removes them farther away. To make the objections to the law clearly understood, I will briefly specify some of them. First, it compels the candidate to make two campaigns to secure an office and forces him to waste time unnecessarily and spend more money than he can afford, and, before he can even become a candidate and have his name printed on the primary ballot, he must secure from 1 to 4 per cent. of the voters of his party to sign the petition asking him to become such candidate. This alone will defeat many modest men with but little money from becoming candidates; second, it will practically deprive the farmer vote from a voice in either county or State affairs; third, unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation, and the Wisconsin law will impose a tax approximating \$150,000 upon the people every time it is put into operation; fourth, under the provisions of the Wisconsin primary, we have abandoned the system that majorities may rule for one that minorities may govern—a plurality vote nominates; fifth, the Wisconsin primary law takes away from the people absolutely the right to make the platform, and gives the power to the candidates for the various State and legislative offices nominated by each political party at such primary. Sixth, the law makes it impossible to consider location or nationality in the nomination of tickets; seventh, the law in principle is a long step toward the abandonment of representative government bequeathed us by the founders of this Republic; eighth, by indirection, it virtually takes away from the people the constitutional right 'Peaceably to assemble to consult for the common good.' It does not forbid such assembling, but takes away both the incentive and the opportunity."

THE PRIMARY ELECTION IN GEORGIA.

After outlining some of the provisions of the Political Code referring to elections, the Hon. Charles E. Russell, Chairman of the Committee on Privileges and Elections

of the Legislature of Georgia, spoke on the Primary Election Law in Georgia. Mr. Russell said in part:

"In a Democratic primary election held in my home county, Georgia, in which I had the honor of being elected to the House of Representatives, the Executive Committee, pursuant to a resolution unanimously adopted at a mass meeting held in Muscogee County, formulated rules and regulations calling for a primary election, very closely resembling the Australian ballot system and deviating therefrom only in the following points:

"The ballot obtained by the voter entering the booth or enclosure must contain the facsimile signature of the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee and, also, have printed thereon the number of votes cast in that booth. This is entered on the polling list by the clerk, so that no fraudulent or corrupt practice can be used to trick the ballot. The rules require that the ticket when folded by the voter shall show plainly the number of the ticket.

"Another rule provided for certain impersonal signs, emblems or characters, to be placed on the left of the name of each candidate, which would easily designate to the illiterate voter the person for whom he desired to vote, a true copy of said ballot being published in all the daily papers prior to the date of the primary. The rules further required that the voter should have one minute after entering booth to prepare the ballot, and no one should be allowed to assist in marking his ballot in any manner whatever.

"There was an ample number of booths and voting places to provide for the registered voters, and this system worked most excellently and satisfactorily to the entire community.



PROF. H. A. GARFIELD.

"Our statutes also make it a misdemeanor for any person to sell or furnish intoxicating liquors within two miles of an election precinct, and the only persons not permitted to vote at a regular election are those convicted of treason against the State, embezzlement of public funds or malfeasance in office, bribery, larceny or any crime involving moral turpitude, unless such persons shall have been pardoned. No voter shall be subject to arrest by a civil officer or shall be served with any writ or civil protest while going to, or returning from, or during his stay at, the voting precinct under a penalty of \$500.

"As our party nominations are equivalent to elections, it is the consensus of opinion in Georgia that the will of the voters should be freely and truthfully expressed and accordingly declared."

Following the paper by Mr. Russell, five-minute speeches were made by Messrs. Humphrey, Wadhams, Hendrick, Morse and Allee, the general tone of the addresses being favorable to the enactment of any primary laws which shall have the ultimate effect of making the will of the public the dominating force in our municipal, State and national elections.

The Session on Ballot Reform.

Under the chairmanship of Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of the Ballot Reform section, the first paper on the subject was presented by Albert S. Bard, New York City.

Mr. Bard outlined briefly some historical points referring to the use of the ballot in elections and pointed out that in his opinion, the ideal ballot should have seven chief qualifications:

1. Secrecy.
2. Honesty.
3. Simplicity.
4. Fairness to both candidate and voter.
5. Fairness as between different classes of society.
6. Opportunity to vote quickly, and
7. It must be easy to canvass and count.

In describing the three existing methods of using the secret ballot to-day the speaker divided these types into the separate party ballot, the office group blanket ballot and the party column blanket ballot. He laid stress on the differences in the reform of the ballots of the different States and showed, on account of the great variety of conditions under which elections are held in the United States, what a difficult problem has to be faced by those who undertake to study the question of ballot reform.

THE CONNECTICUT BALLOT LAW.

Mr. Henry T. Blake, of New Haven, in outlining some of the provisions of the ballot law in Connecticut, said that in that State a ballot contains only a single ticket, and the State supplies blanks for the ballots at cost to any one who applies, and on these ballots each party or political organization prints its own ticket. Mr. Blake pointed out that, as the State neither prints nor distributes the party ballots, there is no limitation of time within which nominations must be made and the ballots printed. Any organization and any individual may make up such a ballot as he pleases up to the time of closing the polls, and may put it in the field and get as many supporters as he can. This gives free scope for independent tickets if the regular party nominations are not satisfactory and, moreover, the dominating influence of primaries over the election is curbed and the success of the tickets depends largely on the character of the candidates. The speaker pointed out that some of the reasons in favor of the Connecticut form of ballot are that it is simple and convenient; that it secures facility and secrecy in the act of voting; that it is favorable to independent voting; that it is adaptable to changing conditions, and is economical. Mr. Blake admitted that bribery is possible with the envelope system of voting, but contended that it is rare because of the risk involved by all parties concerned.

In presenting Prof. Harry A. Garfield, of Princeton, the Chairman, Mr. Woodruff, stated that, in his opinion, one reason why we have so much straight party voting in this country is the multiplicity of public offices. Referring to the ballot reform law granted by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1903, he remarked that it is well to scrutinize closely all laws which pretend to reform the ballot, for in Pennsylvania it was his opinion that every "last condition is worse than the first." Prof. Garfield took the ground that what we need is to elect men to public office who do not necessarily represent one idea or one faction, but who are fully equipped to carry out the duties of office. He argued from that the necessity of having a ballot which should enable every voter to express an opinion as between various men on the ticket with the utmost freedom. Referring to the Connecticut ballot, Prof. Garfield said that his objections could be reduced to a single point, viz., that the fundamental principle was in his judgment, wrong, for it really amounted to nothing more than the old "vest pocket" ballot. He contended that such a ballot made bribery a comparatively easy matter and that, in his judgment, the question of economy in printing really did not count. The Connecticut ballot puts a premium upon party voting and does not procure for the individual voter enough freedom of choice.

The next speaker, Mr. C. V. C. Van Deusen, formerly Assistant Secretary of Elections in the City of New York, defended the New York ballot law and the party column ballot as opposed to the Connecticut and Massachusetts type of ballot. The speaker laid down as a premise that the freedom of ballot or the system of voting bears little, if any, relation to or effect upon corrupt practices at elections except that, under certain systems, such practices are more difficult of detection and punishment. In his judgment, the establishment of a course of instruction in all the grades of our public schools would do more in twenty years to purify politics than twenty centuries of legislation has done. "The Connecticut form of ballot," said Mr. Van Deusen, "is practically the same as that in use in New York from 1890 to 1896 without the official envelope. The latter feature does not compensate for the objections raised to the separate party and independent tickets, and certainly the Connecticut and New Jersey systems, which are almost identical, leave the door wide open to the briber." While contending that in States like Massachusetts which have adopted the office group ballot, all candidates except those at the head of the ticket, are slighted, the speaker admitted that certain objections are raised against the form of ballot in New York; first, that it is too complicated in regard to the markings permitted the voters; that it does not lend itself to independent voting for candidates of various parties and independent bodies; and that it is difficult to canvass, thus permitting a loss of a great percentage of the votes cast. Under the New York system, while many votes are returned as blank, such votes are "infinitely less under our form of voting than under the office group system. I contend that with the adoption of a few amendments to our present law, which will simplify the tally sheet and modify the technical bookkeeping now entailed in making out the returns, we will have an almost ideal law."

THE BALLOT LAW OF TEXAS.

Hon. A. W. Terrell, of Texas, former United States Minister to Turkey, and author of the Election Law of Texas, known as "The Terrell Election Law," referred in his paper which followed, on the ballot laws of Texas, to the widely different conditions to be met in solving the problem by States of the North and South. "What the country now needs," said Judge Terrell, "both North and South, is a system of election laws which will tend to diminish the depraved, the purchasable and the reckless class of voters. Any system based on the desire to have what is called 'A full vote' must end in failure. What the country needs is a voluntary and honest vote, and not a vote that is controlled at the polls by the ward heeler, the campaign boss or the machine demagogue."

"What we in Texas require is, first, to make the citizen perform some act for the public benefit each year to evince his desire for good government and to perform that act voluntarily before a political campaign begins and make his right to vote depend upon its performance; second, to protect the citizen against machine politics, convention dictation and corrupt methods at the polls." With regard to the kind of ballot used in Texas, Judge Terrell said: "A uniform official blanket ballot is furnished each voter by the presiding judge on which every party ticket and an independent ticket, if there be one, is printed, and the voter is not permitted to have in his possession when he enters the booth any other ticket or paper to guide him in casting his vote. These and other precautions have caused the work of advancing poll tax money, or otherwise buying a vote, to almost cease, for the purchaser of a vote is careful in advancing money when he has no means of controlling the vote. A direct primary election is required of all organized political parties that cast 100,000 votes at the last preceding general election."

Hon. William S. Bennet, of the 17th District of New York City, spoke upon the general subject of direct nominations with especial reference to New York. He said: "Up to a certain point the law in the State of New York in relation to the nomination of party candidates is one of the best in the country. The primaries are held under the direction of State officers on a day fixed by law, are participated in by all parties of any size and the polls remain open for a definite, fixed and extended period. Experience has demonstrated that all these matters are essential to the existence of any proper system of primary nominations." The speaker's objection to the system was that the individual voter, Republican or Democrat, had, as a matter of fact, no voice in nominations, nor the right to have his say in relation to the nomination of any particular candidate without at the same time overthrowing the entire organization of his party in the district in which the candidate is to be nominated. "As I said, the nomination law at present is admirable so far as it goes. It may be readily adapted to direct nominations. The change required would be slight. The simple elimination of the convention and the substitution thereof of the names of nominees on the primary ballots instead of the names of delegates to the convention, would effectuate the change. Should it be desired to extend the system to State officers, the provisions of the Wisconsin statute in relation to the preparation of a party platform by the nominees of the party might be added."

THE BALLOT SYSTEM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Hon. Josiah Quincy, ex-Mayor of Boston, was introduced by the Chairman, and spoke informally about

the merits of the Massachusetts ballot system. The Massachusetts law rests upon the theory that an election is not a choice between parties, but a choice between candidates—between men who are candidates for particular offices. Mr. Quincy said that after an experience of eighteen years in Massachusetts with the Massachusetts ballot law, he was convinced that both in theory and in practice the Massachusetts form of ballot has proved effective as opposed to the party column form of ballot. Under the Massachusetts law the voter is obliged to make a selection between the candidates for each particular office. One objection to the Massachusetts form of ballot is that it constitutes in itself a substantial educational qualification and, therefore, is out of place in States which have not an educational qualification. Mr. Quincy pointed out in answer to this that, in the first place, the educational qualification of Massachusetts is a very limited one, and, second, that any Australian ballot system has in a measure necessarily an educational qualification. Another objection to the system is that it results in the great falling off of the vote. The speaker admitted that this was true. He replied to the objection by calling attention to the fact that under the best conditions only a percentage of the voters exercised the privilege of franchise, and he raised the question whether it is not "exactly as legitimate that the voter who goes to the polls should refrain from exercising his total franchise as it is that a certain proportion of the voters should choose to stay away from the polls altogether."

Following Mr. Quincy, Mr. Richard W. Jennings, Secretary of the State Returning Board of Rhode Island, said that he did not propose to criticize the Massachusetts ballot, but that this system would not be the best for Rhode Island. In Rhode Island the situation on election day is complicated on account, some years, of choosing at one time Presidential electors, congressmen, State officers, members of the legislature, city officials, members of the city council and of the school committee. Further complications arise from the different methods of electing members of the legislature and general assembly. According to Mr. Jennings, the alphabetically arranged ballot, with the names of candidates grouped under each office, produced for a number of years a startling number of blank and defective votes, and, therefore, a large percentage of the voters was disfranchised. The party column ballot is now in use in Rhode Island and, while it has been tested by only one election, the results seem to be satisfactory. The blank and defective ballots have been signally reduced.

The Session on Corrupt Practices.

The fourth session of the conference was called to order by Mr. Reynolds, who introduced, as Chairman of the afternoon, ex-Mayor Low. Mr. Low said: "The subject of corrupt practices at elections has been one that has attracted growing attention in all parts of the country. There has come to be a pretty keen realization of the fact that vast sums are spent (often unnecessarily, often improperly) and people realize with increasing unquietness that the result of an election here and the result of an election there has been determined by the use of money. Further than that, there is a growing conviction that the electorate itself is being progressively debauched, for on every hand those who look into the subject are compelled to realize that constantly growing numbers of men will only vote for their own party when they are paid for it. They may not vote—perhaps could not be persuaded to vote against the side that

they want to support by any amount of money, but they have come to look upon payment for time, as it is euphoniously called, as one of the privileges attaching to citizenship."

"There is a most hopeful movement in progress now, as many of you know, to secure publicity—the requirement of publicity as to election receipts and expenses through the action of Congress, and the same movement is taking place in many of the States. In some States it has already gone so far as to place laws upon the statute books. That is the case in the State of New York, and this year there is a determined effort being made to improve those laws. I think I may fairly say that in the judgment of that association there are at least four points that must in some way be covered.

"The first is this question of publicity, as to which there is very little difference of opinion.

"The second is the prohibition of campaign contributions by corporations. And as to that again there is very little difference of opinion.

"The third is to pass an act that in some form or another shall make it possible to establish by judicial inquiry the fact of bribery, if there has been such in any election district, with a penalty to the party using it of losing the benefit of the votes obtained in that electoral district.

"In other words, we feel that a remedy or *the* remedy for the evil is not to be found in criminal statutes and in fines, but it must be sought along the line of making it unprofitable to the candidate on whose behalf bribery is used, if bribery is to be stopped.

"And in the fourth place, our association at any rate feels that either through the activity of some public officer who is independent of both parties and who will therefore enforce the law against both or through an association which will do for these laws when passed what the Civil Service Reform Association has done for the laws upon that subject—in one form or another these laws must be made effective through such an agency. In other words, no matter how good your law upon the subject is, it won't enforce itself, and there must be behind it a free and well-organized and active public opinion expressing itself either through a public official or through an organization established for the purpose to see to it that the laws upon the statute book are enforced fearlessly through the courts."

CORRUPT PRACTICES IN NEW YORK.

Following the address of Mr. Low, Mr. William Church Osborn, Secretary of the Association to Prevent Corrupt Practices at Elections in New York City, outlined briefly the work and plan of the Association to Prevent Corrupt Practices. "At the present time," said Mr. Osborn, "there are three movements in this State for a corrupt practices act, the movement of the Independent League, the so-called Belmont Publicity Bill and the Association to Prevent Corrupt Practices at Elections, of which Mr. Low is Chairman, and of which I have the honor to be Secretary.

"The Independents' bill and the Belmont bill are both publicity bills and are both largely modeled on the accepted form, which provides for the payment of all contributions for election purposes to a definite person, such as the Chairman and Secretary of a county committee, etc.; for the accounting by those committees and officers; and in some cases for a system of procedure to determine whether those accounts so stated are complete and truthful, and whether such expenses are required.

"The Association has also put in a publicity bill, which has been developed in accordance with the traditions of



JAMES B. REYNOLDS



CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.



ISAAC S. WHEATON.

this State as a part of our Penal Code and is similar to our present provisions requiring candidates to file statements.

After outlining these general provisions, Mr. Osborn spoke of the advanced position taken by his Association in the matter of corrupt practices. He stated that in nearly every instance in which the different States have approached the subject they have taken as their method of procedure attacks against individual candidates for corruption of which they may be guilty personally or through agents. The penalty in nearly all corrupt practices legislation is forfeiture of office. Mr. Osborn stated that his Association wished to go one step farther and to hold not an individual but the party responsible for corruption.

CORRUPT PRACTICES IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Hon. Robert Luce, of Boston, contrasted the situation in his State with that of New York, calling attention first to the fact that Massachusetts is a State where the individual is emphasized and where party development does not present one-tenth of the danger evident in New York. Mr. Luce recalled that the essential parts of the Massachusetts Corrupt Practices Act became law in 1892, and so have been tried for fourteen years. The law was inspired by the English act of 1883 which worked a revolution in English politics. The English act sought four things, first, publicity as to contributions and expenditures; second, a definite maximum limit on expenditures; third, prohibition of certain classified classes of expenditure; fourth, forfeiture of office as a penalty. Now, in Massachusetts only one of these things—publicity—was sought. Mr. Luce said that unless a publicity law is so thorough and drastic that it cannot be safely evaded it will accomplish nothing whatever in disclosing what the statutes have declared to be a crime. This has actually been the result in Massachusetts, for not a prosecution has been made under the provisions of the law during the fourteen years of its existence. Is, then, the publicity secured worth while? Mr. Luce answers this query by asserting that "it has not been worth while if its chief or sole purpose has been an immediate and positive check on the use of money in elections. There is no proof whatever that, so far, the Massachusetts law has had such an effect. On the contrary, the use of money in politics was never so great as it has been in the last two years. Yet clear as it is that expenditure has grown alarmingly, apparently in spite of the law, it is equally clear that the publicity secured by the law has been a powerful factor in bringing public opinion to what is now a universal demand that the evil shall be crushed. The effect of publicity then has been that it has secured public knowledge and understanding of the evil and its danger. Perversion of the suffrage can no more be prevented or even checked by public opinion alone than can perversion of commerce or industry or the social relations." Mr. Luce stated, however, that, in his judgment, better practical results will come from a law which does not insist too much upon the detailed statement of small expenditures, such, for example, as personal expenditures of candidates not to exceed \$40 or \$50.

CORRUPTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

Following Mr. Luce, Mr. Mark F. Sullivan, of New York City, recounted some of his personal experiences in Greene County, Pa., on the subject of corrupt practices. He stated that in that county it was the usual thing to pay for votes, that by long practice the voters have become accustomed to getting money for their votes and that they count on it as a part of their annual revenue. The evidence against the men who used the money for bribery is practically clear, but they cannot be convicted because of the collusion of the court and the make-up of the grand jury. Mr. Sullivan suggested two remedies, first, to watch the grand jury and its foreman and to get jury laws which provide for a select list of the community so that the mere actual permeation of the machine's influence will not so corrupt the community that a representative grand jury will not indict. Second, to arouse a healthy public sentiment, and, in the case of certain large cities like Louisville, to which the speaker referred in passing, to provide that all the crime of one city will not come before one judge.

CONNECTICUT CORRUPT PRACTICES LAWS.

Mr. George L. Fox, Principal of the University School, New Haven, next spoke of the corrupt practices situation in the State of Connecticut. Mr. Fox said: "If corruption at elections is to be lessened in the United States, the federal congress and the States must enact and enforce laws after the model of the English and Canadian laws which for twenty-five years have been most effective. It is difficult to adapt this law to our conditions because of the very complex character of State and federal government, because of constitutional limitations as to the body who have the final scrutiny of the election and because of the large size of many electoral areas in this country. And yet we should aim to come as near to the English standard as possible by rigorously enforcing without fear or favor existing laws and by strengthening them in every way." Mr. Fox advocated establishing the election court with fearless and rigorous judges; punishing failure to file sworn statements of



W. D. WASHBURN, JR.

expenditure by arrest and fine; limiting or abolishing paid conveyance and strictly limiting the number of paid workers; forbidding contributions by corporations and the granting of passes of all sorts to any public officials by any public service corporation, especially in the case of judges; strictly limiting the amount of expenses to a reasonable amount by law determined by the number of electors in an electoral area.

On the same subject of the Connecticut corrupt practices law the Hon. Lynde Harrison, of New Haven, gave an interesting personal sketch of his part in the framing of the present law and in an informal discussion, in which a number of delegates took part, he outlined the main provisions of the law and stated that, in his opinion, the corrupt practices law, based on the present law in England, would do away with corrupt practices in this country as it has there.

A LETTER FROM HON. PERRY BELMONT.

It was expected that the Hon. Perry Belmont would address the conference on the subject of his corrupt practices bill which he is earnestly advocating at this session of Congress in Washington. Mr. Belmont was unable to be present, however, and sent the following letter:

"I regret extremely that I am unable to attend the Election Law Conference of the Civic Federation, as I find it necessary to remain in Washington to continue the effort to obtain a hearing from the House committee which has the publicity bill in charge. It has been my intention to comply with your invitation to inform you of the progress of the bill.

"The movement had its origin in the last Presidential campaign. The demand upon Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Taggart for information upon the subject of contributions to the national committees was very insistent towards its close. That demand has been re-echoed throughout the country until it has become evident that before another Presidential campaign, a law will have been enacted, requiring publication of such contributions and expenditures.

"The Armstrong investigation itself has been but one of the important incidents of this agitation. Revelations in regard to insurance companies and their contributions to political campaigns, disclosures before congressional committees of reprehensible pecuniary transactions in regard to the Panama Canal, knowledge of similar sinister influences and considerations in connection with concessions in the Philippines and Santo Domingo have impressed upon the American people the conviction that what may be termed investments in campaign funds for future benefits are constantly growing larger and more threatening to the honest administration of our domestic and foreign policy.

"Last September during the insurance investigation, when Mr. Taggart had made the announcement that 'Neither the Democratic National Committee nor any authorized representative ever asked or received from Mr. McCall, the New York Life, or any other insurance company a single dollar's contribution to the campaign fund,' Mr. McCall himself declared in a public interview that he was in favor of a law prohibiting corporations from contributing and compelling publicity of contributions. He had previously said to me, 'Mr. Belmont, if you knew what I was obliged to do, you would feel sorry for me.' I have often thought of those words since, and the circumstances of his death invite general attention to the evils of the system of which he is regarded as a victim. Those, however, who are mainly responsible and the beneficiaries of that system, should not escape their responsibility.

"The movement for state and national remedial legislation requiring publication of what are now secret political contributions and expenditures has been rapidly increasing in strength and scope. National and state organizations have been formed. Organized labor, by resolutions and petition, is actively and effectively co-operating. Bills have been introduced in Congress and members of the Senate and House of Representatives of both parties are earnestly in favor of a national publicity bill.

"This movement is non-partisan, and the friends of this measure believe that it will continue non-partisan. The controlling elements of the House of Representatives are all-powerful in deciding, under the rules, what bills shall be advanced or retarded. So far, there has been no disposition to delay this measure, and it is to be hoped that there will be none. It cannot be supposed, however, that those who have adopted what is known as the 'stand-pat' policy would

care to assist a movement which would bring about radical changes in the manner of collecting and spending campaign moneys.

"If the publicity bill should meet with obstructions, its friends are now so numerous and the question is so important to the people of this country, that a loud protest would be heard against any indirect methods to bring about its defeat."

As a number of speakers at the conference referred to the corrupt practices acts of England and Canada, the address by the Hon. R. L. Borden, leader of the conservative party in the House of Commons, Ottawa, Canada, was listened to with particular interest. Mr. Borden said:

"We have in Canada, as you have in the United States, government by party. Now, there seem to me to be three absolute essentials of Democracy, and particularly of the party system as associated with democracy. One is the honest appropriation and expenditure of money. The next is the appointment of public officials from the standpoint of efficiency and personal character, and not from the mere standpoint of partisan service. And the third is the cleansing of our elections from those corrupting influences which have made themselves manifest, I believe, in all countries which have adopted representative systems.

"As far as our party system in Canada is concerned, it is very much simpler than yours in the United States. The law does not regard parties so far as nomination is concerned. I will speak of the federal system only, which is typical of all systems in Canada, both provincial and municipal. The federal system in Canada permits any twenty-five electors to nominate a candidate for the House of Commons. We do not elect as many of our public officers as you do in the United States. I am not for the moment concerned with the question as to whether our course or your course is the wiser. I am simply telling you what our system is. For example, in the House of Commons the electoral unit is about twenty-five thousand. Twenty-five men nominate the candidate; a ballot is prepared; usually only two candidates are nominated. Behind all this, behind the formal nominations by twenty-five electors, there is the party organization, of course; that party organization is very often pretty thorough, but the people are absolutely at liberty to nominate as many candidates as they like, whether for the Dominion Parliament, the Provincial Legislature, or at a municipal election. You might think that would result in a multiplicity of candidates. That has not been our experience. It is very rare indeed that we have more than one candidate for either of the two political parties nominated either for the House of Commons, for the Provincial Legislature or in municipal politics. We have very elaborate laws against bribery, laws very much the same as I observe you have in the various States. We have laws against the use of money, laws against the provision of refreshments; we have laws closing our hotel bars and saloons upon polling days; we have laws against intimidation; we have laws providing that any person employed by a candidate for money during the course of an election is thereby disfranchised. In respect of all these matters I think we follow pretty much the law which has been followed in the United States.

"Now, about thirty years ago our Parliament gave up the jurisdiction which it had long exercised of dealing with controverted elections to its own body. With us—and I suppose with you—the Legislature was the judge originally of whether or not a candidate had been elected by corrupt practices or had been fairly elected.

"In 1874 or 1875 the Federal Parliament handed that jurisdiction over to the judges of our superior court. We have found the transfer of this jurisdiction from Parliament and from the Legislature to the courts to be eminently satisfactory. But I should like to say what I think we should have in Canada, and to point out to you what I think might be the advantage. In Great Britain they have an officer called the Public Prosecutor, who is charged in that country with the direction of all important public prosecutions. By the English Act of 1883 that officer has imposed upon him very important duties with regard to election petitions. He is bound to attend the trial of every petition. He is bound to attend every application to withdraw petitions, and if evidences of corrupt practices come to him from any division in which no petition has been filed, it is the duty of the public prosecutor to intervene and to make such investigation and to take such steps as may seem to him to be desirable. In Great Britain also the candidate is limited as to his expenditure for purposes which are declared legitimate by statute. We have not that in Canada. I hope that we shall have it, but I hope especially that we shall have very soon the appointment of some officer, some independent public officer having a status which places him beyond the reach of either one political party or the other, upon whom shall be imposed the duty of investigating every election in respect of which a petition has been filed, as well as of investigating every election where he has reason to believe that corrupt practices have been carried on upon any extensive scale. If we had that in Canada, so that we should not have the scandal (because it is a scandal there) of the withdrawal of election petitions by agreement between the two political parties, we would have accomplished a very great result."

"WELFARE WORK" DISCUSSED BY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

IMPROVEMENT IN WORKING CONDITIONS THE TOPIC AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW YORK CIVIC FEDERATION.

AT the annual meeting of the Civic Federation of New York, held at the Park Avenue Hotel on February 14, the general subject of discussion was "Welfare Work." In connection with the statements made by leading New York employers concerning what has been done to better the conditions of employes in several important industries, interesting papers were read by former city officials showing how New York City cares for its institutional employes and referring in detail to the need of better conditions in the station houses for policemen. One of the most interesting features of the meeting was the presentation, during the dinner which followed the informal reception, of stereopticon views illustrating what has been done by practical, successful business men in providing for the comfort of employes in the work rooms, for recreation, educational opportunities and in the housing of labor. Special importance is attached to the fact that at this meeting leading representatives of labor were for the first time requested to present the needs of workmen in their respective industries.

Among the subjects presented by leaders of employes' organizations were papers showing the needs of stationary firemen and hotel employes, a discussion of what may be done for the men in the building industry, as well as for the moulders, metal polishers, theatrical employes and teamsters. It is well to state that, while only a brief report of the many interesting points covered by the various speakers of the evening can be given here, it is intended a little later to have a complete verbatim report published of all the proceedings.

In addressing the meeting as Chairman, Mr. Charles A. Moore, after describing briefly the work and methods of the Civic Federation, spoke of what, in his opinion, was of first importance to the continued pre-eminence and well-being of both employers and employes in America, that is, economy in industrial methods.

Mr. Moore said in part:

"I had on my desk the other day a pamphlet which contained the address of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, the President of the Illinois Central Railroad—a very thoughtful and good man—and he says, as to the household question, that the people of America are spendthrifts, earning money freely and wasting it to such an extent as to make it proverbial. He says that the sum wasted is enormous. With a population of eighty-five millions, who either save or waste, it is hardly to be believed that any one will either save or waste less than five cents per capita per day. That is a very small sum, from the American point of view, but it would amount to more than \$4,250,000 or \$1,551,250,000 annually; and yet we think we are just about as smart a lot of people as are produced on the earth. We think we are second to none, and we are not, in general; but some people are so busy getting smart that they omit some of the things that will keep them so. Unless we study economy, unless we utilize these God-given opportunities in a sensible way, the people at whom we are sneering will be taking care of us some time in the future—we may have to suffer the humiliation of falling back on them.

"The other day I had a practical illustration of Welfare Work. A young man had been with me ten or twelve years and had demonstrated pretty well that he had good business ideas. I was thinking about some one whom I could send to Japan to cover that field, and said, here is my man. He was about to be married, and as soon as the ceremony had taken place he came and said he was ready to start. I happened to think a few days before he started: Well, here is a fellow going away off to Japan to look after my interests. Out of the hundred and eighty-five of his associates in the office he might not be able to see more than fifty or sixty to bid them good-bye; so I said to my secretary, go right uptown and see what you can do about arranging a dinner; I want to give this fellow a good dinner as a send-off. It was arranged at the Hotel Astor, and later they called me on the telephone and said, 'How about this dinner?' I said, 'just as good a dinner as the Astor can give.' They said, 'How about wines?' I said, I want to have everything that goes with a good dinner, the best of cigars and everything else. I was asked whom I was going to invite. I said, everyone, the messenger boy who came in last week—the teamsters, packers, shippers, stenographers, bookkeepers and clerks. So I sent formal invitations, and arranged to have the room decorated in Japanese style. I was curious to see whether men who had been with me as long as they had would abuse the privilege; and I want to say to you gentlemen that out of one hundred and eighty-one men there was not a man or a boy that took one drop of wine more than he should have, or who took a cigar and put it in his pocket. I never enjoyed a dinner more in my life, nor felt that I had been with a better average lot of men, nor where there was more enthusiasm



CHARLES A. MOORE.

and interest. One of the best toasts of the night was from the head of the teamsters, who said, 'Here's to Mr. Richards. You go to Japan and get the business, and we will haul the goods for you in prompt time and be back of you solid for the three years you are there.' (Applause.) Now, that spirit seemed to be present everywhere. Richards goes to Japan, not as an individual representative of a concern, but he goes there with the knowledge that all the men he knew in that organization are 'solid,'—just as a man will go to war and know that everyone at home is ready to back him up.

"That is what will result from Welfare Work, and you will all feel that this work is the best investment that one can make."

Mr. Moore said that, in all of his experience as a manufacturer, he had always instructed his superintendents to hand in their resignations the minute they refused to hear a complaint, always going on the theory that about 75 per cent. of the fault was the employer's and 25 the employee's. "But," added Mr. Moore, "they always had to work lively to get rid of their 25 per cent. before I could get rid of my 75."

"I believe that men should meet and understand each other and that is one of the purposes for which The National Civic Federation was founded. It not only helps to prevent controversies but is influential in improving the working conditions through such discussions as we are to have this evening."

Following his address the Chairman introduced Mr. H. H. Vreeland, Chairman of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, who explained the methods of the Department which prepared the program for the meeting, and who then gave an interesting account of the Welfare Work which he inaugurated for the employes of the New York City Railway Company.

John S. Huyler, President of Huyler's, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, endorsed Welfare Work, and stated that in his factory there are 600 employes, about two-thirds of whom are women, and whose regular hours of work do not exceed fifty-four. These are some of the welfare provisions instituted by Mr. Huyler:

The young women wear caps and aprons.

Fire protection has been given consideration, the new building being especially well constructed, and there are many fireproof exits. The floors are tiled. Fire drills are being introduced.

All the employes have seats with foot rests.

There are separate dressing rooms, in which the employes hang their clothes, adjacent to the different departments.

There are individual wash basins and soap and towels are provided by the company.

In the largest dressing room there is a matron who cares for the young women needing her advice or assistance, and who also makes the caps and aprons.

Pure drinking water, which is cooled by having the pipes coiled about the ice, is provided.

There is an emergency hospital with the necessary equipment. There is not much illness, but when em-

ployes are indisposed they are paid in full upon the doctor's authorization.

The company recently purchased a brown stone house next to the factory on Irving Place and equipped each floor with dining-room furniture.

At Christmas time the employes who have been with the company over six months get a week's wages. For some time the company gave one week's vacation to the factory employes who had been in its employ for one year with pay. Lately it has increased the vacation to two weeks with pay, Mr. Huyler stating that it was a hardship for them to be without their pay during the vacation period and that the company should be willing, as its profits increased, to share them with the employes.

There is an annual outing, which is usually an ocean excursion. When the employes and their families and sweethearts reach the boat, each person is handed a basket of lunch, every young woman being presented with a box of chocolates in addition. There is a counter for free soft drinks on the boat, and there is a band to furnish music for dancing. Each child is given a toy, and every effort is made to ensure the enjoyment of the two thousand participants.

In introducing Mr. Timothy Healy, President of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, the Chairman said:

"Now, we are going to hear from a class of men in which I am greatly interested. When you walk around the streets of New York and see that the sidewalk is clear you don't know that you are walking over a powder magazine. Few people realize how much brains and intelligence and loyalty and faithfulness exist among the men who fire boilers and take care of them. Now, I want to tell you the man who does not speak, who does not say anything, is down there under the building firing that boiler, and we would like to hear something about him. I take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Timothy Healy.

MR. HEALY: Our chairman has just turned my attention to powder magazines. They certainly are powder magazines—very dangerous—and they take men of brains and men who keep their heads clear to operate them. But I regret that the large employers of labor in this city do not encourage these hard worked men. About six years ago there was a law enacted in this State licensing stationary firemen in the city of New York. That law is not enforced. The large employers of firemen, particularly those employing large numbers of them, don't want that law. I don't know what their object is. We do know that when the men ask their superintendents or chief engineers for the letter, which the law requires, to present to the Board of Examiners, they are frequently told that a license is not necessary for firemen, and, in many instances, they have been discharged for daring to ask for that letter. I wish we could bring it home to the large corporations of Greater New York who have ignored this law and try to get them to recognize it. It would result in improving the efficiency of their men. A good fireman is a good man for an employer; he sticks faithfully and takes care of his plant, and he is a safe man to have around it. And if there are any large employers here to-night whose firemen are not licensed, I hope they will take the matter up in the near future. (Applause.)

The firemen of this city have always been neglected. They are a class of men that never had an opportunity of going to the office, or going directly to their employers. When, by chance, a man has gone over the head of a superintendent, or engineer to make complaint, he has "had to walk" very soon. His job was ended under that man. The firemen never get any show to make conditions known to the employers. Those men have been for years and years, up to a few years ago, working twelve hours a day for three hundred and sixty-five days a year, with never a Sunday or a holiday or any other time to themselves. If they should take a day off to attend the funeral of some relative, or on account of sickness in their families, when they would report for work they would be told that their places had been filled. This was not the exception. It was the rule, and it is to-day in many places. Now, the conditions under which those men work, no one knows except the man who has done the work and who is doing it to-day. Take, for instance, one of the big sky-scrapers downtown. A man way down two stories under the ground on a hot summer's day has to put in twelve hours there in the awful heat, anywhere from 110 or 115 to as high as 160 degrees—generally 130 or 140—with no system for ventilation. Some of these places are wet and damp under his feet

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J. J. Hannahan, Grand Master Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen, Peoria, Ill.
James O'Connell, President International Association of Machinists, Washington, D. C.
John F. Tohn, General President Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Boston.
Joseph F. Valentine, President Iron Moulders' Union of North America, Cincinnati.
James M. Lynch, President International Typographical Union, Indianapolis.
Denis A. Hayes, President Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada, Philadelphia.
William Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.

PROGRESS OF WELFARE WORK.

At the annual meeting of the New York Civic Federation on February 14, the proceedings of which are given elsewhere in this issue, Welfare Work was the general topic of discussion. An important feature of the meeting was the opportunity given to labor men to express their views. One of the speakers, representing the teamsters, remarked that he was at first inclined to wonder whether a mistake had not been made, since formerly his organization was not considered worth recognizing. An employer remarked, after hearing the address by the representative of the stationary firemen, that he had no idea the conditions described could prevail, and that, in the hotel of which he is proprietor, he would at once make a thorough personal investigation of working conditions.

This first recognition by The Welfare Department of the right and of the necessity of men who do the work to be heard on the sanitary requirements in their various trades is, of course, only an extension of the idea of personal conference which is a cardinal principle in the work of the Federation. But it marks an era in Welfare Work in opening the way to the dissemination of accurate, first-hand information on working conditions which will be welcomed by a vast number of our most progressive employers.

To carry out this idea the New York Civic Federation has appointed a committee of sixty which, divided into twenty sub-committees, will report upon the sanitary and general working conditions in as many industries. The reports will include the results of investigations into the Welfare provisions made by the city for policemen, firemen, and letter carriers, and by private employers in such crafts as the bakers, metal polishers, teamsters, and moulders.

ELECTION REFORM.

The Second National Conference on Primary Laws, Ballot Reform and Corrupt Practices was held in New York City March 6 and 7 under the auspices of The National Civic Federation. Delegates representing all sections of the country from Massachusetts to Texas were present, and had the only result of the conference been to bring together such a representative gathering of experts for the purpose of free discussion of what is possible and desirable in election reform, the object of the conference would have been abundantly fulfilled.

But more than this was accomplished. Perhaps the most important result, apart from the information as to the efforts of each State to procure adequate legislation looking toward election reform, was the resolution requesting The National Civic Federation to form a permanent department for a thorough investigation of the topics considered by the conference. The need of such a department is evident. No careful observer will question the growing feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country that our election machinery is too largely controlled by "bosses" and "machine politicians" acting under the direction of great corporations and moneyed interests. To change these conditions, public offices must, *in fact*, be controlled by the people. Now the mere enactment of laws will not bring this result. It is not enough to go to the polls on election day; it is not even enough to go to the primaries. If any considerable change is to be made in the present control of our political machinery the voters must begin further back than the primaries. They must have a voice in the preliminary caucuses; they must join their local party organizations and take an active part in the selection of the ward captains and district leaders. They must take part in the work of these organizations and not make their one political act of the year consist in casting a vote—possibly for a "machine-made" candidate—on election day. This work must be done by the individual voter. It cannot be left to others, and it cannot be shirked. Writing essays or making academic speeches, without work, will not change the name of one delegate to a single convention. On the other hand, good, hard "hustling" and active interest, beginning in the ward and district organizations, will abolish the "money" or other undesirable control of our whole political machinery, and it is the only thing that will.

These ideas were clearly brought out by various speakers at the conference. In organizing the permanent department on Election Reform men will be chosen whose wide experience in practical politics will qualify them to bring these questions home most effectively.

A BROAD-MINDED UNION.

The organization of Eccentric Firemen, which is Local No. 56 of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, gave its third entertainment and reception of the year on Saturday, April 7, at the Grand Central Palace, New York. It is the admirable purpose of this organization to have every year at least four

large social gatherings, including a picnic and outing during the summer, which are attended not only by the members but by their wives and families. These entertainments take the place to a large extent of the theatre or other forms of amusement which many of the members of the union cannot afford.

The meeting on April 7 marked the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the union, and it was made the occasion for a most fitting tribute from the members to their International President, Mr. Timothy Healy. Mr. Healy was recently elected a member of the Public Ownership Committee of Twenty-one, appointed by The National Civic Federation to investigate the operation of public utilities here and abroad. The members of this committee sail for London on May 22. As a practical form of congratulation upon his appointment and appreciation of his wise guidance and long-continued service on behalf of the union, the members presented Mr. Healy with a purse of \$1,000 for his personal use while abroad. The address of presentation was made by Mr. John N. Parsons, ex-President of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

Replying to Mr. Parsons's address Mr. Healy said: "It is not the first time that you have shown your appreciation of the little that I have done in the interests of all of you and of our organization. I want to say that I fully appreciate your good will more than I can tell you—far more than the money. I shall continue to do the best that I can, not only for the Eccentric Firemen's Association of New York but for the firemen in Canada and in British Columbia who have honored me by electing me without opposition as their International President. There are some people in this city and in this country who will tell you that a labor organization is a dangerous institution. We can refute that statement by our appearance here to-night. I want to say that a labor organization that is governed by the desire to better the condition of its members and is trying to make the wives and children of the members better is not a dangerous organization. Such an organization as ours is one that will build up citizenship for the protection of our American institutions and make future generations better than they are to-day."

"I should like to say a word about that great organization, the National Civic Federation, which has honored me and the Eccentric Firemen's Association by selecting me as one of the commission to inquire into industrial conditions. That great organization is a friend of the oppressed and downtrodden, no matter what it may be called by people who do not believe in it. It is an organization for the purpose of bringing together people in different walks of life, and there is no better proof of what I say than the fact that Mr. August Belmont is in one of the boxes here to-night. If Mr. Belmont and the other gentlemen of the Civic Federation who are with him did not have the interests of your organization and the interests of labor at heart I do not think that they would have come here. If Mr. Belmont had wanted to see an entertainment he would have gone to his box at the Metropolitan Opera House or to one of the Broadway theaters."

"The National Civic Federation has a great mission to accomplish. If I did not believe that honestly I would not be a member of it. If it were not that I had to be at this entertainment to-night I should be out in Chicago taking part in the investigation by its Commission on Public Ownership, and I would have the same voice in the workings of that commission that anybody else would have. The commission is made up of men in various callings and walks of life who will study the conditions of labor and of public utilities."

"WELFARE WORK" DISCUSSED BY EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES.

(Continued from page 7)

and filthy all around—just a little hole under the ground. On account of the work that these men have to do, handling coal, perspiring as they do, they have to make a complete change of their clothing when they are going to work and when they are getting off. But usually no place is provided outside of the boiler room where the clothes may be changed or the street clothes kept in cleanliness during working hours. If a man has any distance to go it will take him an hour to get to his place of work, change his clothes and get ready to jump in to relieve his partner. When he is relieved, after working twelve hours, it takes another hour for him to get home. Sometimes the other fellow does not get in to relieve him when his twelve hours are up and he has to stay and work twenty-four hours. We have hundreds of poor, unfortunate men in this city working those long hours for \$1.50 a day. Large corporations and the big hotels in this city have not raised the wages of their stationary firemen, except in a few instances, since the plants were built—twelve, fifteen or eighteen years ago. I am sure you will bear with me in the statement that the men who could get along on \$2.25 or \$2.50 a day eighteen years ago would find it hard to do so to-day, because the living expenses have gone up thirty-five to forty per cent. Very often the salary they are getting is not sufficient to keep

clothing on their families. We do not make unreasonable demands, but are trying to establish the three-dollar scale. We hear a great deal about the advantages of a young man. I want to tell you gentlemen if you start to give the young American citizen an advantage you have got to give his father sufficient wages to clothe him and feed him and send him to school and give him a common school education."

THE CHAIRMAN: The man who thinks that a fireman is not an artist, if he is a good fireman, makes a big mistake—as big a mistake as if he should say that the man who puts shades and lights on a picture is not an artist. The manner of a man's firing—whether he fires with the desire to get the best results out of a pound of coal, or whether he does it in a desultory way—makes a difference, a very considerable saving. But I want to say right here that The Civic Federation is just the place to come and present these cases. (Applause.) It is a fact that there is a great deal of injustice going on, and whether we can regulate it or not is a question of how much zeal we have in our work. We have with us to-night Mr. Thomas B. Lavey, of the Iron Molders' Conference Board, who will treat the subject of "Consideration for the Physical Comfort of Molders."

Mr. Lavey said in part:

"The main complaint of the molders has been and is to-day against the conditions under which they work. Owing to the peculiarities of the trade of molding, due to the excessive hard work in constructing the mold, which first necessitates ramming it into shape and then changing to the finishing with the most delicate tool, the molder goes from the one extreme of perspiring freely, in the first operation of active exercise, to shivering with cold during the finishing of the job. This is due to the conditions of many of the foundries where in the winter the doors are kept open from five to ten and often as long as fifteen minutes while refuse is being carted away, sand is being brought in and flasks removed. The open doors permit the cold drafts to penetrate every part of the shop. The molder who is compelled to work with as little clothing on as possible suffers from these drafts, which often result in colds and serious illness. We have demonstrated the serious effects of this, not only by our actual experience, but by the fact that our organization, which is the Iron Molders' Union, has paid out in the last ten years \$1,777,000 to members who are on the sick list, and two-thirds of this is put out between the months of December and the last of March—an awful statement to make. Many of the shops are without glass in the windows and their owners seem to be satisfied to have boards placed in these openings which only partly prevent the drafts. A further objection to the boards is the obstruction of the light which the workmen should have for the proper performance of their tasks. A good deal of this I do not attribute entirely to the owner or the manufacturer. I blame it sometimes on the foremen, who neglect to notify the proper official and have repairs made.

"In one shop there is plenty of light and good ventilation. There are air pipes for the purpose of throwing hot air in the winter and for throwing cool air in the summer through the foundry. These pipes are so arranged that the air is distributed in a way to prevent drafts. The cool air coming in contact with the damp ground makes it the most comfortable foundry in New York in the summer. There are only a few foundries in this vicinity where there are steam pipes. There should be steam heat in the winter, because the men have to work with just as little clothing on as possible. Even where there are fires during the week, they are usually allowed to go out over Sunday,



JOHN S. HUYLER.

and on Monday it is just as cold in the shop as it is out of doors. I know of one shop in Brooklyn which used to be an old barn, but which has recently been fixed up by putting in windows and closing the doors and having the place heated, so that now it is one of the nicest shops in that vicinity. So it is evident that these old places can be made comfortable. The reason I speak of this is because of the feeling that the men have after such improvements are installed. It doesn't make any difference how men feel otherwise, but when there is an attempt made to bring out a condition in the foundry which is going to benefit and make the men more comfortable, there is a feeling of gratitude in the heart of every man who works in that foundry. (Applause.)

"Now I have in mind one of the finest shops, where the windows are all in good condition, and there is heat in the foundry, but it might surprise you to learn that 110 men are employed and that there is no place for them to hang their clothes.

"Very few shops in this district have lockers—I mean within a radius of thirty-five or fifty miles of the city hall. In some cases an ordinary soap box is used for that purpose. On my way home from work I have frequently known a stir to be created among the passengers on the cars who thought someone was on fire, so thoroughly had the core smoke penetrated the clothes I wore.

"Every one who knows anything about foundries realizes that during the cast, when the melted metal is distributed, there is plenty of heat. The heat is so great that every particle of the men's clothing becomes moistened and often wet with perspiration. In that condition the men often leave the shop for home, after putting on their overcoats which have hung on the damp wall all day.

"They should have places in which to bathe and put on dry clothing. Those who are charged with the responsibility of the care of men, must make their condition such that the robust man to whom we point with pride as the ideal mechanic, the protector of our institutions at all times, must not be superseded by a generation whose standard will be largely traceable to our lack of interest in their welfare."

THE CHAIRMAN: Now we will have a few words from Mr. Orrin S. Goan, of the National Biscuit Company on "How We Found Space for Welfare Work."

MR. GOAN: We began what we might call our welfare work by thoroughly renovating and rearranging all the dressing rooms. We tore out old lockers, put in shelves for hats, hooks for clothing, and benches with shelves under them for shoes. Then we painted everything thoroughly even to the walls; and, we have continued to paint them every year since, both for the appearance of cheerfulness as well as for cleanliness.

"We also made a plan by which any of our girls could take baths during work hours by arranging with the forewomen in charge of their departments. To show how well these bath-rooms have been appreciated, I may state that out of about eight hundred girls employed in the factory, there have frequently been over fifty baths taken in a day during the hot weather. We naturally followed this up by putting in shower baths for our men. These were placed in the dressing rooms so that a man upon leaving his work could strip off, take a bath and immediately get into his regular clothing. Let me emphasize the importance of having all these things convenient for the help. They should not be required to wash in one place and dress in another. Facilities which are not conveniently arranged may as well not be provided at all.

"About this time we decided to have a restaurant in order to supply our people with good food at low prices. We took some space from another department, put in a small gas stove, a steam soup kettle,

urns for coffee and tea, hired a cook and made a start. Our people took kindly to the plan and in a very short time we were obliged to increase our facilities. Our prices we have endeavored to keep on a cost basis. In fact, they have been a little below cost as the restaurant loses a little—but not enough to be a serious consideration.

"These things we consider of prime importance to the health of our people; and, it is a matter of fact that while many of our people work in places where it is very warm in the summer, we have had very few heat prostrations for several seasons past, whereas previously there were sometimes as many as eight or ten in a single day. We attribute this improvement in the general condition of our help to their ability to get proper food at our restaurant and to improved ventilation.

"In due course we decided to make our dining room somewhat more attractive and table linen was introduced, also better dishes. With the table linen came the necessity for a laundry which was soon established. We then took up the question of supplying our men and women with working uniforms. In consideration of their supplying themselves with these uniforms we do all the repairing as well as the laundry work.

"We now come to our roof pavilions and club room. After eating, some men like to smoke, so it naturally followed after the establishment of our restaurant that we should provide a smoking pavilion on the roof. This pavilion, which is about thirty feet square, is provided with seats and covered with a canvas awning. It overlooks the river and is a most delightful place for a rest after the noon-day lunch. After having the benefit of the roof pavilion one summer the advent of cold weather created a demand for some place to smoke inside the building. The demand was met by the establishment of a club room for our men and boys. As we wanted to do as much for the girls as for the men, we provided for them a little roof garden also, near the tower which contains the sewing room. Of course, neither of these pavilions will accommodate anything like our full force, but we find that some employees will go one day and others another so that there is usually room for as many as may wish to go. Of the things which have contributed most to the comfort of our employees, next to the restaurant and laundry, I should place our emergency room. In this room we attend to our sick and injured. It is now in charge of a trained nurse, and we have also a capable man who is very useful in cases of serious accident. By an arrangement with the New York Hospital, any injured employees whom we may send there receive immediate attention. In such cases the expense is borne by the company. Adjoining our emergency room we have a reading room which also serves as a rest room for the women. Among other things it contains a circulating library, which is a branch of the New York City Public Library, arrangements for the same having been made through the kindly assistance of the Welfare Department.

"In addition to the list thus far enumerated, we have recently put into operation a systematic fire drill, which we feel certain will prevent any panic in case we should be so unfortunate as to have a fire. We have also arranged for the women employed on the upper floors of the building to have elevator service. We have, moreover, made a great effort to keep the entire place clean and pleasant by painting and whitewashing the walls and woodwork, hanging pictures and putting window boxes and hanging baskets of plants in the hallways.

"Now a word about the expense. Omitting the restaurant and laundry equipment, as those are 'going' departments, I should estimate that a thousand dollars would cover all that has been invested. This amount represents



TIMOTHY HEALY.



THOMAS B. LAVEY.

about one cent a week for each employe for one year and leaves no room, therefore, in our case for the thought that welfare work is done in lieu of wages. This is a very important point and it is also a reason why this work should be done in a modest and unpretentious way. Intelligent employes are likely to assume that if a firm can afford to spend money lavishly in this way, it can afford to pay more wages—and naturally, what working people want above all other things is good wages and more wages. But, granted the wages are just and the hours reasonable, a firm may well expend a few extra dollars and a little time and thought on the comfort and happiness of its employes. Let there be no mercenary motive. Virtue and kindness are their own reward. A good name is always valuable in business as in private life and a reputation for good treatment of working people still tend to attract a desirable class of help."

After the address of Mr. Goan, the following letter was read from the Hon. William McAdoo, who was expected to speak, but was detained at home on account of illness:

"The station houses and the prisons connected therewith in a large number of the precincts of Greater New York are a positive disgrace to the city. Many of the buildings used as station houses and prisons are very old and have been allowed to run down and are in a very bad condition. As a rule the prisons are unsanitary, poorly ventilated, and without modern improvements. In some instances they are heated by stoves in the winter which give out a poisonous coal gas. They are at all seasons of the year damp, gloomy, forbidding, and incapable of being kept thoroughly clean. In winter when the windows are closed and the heat turned on, and the prison filled, some of the prisoners being drunk and incapable of taking care of themselves, the air is poisonous. Many of them are so situated that in summer it is impossible to get fresh air in any quantity into them. The cells in the present Police Headquarters have officially been adjudicated as the worst in the city. It is shocking to reflect that a great city like this has allowed such a place to exist so long. In the administration of justice innocent persons are often arrested, and in more than one instance citizens otherwise decent and reputable have been incarcerated for trivial offences which at the best will result in but a small fine. In the meantime they have suffered the fearful degradation of being locked up in one of these black and filthy holes.

The prisons to be erected should be well ventilated, have modern plumbing facilities, and, above all, should be so constructed as to be capable of being thoroughly washed and hosed and lighted with electricity. In many of the station houses the men sleep in over-crowded quarters, the beds being so close that in some instances they have to crawl over each other to reach them. In some of these buildings the dormitories are old and the walls have sunken, so that the windows are never thoroughly closed. They are freezingly cold in winter, and being unprotected from the sun during the day, are heated like ovens in the summer. In the older station houses there is no proper provision made for heating and ventilating them. The waiting rooms, in which the men spend many hours while on reserve, are as a general rule, dingy, dirty, uncomfortable, noisy, and in every way unattractive. In nearly all of the station houses will be found an insufficient number of chairs for the men to sit on. The common sight is an old rickety table and a few old worn-out chairs, dirty and soiled walls, blackened ceilings and a rough board floor, saturated and stained with years of use.

The doormen, as a general rule, do their very best with these houses, but they do not have sufficient assistance, and even if there were a large number of cleaners it would not materially affect the general bad conditions. There are no proper bathing facilities for the men. In the Army and Navy the shower bath is universally used; tubs are dangerous and out of date. Well tiled bath rooms which would admit half a dozen or a dozen men, at a time ought to be provided with hot and cold showers. The bedsteads are some of them fifty years old, and are very uncomfortable and of a primitive type. Except that they are higher up, the dormitories are sometimes not much better than the prisons.

The Police Surgeons as a body have condemned a great many of these houses in an elaborate report giving the details in full; the Health authorities have inveighed against them; the Fire Department has protested against the danger to life; humanitarians, philanthropists, State investigators, and leading newspapers have implored the city to do something. My experience with the city authorities in this respect is not encouraging. Last year they cut down the appropriation for keeping these wretched and tumble-down barracks in somewhat decent order. Many of them need painting and cleaning; some of them have panes out of the windows and it is difficult to get the money to replace them. In some cases the city has really no station house at all for the men, but houses them in stables as in the case of the Sheepfold in Central Park. The best part of that building is given to the horses, and the part where the horses could not be put with safety to their health is turned over to the men. A great sewer opening is within three feet of where the men have to eat their meals. That the police in New York look so healthy, and are in the main a well-conditioned body of men, is owing to the fact that they spend so much of their time in the open air and are compelled to take exercise. The mounted men, for instance, in Central Park, would probably all have been dead long ago from the sewer gas which pours into the horse barn where they have to spend their time when not in the saddle but for the fact that they get so much fresh air and healthy exercise when on active duty. They thrive just as sailors do at sea who stand the horrors of the fo'castle because they have to spend most of their lives on the deck where the air is the best. Were it not for this the sick list of the police would be appalling. The city authorities have either got to face the question squarely or let the whole thing get worse and worse. You can get votes by building a school-house—a very proper thing to do—but there doesn't seem to be many votes in building a station house; hence some of these people seem to be entirely indifferent. I have appealed in writing and in person constantly since I went to the Police Department, but I never found any response.

It will probably cost two or three million dollars to tear down and reconstruct a number of the station houses and renovate and in some instances radically change the character of the others. A smaller sum would make a beginning. The expenditure of this money could go on, however, over a period of years, but the plan ought to be a systematic one. All of the station houses should be constructed on the same general plan. It is a criminal waste of the city's money to have a lot of architects drawing different sets of plans, some of them perfectly grotesque and foolish. The station house should have a distinctive, individual character so that you would know at once what it was intended for. This is the practice of governments

in Europe with regard to public buildings of this kind. The station house should be as distinctive as the green lamp in front of it.

The Mayor should appoint a commission at once, of which of course the Police Commissioner should be one, to consider this very important subject. A sanitary engineer, a police officer, a doctor, an architect of the highest character and professional standing, and a practical builder should also be on the commission.

I am very much pleased that the Civic Federation has taken this matter up. It is entirely in line with your work. The city is the employer and it should treat the employe decently, certainly in a half-civilized way at least. If the Federation will investigate this subject they will find that I have not only not exaggerated the conditions, but that I have rather understated them. If I had had the opportunity I would have been glad to have presented to your body fuller details from the official findings with reference to these filthy and broken-down places. Believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM McADOO.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have with us to-night a gentleman who will now tell you something about "How New York Cares for its Institutional Employes"—Mr. Homer Folks, President of the New York City Visiting Committee of the State Charities Aid Association.

MR. FOLKS: I am especially pleased that the Civic Federation has taken up for consideration the condition of the employes of the city. When we have thought and spoken of Welfare Work hitherto we have almost always had in mind the employes of factories and workshops carried on as private business affairs; but there are two very important reasons why we should primarily consider the employes of the city in our talk about Welfare Work. The first is that the city is by far the largest employer of labor in the city of New York. The employes of the city of New York already number, in round numbers, fifty thousand. No single employer in the city of New York employs any such number of people. Probably the largest group of employers—those operating the traction companies—employ perhaps some twenty-two thousand people. And the second reason why we, as citizens and as a Civic Federation, should interest ourselves in the city employes, is the fact that in so doing we are looking after our own business, for when the city employs, we employ. Each one of us is a constituent part of this city, a voting and contributing member of this corporation, and if the city does badly and fails in its duty by its employes, you and I, each one of us, must share in that responsibility.

(While delivering the rest of his address, Mr. Folks exhibited a number of stereopticon views.)

As an employer the City of New York, through its Department of Public Charities, ranges from fair to indescribably bad. Probably in no other branch or department of the city government are such wretchedly inadequate salaries paid as in the city's hospitals and other institutions. It is not so many years ago that prisoners were employed in large numbers in these institutions, and the Department is still in the transitional stage from prison labor to adequately remunerated labor.

In most of these institutions the city provides board and lodgings for its employes, and pays them very low salaries. The munificent salaries of \$12, \$15, and \$18 a month are not at all uncommon. It is true that some of the employes receiving these salaries are ex-prisoners, and that a much larger number are ex-patients, and some are both ex-patients and ex-prisoners,



HON. WILLIAM McADOO.



ORRIN S. GOAN.



HOMER FOLKS.



ANDREW HELLTHALER.



CHARLES P. NEILL.



EDWARD GOULD.

but the city is not starting them on the road to independence by employing them at salaries which would hardly provide decent clothing.

The city provides board and lodgings such as they are. A few years ago the lodgings were, almost without exception, just about as bad as they could possibly be. Herded together in unventilated, dilapidated, unsanitary, cheerless buildings, with practically none of the creature comforts of life, it was little wonder that these employes soon entered once more the ranks of either prisoners or patients. Progress has been made in some directions. During the administration of Mayor Low a very comfortable dormitory was erected for the male employes of the City Hospital, in place of a wooden rookery which had formerly housed them. This dormitory provides a well-lighted and comfortable dining room, a good-sized room for reading, smoking, games, etc., a considerable number of individual rooms, and two well lighted, well equipped dormitories. At the Kings County Hospital a large kitchen and dining room building was erected, providing well lighted, well equipped dining rooms for the various grades of employes, so situated that food can be served quickly, easily, and reasonably attractive.

There has been little progress, however, during the past two years beyond the consideration of plans. At the Metropolitan Hospital on Blackwell's Island the quarters for employes are so bad that I can hardly describe them before this audience. Imagine a large very low ceilinged dormitory, immediately under the roof of a four-story hospital building, with ceilings so low that there are no windows at the sides, the only light coming in through skylights; accessible by only one small winding stairway (the building non-fireproof); without a closet or other toilet arrangement of any sort; unbearably hot in summer, always dark and dismal—a fire trap—such is the dormitory for female employes at the Metropolitan Hospital on Blackwell's Island. There is a similar dormitory for men. In addition, a large number of the men sleep in a one-story wooden shed, condemned more than a decade ago as unfit for occupancy, in which the plumbing is archaic, the sanitary conditions hopelessly bad, and the sleeping rooms overcrowded. On Randall's Island you will find a large number of male employes sleeping in a prison building, occupying cells constructed years ago for prisoners, but used for the past decade as sleeping quarters for some of the employes of this great city.

I am glad to say that the present Commissioner of Charities is fully alive to the needs of the Department, and that there is every reason to believe that effective measures will be taken for the remedy of these conditions in the very near future.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now hear from Mr. Edward Gould, President of the Teamsters' Joint Council, New York City, who will say "A Word for the Teamsters."

MR. GOULD: It has occurred to me that there must have been a mistake in getting the word "teamster" connected with some other craft or industry at this meeting, because I had always been under the impression that a teamster amounted to nothing—I was told it so often. There is one hardship in particular that teamsters are subject to, and that hardship is insufficient time to get acquainted with their own families. They work such long hours not infrequently that they can meet themselves going to work in the morning when they are coming home at night. (Laughter.)

In speaking to several of our more liberal employers that have large teaming interests, they have not infrequently told us or told our representatives that it is a

modern impossibility to give better conditions to the teamsters; that the competition is so keen and the other fellow works them under such conditions, that no matter how well he might feel inclined, the business would not warrant it. Quite a number of you gentlemen will remember seeing policemen on our mail wagons some short time ago, and possibly the teamster might be harshly criticised that he should put the business people to the inconvenience of not receiving their mail as promptly as they did at other times; and I would like to place the teamster right, as this is the first time in the City of New York when any cognizance has been given to the teamster.

We made several visits to the representatives of the company that moves the mail in the City of New York and asked them for a conference, to see if we could not bring about some slightly better conditions for the teamsters, who were then working fourteen hours a day, some of them for the paltry sum of \$1.25 remuneration for fourteen hours work a day and seven days in the week. The manager of the company was from Missouri (Laughter)—he had to be shown. We evoked the sympathy of the Civic Federation. Some of the officers brought about a conference, and I want to say that the teamster was willing to concede many things in the shape of minimizing some of the demands regarding increase in wages.

There are several large trucking interests in the City of New York where a teamster reports for work at five o'clock in the morning, and gets through in the evening at seven or half-past seven o'clock. When he leaves the home in the morning, his children are asleep in bed, and when he goes home at night his children are asleep. Is it any wonder that they refer to their father as "that man who hangs around the house here occasionally?"

We want to bring about a condition where employers can improve the conditions of the teamster, without putting themselves out of business or without bringing a hardship upon them, and I contend that can be brought about, if the employers want to do it.

We have a second reform that is very much needed in the City of New York. A remark made by our Chairman reminds me of it—consideration. The teamster doesn't make long speeches—he is abrupt, very abrupt sometimes, and he is not very complimentary in his language, and if I should forget myself at this time, I hope you will pardon me, because I am not long off the team. (Applause.)

And as you are well aware, we have truckmen in the City of New York that have found out from bitter experience that it takes an artisan to drive a truck and it takes a teamster to load and unload a truck, and why don't they get more consideration in our community? You are dependent upon the teamster to take the earth out of the cellar where your home is built. You are dependent on the teamster to move the stone and material to build your home, and when you have it built, you are dependent on the teamster to carry the necessities of life and the comforts of life as well; because the private coachman is a teamster, and he brings a great deal of comfort to the homes of some of our more fortunate friends along Fifth avenue. If to-morrow morning the coal teamsters of the City of New York were to go on strike, and the produce teamsters were to go on a strike—those are only two small spokes that make up the wheel of the teamsters in this city—you cannot imagine what a serious inconvenience it would be. Many of our large office buildings cannot carry a forty-eight-hour supply of coal; many of our large hotels cannot carry a forty-eight-

hour supply of coal, and none of our homes have more than twelve hours' provisions. Before you could get 5,000 men into the City of New York to man those trucks, under the most favorable circumstances, we have no conception of the hardship that a teamsters' strike would entail. Our newspapers speak from time to time of a general teamsters' strike the same as if it were going to a football game or going to a race-track. I hope we will never see the day in the City of New York when we will have a general teamsters' strike. (Applause.)

I believe that a great good could be accomplished, if there was some literature printed and distributed among our various teamsters' organizations. It could teach them to be courteous to each other; it could teach them that the fellow with the light load should give the right of way to the fellow with the heavy load. (Applause.) And I want to say that we have need for that consideration as much on Fifth avenue, where we have horses that only do two or three hours' work a day, as we have on West street, where horses work ten or fifteen hours a day and drag four or five or six tons of merchandise for the same length of time.

Third, and not least, we need better sanitary conditions in the City of New York for our teamsters. We want to abate the evil of the necessity of frequenting saloons from time to time (Applause), during our working hours. I feel that the teamster plays just as prominent a part in our city as any other workman does, and I believe that if he does he is deserving of the same consideration (Applause). It would not cost very much money to have some accommodations placed in various parts of the city in a sanitary way that would not compel our men to frequent saloons. (Applause.) I believe, as I heard a clergyman once say, that going to church is a habit. I think it is a good one. And we should get the teamster to cultivate the habit of staying out of the saloon—and I pride myself with the feeling that he doesn't frequent it any more than any other man. But if we do not get encouragement from the men that feel they are so much to the teamster, what can you expect of them?

In conclusion, I heard mention made of libraries. I would like to know what opportunity a teamster has who works thirteen and fourteen hours a day to go to a library.

We have formed a beneficial feature in most of our local unions in this City of New York, and I want to say that our dues compare favorably with any other fraternal organization. In the last two years our organization has paid out over \$60,000 in sick and death benefits (Applause), notwithstanding the fact that it has only been in operation two years, one of the local unions alone having paid out over \$15,000; and I want to say, in conclusion, that no teamster, a member of our organization, has ever entered the Potter's Field. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am greatly interested in the teamsters as I have a great deal to do with them. I have teamsters that have been with me twenty years, and I wouldn't part with them for any men that I ever saw. They are good teamsters and they take a pride in their work. It is just as honorable to be a good teamster as it is to be a good banker or a good merchant. A man should be good at his calling, whatever that calling may be.

We have with us this evening, Hon. Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, who will tell you "Why the Public is Interested in Sanitary Workrooms."

MR. NEILL: To sum up in a very few words the reason why the public is interested in sanitary work-rooms, and in every other form of welfare work that makes for the health and comfort of the workers, I might say that it is because the public has a very vital interest in the question of the cost of production. We are all familiar, very familiar, with this term. The employer and the manufacturer know what it means, and they naturally and properly keep a close watch on it—for on this depends much of the success of their enterprises. But this aspect of cost is measured in dollars, and it does not represent by any means the entire cost of production. There is a further element in this cost, and that is the social cost, or in other words, what the production of any given thing represents to society. This social cost, gentlemen, cannot be expressed in terms of dollars; it is expressed in terms of sweat, it is expressed in terms of fatigue, it is expressed in terms of pain, and lastly, as we have heard to-night, in too many cases it is expressed in terms of ruined health and even in loss of human life.

I recall now a single industry, which I need not name, in which the death rate alone—leaving out even accidents that maim or disable workers permanently—is so high that taking thirty years as the term of the working life in that industry, a man has less than one chance in six of escaping a violent death.

This represents one aspect of the social cost of production. In the same way, accident, disease, the dwarfed bodies or the stunted minds of overworked children, and all the evils and misery summed up in the term "sweatshop"—these represent other aspects of the social cost of production. These represent the cost that society pays for the product it consumes.

Now it seems to me that society ought to be as careful and as anxious to reduce its cost of production, this human cost of production, as the manufacturer is to reduce his cost; and it is not difficult to determine what in the long run will be the attitude of any body of workers toward a society which remains indifferent and apathetic while this health cost and life cost run up to exorbitant limits.

We have heard it stated here to-night that there are men working twelve hours and sometimes even fourteen hours a day down under the sidewalks of this city in a temperature of 120 or 140 degrees, for \$1.25 or \$1.50 a day. If you let them feel that their health and their strength, their opportunity for enjoyment and for home life are a matter of no concern to society at large, can you blame them if they feel no sense of loyalty to a society which permits such things, and in their resentment against it ally themselves at last with radical movements which look to a social overturning?

It seems to me then that society should be very much interested in how the employer takes care of his workers, and in seeing that no class of workers shall be allowed to feel that the people for whom they toil are indifferent to the conditions under which they do their work. (Applause.)

In the last analysis, the public is the real employer. The men who are hired by the person or firm whom we ordinarily denominate the employer, are after all working for that public which consumes their product or enjoys the result of their services. They are the ones for whom the worker is really working, and in this sense they may be said to be the employers.

As I heard that statement about the conditions of work of the firemen in some of the hotels of this city, I must confess I felt personally uncomfortable, and I said to myself that I trust that this room which has been so pleasant and comfortable for all of us to-night is not being kept warm by a man who is putting in his fourteenth hour of work and earning perhaps only \$1.25. For after all, that man down in the boiler room is working for you and for me, and we should be interested in the conditions under which he does his work. He himself, may think he is working for this hotel, but at bottom he is not—he is working for us; for this evening, at least, we are as a matter of fact his employers. We, at least in part, are paying his wages just as we are paying the wages for this evening's work of the cook who prepared this excellent dinner and of the men who have served it so well at the table. Of course the hotel proprietor will actually hand the money over to these various workers—but after all isn't he really in the position of the man who collects their wage from us and pays it over to them—perhaps, he doesn't pay them all he collects. (Laughter and Applause.) The public, therefore, has a very direct interest in every form of welfare and betterment work. And I might suggest in conclusion that those of us who believe in the existing social order and wish to maintain it, should realize that by remaining indifferent to the human element in the cost of production, by ignoring this question of the social cost of the things we use and enjoy, we are simply furnishing object lessons and arguments ready to hand for every apostle of Socialism or any other *ism* that aims to supplant the present social order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Civic Federation, I think, with great forethought and consideration brought into the organization the "public" that it might participate in regulating in a measure the very conditions that are brought to your attention. There are the employer and the employee, and there is the public that pays the bill, and it is certainly the great interested party, and

I feel that we are wisely organized—more wisely, perhaps, than we thought when we first came together as a body of men. Now, we have with us a gentleman who will respond to another toast, "What Should Be Done to Provide Ventilation," Mr. Andrew Hellthaler, of the Metal Polishers and Architectural Bronze Workers.

MR. HELLTHALER: I speak for an industry in which the death rate—the enormous death rate directly due to consumption and lung trouble is 98 per cent., 80 per cent. of which occurs before the men reach the age of 40 years. That is the condition of the metal polishers to-day. While it is not generally so considered, these facts are ready for proof at any time a committee will visit our international headquarters and see the death claims as they have been paid in years past. My only idea in this matter is that the average manufacturer, considering that the work is so dirty—and I am frank to admit, being a polisher myself, that I believe it is one of the filthiest occupations a man can work at—the manufacturer seeing the men in that filthy condition, naturally picks out the filthiest corner in the factory and throws the polisher in there and keeps him there. I speak from experience which dates directly to the first of this year, and I myself say that I was employed in a factory where there were 65 men



DR. THOMAS DARLINGTON.

on one floor with only six windows for ventilation. Remember, gentlemen, that these six windows for ventilation are not the same as six windows would be here, where there is no dust-producing machinery, where there are no acid fumes floating through the air. These six windows would probably be all right, were there no fumes or dust, but in a polishing room it is one incessant stream of dust from 7.30 to 5 o'clock at night. There are laws on our statute books which provide for exhaust fans to take away the dust from all polishing lathes. In a great many cases these fans are kept in operation, but in a great many others they are not. In many cases they are there so that when the factory inspector comes around the manufacturer can show him that he is complying with the law. The manufacturers' reason why these machines are not running is that they are very fast speeding machines; but everyone who knows anything concerning machinery knows that high speed machinery takes considerable power, so that in order to lessen the expense, the exhaust fans are shut down. If they are not shut down, they are allowed to get in such a dilapidated state that they are not of any use to the men working there. In most factories where metal polishing is done, acids form a principal part of the work. The polisher polishes the plain part, and the part that is chased is dipped in acid to clean it. The fumes of the acid circulate through the factory, and sometimes they are stifling. Now, we want to get as much natural ventilation as we possibly can in all the factories, but we want still more than the natural ventilation. Improved machinery makes it possible to draw all the obnoxious fumes out of the factory. We should have exhaust fans taking the fumes out of the top of the windows and allowing the natural air to come in. I have seen in the factory that I have just left, which was as large as this room, the fumes of the acid and dust so thick that I could not distinguish the people at the further end. When you see the handsome toilet sets and tea sets in the shop windows, you little realize the number of lives that the production of these things has cost; yet the conditions to-day, so far as ventilation and the obnoxious fumes of acid are concerned, are worse in the silver factory than in the cheap brass factory, although the conditions in the latter are miserable. I am deeply interested in the question of tuberculosis, and I only hope that the Welfare committee will take the matter up. I am at their disposal to give them any

information they may want and I will go so far as to take them into any factory to verify my statements.

In conclusion, I wish to say that consumption is so prevalent in our industry that the Brooklyn Central Labor Union has bought a plot of ground at Patchogue, Long Island, for which it has paid \$1,600, and which is to be devoted to nothing but the curing of this disease. This amount was donated by workingmen, and the ministers of Brooklyn have guaranteed to put upon this plot of ground a building to cost \$50,000. Some of the ministers have suggested that if the industry really costs such an enormous price of human life, it should be cut out altogether. Of course, we do not take that view. What I wish to suggest is that if the ministers and the workingmen are interested in this matter I see no reason why the Welfare committee of the Civic Federation should not be likewise. I thank you. (Applause.)

Following the address by Mr. Hellthaler, the Chairman introduced Mr. August Belmont, President of The National Civic Federation.

Mr. Belmont said in part:

"My interest in the subject which you have before you to-night is such as to cause me to disregard my doctor's injunction not to come out. Before leaving, I want to say to you that this subject has occupied the minds of the management of the Interborough Company for some time. It is fair to say that, as an operating corporation, the Interborough will be but two years old next April, having begun the operation of the elevated roads on the 1st of April a year ago, and opened the Subway for operation on the 27th of October the past year—a year ago last October.

"A complete method of insurance was worked out on lines similar to those mentioned by Mr. Vreeland in connection with the Pennsylvania Railroad. The plan was submitted to our men; but for reasons of their own, it was rejected. Taking that as a basis, and attracted by the success of Mr. Vreeland's management of the welfare department of his corporation, our officers have given that subject a great deal of attention, and have conferred—and did confer before there was any idea of our interests becoming identical—with a view to establishing much the same system and improving it by co-operation. We are only waiting for the return of our vice-president, Mr. Bryan, who was obliged to absent himself for a month on account of his health, and then we purpose to put into operation as soon as possible our own Welfare Department.

"In addition to this, it may have escaped your attention that the new corporation proposes to interest itself to a very large extent, and with the subscription of a substantial sum, in a suburban homes movement, the idea being that it may promote, through that agency, the comfortable housing of such of its men as may wish to avail themselves of it. That is in line also with our ideas of Welfare work.

"Thanking you very much for your attention, gentlemen, I bid you good-night." (Applause.)

Following Mr. Belmont's speech, a number of stereopticon views were shown illustrating the needs and accomplishments of Welfare work. As amplifying a point touched upon by one of the speakers the following statement by Mr. Jess P. Larimer of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Association will prove of interest:

"There has never been any effort looking to the interest of the first trades that are employed in the erection of buildings and in such structural iron work as bridges and viaducts, where no other mechanics are employed. The other trades are in a measure looked after, inasmuch as a building generally has taken some definite shape before they are long at work, and a room can be set aside within the structure for storing their street clothes in the day and their gloves and overalls at night. Wage-earners in the iron industry would be grateful to your worthy organization if you would get some of the largest contractors to supply us with portable rooms in which to store our street hats and coats in the day time and our gloves and overalls at night. This is our first need, as our clothing is constantly stolen. Second, a wash room with sanitary toilet accommodations; and third, an emergency hospital room."

Referring to the working conditions of the city's employees an important offer was made by Dr. Thomas Darlington of the Health Department. He expressed his willingness and desire to co-operate in every way with committees of the Federation in providing better working conditions for the employees of the city. He urged continued agitation of this great work and said that his department would be only too glad to be informed of unsatisfactory conditions anywhere in the city; that, if such information were given, he would use, as head of the department, every effort to improve the working conditions of the city's employees.

As a result of the discussion of the evening the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Civic Federation of New York appoint a committee on Welfare Work, to be composed of employers, labor representatives, and representatives of the general public, to co-operate with the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, and that this committee on Welfare Work be requested to appoint sub-committees to give consideration to improving conditions of employees of the city and in the different trades in this vicinity.

THE PROGRESS OF WELFARE WORK.

EMPLOYERS' INTEREST IN IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

It is most gratifying to note the constantly increasing personal interest of large employers throughout the country in making practical improvements in the conditions under which their employes work. As an evidence of the widespread interest in this work, and particularly in the progress which is being made by the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, it may be noted that within the past few weeks four important meetings have been held, one at Boston, one at Lynn, Mass., and two at Washington, D. C., at which addresses were made referring particularly to the results accomplished and to the methods of the Welfare Department.

At the meeting in Boston, which occurred on February 7, the work of the department was explained to the members of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers at their annual banquet at the Hotel Somerset. More than 200 members listened with much interest to an illustrated lecture by Miss Gertrude Becks, the Secretary of the department, and at Lynn, Mass., on February 9, the subject was presented at the Oxford Club, the audience including well-known business men and manufacturers.

In Washington two meetings were held at the invitation of Representative and Mrs. Joseph Weeks Babcock, of Wisconsin. Representative Babcock presided at both meetings, and during the two evenings interesting addresses were made by Senator W. A. Clark, of Montana, a member of the Executive Committee of the Welfare Department, on the general work of The National Civic Federation as an introduction to the particular subject of Welfare Work; by Gen. George H. Harries, of the Washington Railway and Electric Company, a member of the Welfare Department, on what his company is doing for the benefit of its employes; by H. H. Vreeland, Chairman of the Welfare Department, on his own experience in Welfare Work, particularly in connection with the New York City Railway Company, and by Miss Gertrude Becks, who illustrated her paper with a most interesting collection of stereopticon views.

Mr. Vreeland said in part: "As Chairman of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, I desire to express my appreciation of the opportunity of presenting its work to such a representative gathering.

"First, permit me to give you a brief historical review of the formation of the department. Its organization was authorized for the reason that it was believed that the efforts of The National Civic Federation to better the relations between employers and employes would be materially aided by the promotion of what is called 'Welfare Work.'

"Our first step was to call a meeting at the Hotel Waldorf in New York of representative employers of labor in the eastern and middle sections of the United

States. To our great surprise there was an immediate response from many large employers. It developed that it was the first time that employers who were giving especial consideration to the welfare of their employes had been brought together. Each one had an idea that his Welfare Work was an individual effort in his particular locality, and was surprised to find that a great deal of this work was being done throughout the United States."

Mr. Vreeland went on to say that it had been found of especial value to employers to bring about conferences for the interchange of experiences; to discuss the

question at public meetings; to arrange conferences of the Welfare Workers themselves, and to have assistance given when asked by employers. While it may seem odd that the men successful in business should require assistance in introducing Welfare Work, it should be recalled that this is a day of specialization, and that those who have had practical experience in installing Welfare Work are best qualified to give advice. Further-



H. H. VREELAND.

more, many employers would introduce Welfare Work into their establishments were it not for the time and trouble needed for its organization.

"An employer who is noted among his employes for fair dealing," continued Mr. Vreeland, "need have no fear of introducing Welfare Work, after a careful study of conditions has been made. That is, after recognizing that the first needs of employes are steady work, an equitable wage, and hours as short as competitive conditions will permit, the employer may successfully install Welfare Work if proper attention is given to its introduction. All our investigations of failures in this line have shown us conclusively that a just and fair policy of dealing with labor must be the foundation for all Welfare Work. With that foundation, it may be emphatically stated that employes will welcome all such efforts to provide for their welfare."

"Thirty years ago, as a brakeman on a steam railway, I was away from home, forced to live in such boarding houses as the railroad terminals and my wages would afford. There was absolutely no place for me in the evenings where it was warm except the saloon and the pool room. My knowledge of the homelessness of the average railroad employe led me to the establishment of club rooms for the men employed on the street railways in New York City. A large percentage of the 15,000 men employed by the company of which I am President live in boarding houses; many are from the country. The club rooms I established include an auditorium where monthly entertainments are given, a library, a pool room and a physician's office. They were used immediately and extensively, and a chance visitor will find the rooms filled every night in the week. Keeping in mind my own early struggles to gain information and to get the requisite books to read, I determined that, if fortune favored me and I attained a position where I had sufficient control of money and the friendship of those who were interested in the property, I would provide facilities of the character of which I felt the need. The books in the library were not only widely read by the men, but, in many instances, were taken home to be read in the men's families. Another feature of the work is the relief association which provides assistance for the men in case of illness or accident, a pension in old age, and, at the time of death, a fund for burial.

"The success of our work is due to the fact that nothing but illness has ever kept me from the platform of that organization on Saturday night monthly nine months in the year since the society was organized with thirty men in 1893. While a paid Welfare Secretary is necessary to supervise the activities, the participation of the employer is essential to success."

In presenting the general situation in Welfare Work Miss Becks exhibited views showing what many employers have done in providing for the physical comfort of workers, for recreation, in supplying educational opportunities and in the housing of labor.

"Where ventilation has been given especial consideration, the air is changed completely in the work rooms every fifteen minutes. In the foundry, where the pipes which are used in the winter for heating serve to bring in the cool air in the summer, great comfort is afforded the molders.

"In a rolling mill, galvanized iron pipes carry the fresh air to the faces of the men occupied at the rolls. Previously, in very hot weather, the men were frequently overcome, and sometimes it was necessary to shut down the entire mill, the workmen thereby losing their wages and the company the product of their work. Since the installation of the ventilation system not a single hour's time has been lost because of excessive heat."

"The value of the emergency hospital has been evidenced by the testimony of an employer, who said, 'Our hospital has been a preventive instead of an emergency room as we had anticipated. Instead of patronizing it now and then, the men use it continually. Previously when a man injured his hand he was satisfied to put a piece of waste on it. Blood poisoning followed and he would be laid up for a few days. Now every injury receives immediate attention, and the men are not obliged to lay off for slight accidents.'

"Women who have been overcome are frequently able to return to work after resting for an hour or receiving treatment in the emergency hospital."

Reference was made to the effort of an employer to raise the moral tone of a town by providing a social hall. The company furnished pool rooms and bowling alleys in such an attractive manner, and conducted them on such a high plane, that private enterprises in the town were obliged to follow their standard.

Speaking of the homes rented and sold to employes and of the willingness to take advantage of the opportunities offered for better living conditions, the speaker said: "Rents for unskilled laborers in several mill towns, from \$7.50 to \$10 a month, including bath and furnace, are within the reach of wages of the tenants, and yet give a return upon the investment. Very fine tenements have been provided for skilled laborers at from \$16 to \$22.

"Cash prizes are offered for the best kept premises and for the best gardens. This has had a salutary effect upon the tenants. When one man received recognition in the form of a prize, his neighbor, who had not previously thought of improving his place, was stimulated to do so, not only because of the desire for a prize, but because he took pride in having his premises look as well as the neighbors'.

Miss Becks did not confine herself to the workingman's conditions while he is in his prime of useful-



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ness. She exhibited the portrait of a man eighty years of age at work in a shop, and asked the question: "Is it better to pension or give him light work?"

"Many employers have inaugurated systems for supplying funds for employes in illness and old age. The advantage of relief systems for employes was stated to be the assurance of prompt relief in case of illness or accident. The old plan of 'passing around the hat' was apt to work hardship on the employes contributing and did not always reach those in distress.

(Continued on page 16)



MRS. JOSEPH WEEKS BABCOCK.

THE FACTS OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

ANALYSIS OF THE PLAN AND SCOPE OF THE WORK UNDERTAKEN BY THE COMMISSION ON INVESTIGATION.

BY EDWARD A. MOFFETT, SECRETARY PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION.

AS has been pointed out in previous issues of the REVIEW the great work to be accomplished by the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation which was called together under the auspices of The National Civic Federation, is to undertake a thorough and absolutely impartial investigation of all the facts connected with these important questions here and abroad and to present the facts to the public as a practical and efficient aid to the solution of the perplexing problem of public ownership.

Schedules relating to the four subjects to be investigated—Gas, Water, Electric Lighting and Power, and Street Railways—have already been formulated by a sub-committee consisting of:

Frank J. Goodnow (chairman), Columbia University;
Walton Clark, third vice-president United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia;

Edward W. Bemis, superintendent water-works, Cleveland;

I. W. Sullivan, editor official journal United Garment Workers, New York;

Milo R. Maltbie, former editor *Municipal Affairs*, New York.

Of this committee two were considered to be in favor of public ownership, two opposed and one neutral. As the duties of this sub-committee involved not only the preparation of the all-important schedules upon which the investigation is to be based, but also the general plan of procedure, the advisability of such representation is apparent.

The best possible idea of the scope, impartiality and thoroughness of the investigation would be given by the presentation in full of all the schedules made up by the committee.

To reproduce in full, however, even one schedule dealing with but one of the four subjects would require more than a single issue of the REVIEW. As the general divisions are the same in each schedule an analysis of the schedule relating to Street Railways will indicate the broad scientific lines upon which the investigation is to be conducted. Such an analysis shows that the investigation of each subject—Gas, Electric Lighting and Power, Water and Street Railways—falls under several general heads, as follows:

- (a) Historical and General;
- (b) Supervision of Municipalities;
- (c) Public Supervision of Private Companies;
- (d) Franchises of Private Companies;
- (e) Organization;
- (f) Political Conditions;
- (g) Labor;
- (h) Character of Service and Plant;
- (i) Financial Matters;
- (j) Capital Stock and Bonds;
- (k) Assets;
- (l) Liabilities;
- (m) Receipts;
- (n) Expenses;
- (o) Profit and Loss.

HISTORICAL AND GENERAL.

Under this head questions are asked intended to trace the history of the particular plant, the dates of adopting special features, and other matters that may assist in reviewing its development. The general sentiment in relation to the present system of ownership and operation, and the attitude of the press, are inquired into. The current objections, if any, to the present system; the degree of interest taken by the citizens in the management; whether or not there have ever been competing companies, and whether there is competition now—all these questions are made subjects of inquiry.

Whether or not private companies have consolidated, with dates and methods required, is a phase that is taken care of by a considerable group of questions.

SUPERVISION OF MUNICIPALITIES.

This separation of the subject deals with the power of municipalities to construct their own street railways without purchasing existing private systems; also whether or not they may condemn private systems under the right of eminent domain. An entire group of questions is devoted to this aspect. The power of the particular city in the matter of raising funds for any such undertaking is then inquired into. In this connection are asked the following questions:

What is the limitation upon the city's taxing power for municipal street railways?

What is the limitation upon the general taxing power of the city?

What is the limitation upon the city's power to incur debt for municipal street railways?

What is the limitation upon the general power of the city to incur debt?

State fully step by step the procedure which MUST be followed and the requirements which MUST be met before

the city may construct or acquire a plant; also source of each provision, whether State constitution, statute or ordinance. Note particularly requirements as to initiation of proposal, special action by city authorities before its adoption, mayoralty veto, referendum, publicity, making of appropriations, bond issues, and approval of scheme by courts or State authorities.

Then follow questions on statutory provisions relating to fares and transfers, character and quality of service (method of traction, type of cars, speed, headway, etc.), extensions and general improvements, performance of public work by contract or otherwise, salaries and wages, hours of labor, pensions to employees, strikes and citizenship of employees.

PUBLIC SUPERVISION OF PRIVATE COMPANIES.

This line of the inquiry opens with questions designed to bring out the features of the incorporation of the particular company, with special reference to powers and limitations. As in the case of municipal systems, statutory provisions are examined in detail. A description of defects in remedies and penalties in this relation is also required.

The next questions concretely show the searching nature of the investigation in a most important phase:

What powers of supervision over the construction and operation of the plants of private companies does the city possess?

What provision has the city made for the exercise of its powers of supervision?

How frequently and with what efficiency does the city exercise its powers of supervision?

What provisions have been found impossible of enforcement, and why?

Information concerning taxes paid to State and to local authorities is the object of a considerable number of questions; these conclude with:

Is the company subject to assessment for local improvements?

Are such assessments actually levied?

FRANCHISES OF PRIVATE COMPANIES.

The power of the municipality to grant franchises is here inquired into in detail. Then follow questions to define the legal provisions delimiting the powers of the city as to the insertion of clauses in franchise (a) regarding streets company may utilize; (b) nature of plant and equipment; (c) construction of extensions; (d) adoption of improvements and new processes; (e) duration of grants; (f) forfeiture of franchises; (g) time, method and acquisition of system by city; (h) disposition of plant thus acquired; (i) fares to be charged and transfers to be given; (j) character and quality of service; (k) right of city to regulate operation; (l) taxation; (m) compensation for franchises; (n) paving of streets, etc.; (o) issuance of stocks and bonds; (p) returns to public authorities; (q) transfer of franchise to third parties; (r) labor clauses, and regarding minor features.

Information is then sought to show what penalties and means of enforcing such provisions have been provided, and whether or not they are effective.

The date of issue of each existing franchise, by what authority granted, whether exclusive or competitive, the period for which it has been granted, and approximate mileage of streets conceded—this information is likewise required. Each franchise is further examined in detail, and a full and clear statement of conditions upon which forfeiture may be declared and its possible acquisition by the city, is particularly required. Has the municipality experienced difficulty in forcing companies to live up to the terms of their franchise? is the next inquiry; and this embraces inquiries into the reasons for the difficulty, in case it exists.

The questions that follow trace existing private companies to their very inception, and relate to a most important phase of the investigation. They are:

How much deliberation has usually been given in the granting or renewal of franchises?

Has the exercise of the franchise granting power been attended with public scandal, and if so, in what respects?

How much publicity has usually accompanied the granting or renewal of franchises?

By whom are franchise grants usually drafted?

ORGANIZATION.

The principal questions under this division are intended to bring out how and upon whom the responsibility is placed for the proper maintenance of particular municipal systems: whether or not the authority is divided; how the persons in positions of control are selected and to what extent, if any, political considerations enter into their appointment, and whether or not members of the governing body have technical knowledge. These questions are also designed to determine whether the head of the engineering service is an engineer by profession, and if so, what scope he is allowed in the exercise of his duties, to what extent these duties are executive; and whether or not political considerations affect his appointment or his tenure of office.

It is particularly asked whether or not the office he fills changes with each change in the city administration.

The remaining questions under this head are framed to ascertain to what extent politics may affect the number of employees at any given period; the average length of service; the system of promotion, and whether politics influence the selection or dismissal of wage-earners.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

In the questions set down under this head the main object is to ascertain in what measure employees have sought to organize, openly or secretly, their political strength for the purpose of influencing the conditions of their employment, or of exercising similar influence upon city elections; also whether candidates for office have made promises of better wages, etc.

To what extent employees are active in party work, is also inquired into; and whether or not they are expected or required to pay political assessments. The question is also asked as to what evidence there is "of the influence of private companies upon the nomination and election of members of the franchise-granting and franchise-controlling authorities."

This division concludes with a series of inquiries designed to show to what extent, in the case of municipally owned systems, free transportation is given, under what regulations, and the possible abuses of this privilege.

LABOR.

Under this important head the opening inquiries seek to ascertain what, if any, significant relations exist between increases of the working force and elections: the wages, maximum and minimum, paid each class of labor; the legal and actual number of hours per diem; pay for overtime, and provisions for sick leave and vacations and holidays with pay. Then follow inquiries in relation to prizes offered for faithful service, profit sharing, and to a possible system of pensions for aged or infirm employees. It is also asked whether or not the employees have local benefit associations and if the funds of these are contributed to by the municipality or company. The question of who makes the payment for badges and uniforms, is inquired into; also the matter of surety bonds and premiums on same; likewise what efforts have been made to provide clubhouses, libraries, toilet facilities, etc.; the frequency and regularity of pay days, the place and manner of payment, and by whom and how wages are fixed.

The succeeding questions relate to the contentedness of the employees, and the answers are to indicate in what manner and to what extent the employees have a part in determining the conditions of employment. These questions are:

Were union rates observed?

If there were trade agreements, state them.

Was there any form of collective bargaining?

Has there ever been any concerted action among employees to have wages raised or hours shortened? Describe.

Were the employees organized in unions?

Was the "closed shop" or "open shop" policy in force?

Was the municipality or company opposed to organized labor?

Has there ever been a strike on the system? If so, describe fully.

How were labor disputes settled?

Were the laws relating to health, employer's liability, and contract labor observed?

Were there any printed or written instructions to employees? If so, enclose copies.

The concluding questions of this division of the subject require a statement of the number of persons, employees and others, killed during the past year; also the statistics with regard to persons injured, and the record of law suits on this account.

CHARACTER OF SERVICE AND PLANT.

The questions that comprise this part of the schedule refer first to those parts of the particular system, municipal or private, that generate and transmit power. The initial inquiries are necessarily of a most technical nature. They seek to determine the general capacity and comparative economy of what is called the power plant.

Then follow questions designed to ascertain the number of lines of the different companies, under and above ground, their types, special features and dates of installation; the number of cars in active service and their character, whether open or vestibuled; the types of fenders and motors; their lighting and heating. Information as to mileage and track data generally is sought, as also information in relation to paving obligations.

Then follow questions intended to obtain a fair appraisal of the particular plant.

Under the sub-division "Traffic," which is the next phase considered, are taken up questions relating to the total number of fare and transfer passengers; the hours at which cars carrying passengers, etc., are run.

Next come inquiries showing the comparison, if there be such, between the legal maximum speed and the actual; headway schedules; the number of transfer points; and whether waiting rooms are provided at such places.

Then follow:
Were passengers kept waiting at points of stopping because cars were run too infrequently?
Were passengers often obliged to stand in cars?
Were the cars crowded?
Were extra cars run during rush hours?
Were the facilities ample to meet the demands of the public at all times?
What types of cars were used?
Were the cars kept clean and well painted?
Were the cars well lighted and ventilated?
Were the cars well heated in cold weather?
Were the guide boards on the cars easily read and plain?

If advertising space was let, state to what extent both inside and outside of cars.
Was service supplied twenty-four hours in the day?
If for part only, how many hours each day?
Are there any engineering tests or experiments being carried on?
Were there frequent complaints about interruption of service?
Has the street railway service ever been completely or partially cut off? Describe instances.

In addition to seeking information as to extension of lines, how extensions are brought about, and particularly the policy of the company (or municipality) in this regard, the questions following go into the matter of street work. On this subject some of the questions asked are:

Were open trenches and obstructions properly guarded?
Is there an up-to-date map showing the location and nature of all street mains and fixtures?

The purchase of supplies by municipally owned lines is next inquired into. The opening questions here relate to the responsibility for the placing of orders, and for the checking of materials purchased. Among the principal questions are the following:

Were contracts advertised?
How did prices compare with those paid by private companies?
Were the dealers supplying materials connected with the city, county or State government?
In practice, did the manager get the types and makes of things he asked for, or was he forced to take something else?

As a general summing up of the questions thus far propounded there appears under the sub-head, "General Matters," a number of inquiries of such manifest importance that they are given without change of any kind. They are:

Is the system adequately equipped to handle the business?
Is the equipment of modern and efficient type?
Is it in good condition?
Will it be necessary to make extensive repairs or alterations in the near future?
Is the plant kept in clean and neat condition?
Are the works adequately ventilated?
Are the pits, shafts and machinery properly guarded?
Are the offices for payments, complaints and other business conveniently located?
Were passengers' complaints promptly and efficiently attended to?
If any parks or other places of amusement are owned or operated by the company, state what and give size, cost and number of visitors annually.
Is there a system of badging or uniforming the employees so that they may be known to the public?
Is the general morale and discipline of the employees good, bad or indifferent?
Are the employees who meet the public polite and attentive?
Are they neatly dressed?
Do the various departments work in harmony? Is there friction or jealousy, and does one department shirk work, leaving it to be done by another?
Is there an adequate system of telephones?
Are the works and offices properly watched at night?
Is there any system of inspection to prevent workmen of other companies or city departments from injuring the underground structures?
Was there a drafting room maintained?
What system was in vogue to take care of the tools distributed to employees?
Were the different classes of workmen equipped with proper tools? Were the tools kept in order?

FINANCIAL MATTERS.

The inquiry into all of the four subjects under investigation ends with a critical examination of matters falling under this head. The professional accountants engaged in this department of the work are under strict orders to exercise the fullest care and are given special instructions as to the scope and bearings of the principal questions.

Capital stock and bonds, assets, liabilities, receipts, expenses, and profit and loss—each of these elements is made the subject of exhaustive inquiry.

Among the detailed questions in this category are those relating to the reduction or increase of fares, to what manner and to what extent the employees have a proper charging, in the case of municipally owned systems, of each item of expense to the proper account, with particular regard to services rendered by officers of the city government; the keeping of the accounts of the particular plant independent from all others and from the general accounts of the city; the rate of interest paid by the city as compared with the rate paid by private public service companies; the canceling of liabilities, and payment of interest on bonds.

It is also asked whether or not the plant was run at a loss; and if so, how the deficit was met. The manner of auditing is likewise a subject of inquiry, and also a minute examination is to be made of how each issue of stock was disposed of. The schedules end with a résumé intended to show the balance to profit and loss.

As stated above, the schedule of the investigation of

Street Railways is typical of the schedules arranged for the investigation of the three other subjects under consideration—Gas, Electric Lighting and Power, and Water; so that even in the brief résumé here given the reader may get a clear idea of the thoroughness with which the work is being carried on. While it is important that thoroughness of the technical side of the investigation should be shown, it is of no less importance that the experts chosen to conduct that side should be named and the manner of their selection indicated.

These authorities were engaged by the sub-committee previously spoken of, and in each instance the choice was unanimous. They are:

GAS—Alfred E. Forstall, New York; J. R. Klump, Germantown, Pa.; Fred C. Burnett, Toronto, Canada.

ELECTRIC—C. E. Phelps, Jr., Baltimore Md.; Theo. Stebbins, Columbus, Ohio; Alton D. Adams, Worcester, Mass.

STREET RAILWAYS—Norman McD. Crawford, Hartford, Conn.*

WATER—Dabney E. Maury, Peoria, Ill.

ACCOUNTANTS—Marwick, Mitchell & Co., New York; Robt. C. James, Wallingford, Pa.

With regard to the actual work already done, a number of American cities have been visited and considerable data has been collected. The work in this country will continue until May 22, when fifteen members of the Commission will sail for London. By that time it is expected that a large part of the technical work in Great Britain and Ireland will have been accomplished. For more than a month past preliminary work has been in progress, under the supervision of Messrs. M. E. Ingalls, Milo R. Maltbie, J. W. Sullivan, and Albert E. Winchester, members of the Commission.

After spending six or eight weeks reviewing the work of the experts, the members of the Commission abroad will return and complete its examination of American plants and finally make its report to the whole Commission.

* Other experts in this line are now being engaged in England.

THE INVESTIGATING COMMISSION IN ENGLAND.

The following cablegram to the "New York Tribune," refers to the work of the Public Ownership Commission of The National Civic Federation, which is now extending its investigation to England:

LONDON, March 10, 1906.

The National Civic Federation of the United States has sent a body of engineers and accountants across the Atlantic to make an exhaustive study of the practical operations of municipal ownership. The commission, headed by Mr. W. J. Clark, Mr. Milo R. Maltbie, Mr. J. W. Sullivan and Messrs. Klump and James has already broken ground in London for systematic work, and within a fortnight will be making a survey of municipal socialism in Glasgow, London, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield and other large centers of population. As Mr. Maltbie explains the matter, the investigation has been undertaken as a combination movement by interests opposed to municipal ownership and by converts to the progressive policies. Capitalists alarmed by the results of recent local elections in America and politicians and reformers attracted by the scope and spirit of the new municipal activities in England have agreed to unite in an effort to obtain precise information respecting the financial and mechanical achievements of British municipalities as good government clubs. So the commission of engineers and accountants has been empowered to ascertain the facts in an impartial spirit and to report upon them to the National Civic Federation. The commission will be strengthened by new members, and, as its expenses are met by liberal contributions, it will employ additional experts and will be occupied for several months in a thorough examination of the conditions of local government in the most enterprising British towns. The final report can hardly fail to be of exceptional value. Dr. Albert Shaw was the first American writer to direct attention to the trend of collectivism in British towns; but his book was written a decade ago, and there has been subsequently an enormous enlargement of municipal operations. The American Consul at Hull, Mr. Walter C. Hamm, and other members of the consular service have written excellent reports on these municipal activities; and many journalists and magazine writers have contributed freely to the literature of the subject. An investigation by experts uninfluenced by previous bias or prejudice will be of great utility in informing and enlightening American opinion on a matter of supreme importance.

Mr. Maltbie and his associates will not lack prompters, if they are anxious to have cues behind the scenes. There is a powerful association of English capitalists, economists and taxpayers, which has been conducting a vigorous campaign against municipal socialism and has received the support of "The Times." There is also an organized body of representative municipal councillors, which holds an annual congress and brings the town corporations into working relations for mutual benefit. There is "The Municipal Journal," whose former conductor, Mr. Robert Donald, is now the editor of "The Daily Chronicle," and the municipal reformers have in it a most intelligent advocate and capable organ.

The Progressive members of the London County Council are municipal socialists; and Mr. John Burns, president of the Local Government Board, has been one of the ablest champions of the new principles of collective responsibilities and investments for the common good. The commission can hear in London all that can be said in favor of the new policies and against them; but if I have correctly understood Mr. Maltbie's explanations it will not be influenced by these special pleadings, but will visit the provincial cities and with the assistance of its own experts ascertain how municipal trading in its various forms is operating, how much it costs in local taxation and what profit, if any, there is from it for the reduction of rates. This method of procedure is one which will be heartily commended by all fair-minded investigators.

NEW OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

At the annual meeting of the Executive Committee of The National Civic Federation held at the Park Avenue Hotel on March 26, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

AUGUST BELMONT, *President.*

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *First Vice-President.*

OSCAR S. STRAUS, *Second Vice-President.*

ISAAC N. SELIGMAN, *Treasurer.*

HON. SETH LOW, *Chairman Conciliation Committee.*

FRANCIS L. ROBBINS and JOHN MITCHELL, *Chairmen Trade Agreement Committee.*

CHARLES A. MOORE, *Chairman Welfare Department.*

RALPH M. EASLEY, *Chairman Executive Council.*

SAMUEL B. DONNELLY, *Secretary.*

In the election of officers only two changes were made from last year. Isaac N. Seligman and Charles A. Moore were newly elected respectively as Treasurer and as Chairman of the Welfare Department.

In resigning as Chairman of this Department, Mr. Vreeland sent the following letter. Mr. Vreeland's resignation was accepted and a vote of thanks was tendered him for his faithful services as Chairman of the Department.

NEW YORK, March 23, 1906.

AUGUST BELMONT, Esq.,

President National Civic Federation.

MY DEAR SIR:—Commencing with the organization of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, I have been its Chairman. At the time I was requested to accept the Chairmanship, I advised the Committee that my duties and responsibilities were such that I could not with justice to my business and personal interests accept any additional responsibilities, but in the interest of organization of this Department on lines with which I was more familiar than others, I agreed to accept such responsibilities, and have continued to do so up to the present time to the best of my ability.

The recent developments in connection with the business interests which I represent have increased my duties and responsibilities, and I therefore must request the Executive Officers of The National Civic Federation to relieve me of the duties devolving upon the Chairman of the Welfare Department, and ask that my resignation be accepted, to take effect upon the election of my successor at the annual meeting to be held in New York City on March 26th, 1906. I shall always be very glad to give to the Department the benefit of my counsel and advice.

With assurances of my support and loyalty to yourself and those associated with you in this important work, I remain,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. H. VREELAND.

Apart from the election of officers the most important business transacted at the meeting was the appointment of a Committee of Five on by-laws and constitution. This committee was appointed as a result of the suggestion contained in the annual report of the Chairman of the Executive Council to the effect that a consideration of this subject is necessary in order to meet the change in conditions since the adoption of the constitution and by-laws now in force and to keep pace with the enlarged scope of the Federation. This committee, as appointed by President Belmont, consists of Hon. Franklin MacVeagh, Samuel Gompers, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Slicer and Ralph M. Easley, Chairman of the Executive Council. Mr. Easley's report, offering the suggestion which resulted in the formation of this committee and outlining some of the work of The National Civic Federation during the year, follows:

During the past year, The National Civic Federation, in addition to its industrial work, has taken up three new subjects, namely: Public Ownership, Immigration, and Primary Election and Ballot Reform. As the subject of Public Ownership is taken up elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW the reference to it in this report is here omitted.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION.

A Department on Immigration was organized at the request of the National Conference on Immigration held in New York City under the auspices of the Federation, December 6-8, 1905. That Conference was attended by six hundred delegates appointed by the governors of forty States, mayors of large cities, and leading commercial, agricultural, labor, manufacturers, economic, ecclesiastical and educational organizations.

The membership of the new Department is made up of representatives of all those organizations, making a total of one hundred and fifty. A meeting will soon be held for the purpose of organizing and outlining the scope of the Department. The importance of this subject cannot be overestimated. It is claimed that a million immigrants came to this country last year; and the proper distribution and the making of American

citizens out of this alien influx is a problem calling for the best efforts of our public-spirited citizens. If the South and West need these immigrants, which are over-crowding the cities, one of the practical problems before the new Department will be their proper distribution. Other important subjects for investigation will be Selection and Restriction of white immigrants and the Enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Acts.

DEPARTMENT OF PRIMARY ELECTIONS AND BALLOT REFORM.

At the National Conference on Primary Elections and Ballot Reform, held under the auspices of the Federation in New York, March 6 and 7, a resolution was unanimously passed, requesting this body to organize a Department to give consideration to that subject. The Conference was very representative. It was attended by delegates from all parts of the country, appointed by Congressmen, Mayors, and municipal and political reform bodies, representing various shades of political opinion. No more important work could be undertaken by our organization than to help secure clean government, whether national, State or municipal.

CONCILIATION DEPARTMENT.

The work of the Conciliation Department the past year has been confined almost entirely to bringing about conferences, at the request of one side or the other, where there were threatened industrial disturbances. The requests have come from twenty-two States and cover almost every branch of industry. About three-fourths of the Conferences have resulted successfully. In some cases they have been secured without much difficulty, simply by getting the right persons to work toward that end. But, in many other cases, a great deal of patience and tact was required by members of the Department. One advantage resulting from the enlargement of the scope of the Federation has been that members of other Departments were available in different cities to help when necessary.

Within the last month, seven very interesting cases have come to the Department. One was a threatened tie-up on a large elevated railway in a near-by city. The representative of the employees called at headquarters and stated that unless he could secure a conference within twenty-four hours, his men would strike. It was necessary to reach both the chairman of the executive board and the president of the railway, through members of our organization. When the matter was laid before them, they expressed surprise that the trouble had progressed so far without their knowledge. They granted the conference, and the difficulty was amicably adjusted. Both sides wrote to the Department, expressing their thanks for its efforts, but marked their letters confidential.

It is thus kind of quiet, delicate work that has proved most effective. Were these cases to be made public, such action would be resented by the parties interested.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

The Welfare Department has made great progress the past year. Its membership now numbers over two hundred employers, each one being committed to the policy of bettering the conditions under which his employees work or live. The progress of the work of the Welfare Department is treated at length elsewhere in this issue.

In pursuing this phase of our work the great problem of child labor and of bettering the conditions under which women work, presents itself to the Welfare Department. It is proposed that the Department shall take up those two subjects, and make investigations, either in co-operation with existing organizations, or independently, as may be deemed wise.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS DEPARTMENT.

The Industrial Economics Department, organized a year ago, held one general meeting at which was discussed the question of Individual Liberty. The Department has mapped out a promising programme for the ensuing year.

The non-union versus the union or, what is commonly called the "open and closed shop controversy"; the injunction; the boycott; and the hours of labor are among the subjects that will be studied.

Some new problems confront us in the open and closed shop controversy, which has become acute in nearly every industry where the employees are organized. It was rare for a union to strike two years ago to secure what it termed the "union shop." To-day the demand for the union shop is the cause of numerous strikes. It is claimed that the reason for this change in policy is that, while, several years ago, the open shop meant a non-discriminating one—that is to say, one in which the union and non-union men were given identical treatment—now the open shop practically means a non-union shop. The unions present much testimony to show that there are numerous employers' organizations whose members, while publicly declaring that they will treat union and non-union men alike, are practically forcing every union man out of their employ. If this be true, then, in fighting for what it calls the union-shop, the union is only endeavoring to preserve its existence.

It will be the duty of the Industrial Economics Department to investigate this subject and present all the facts to the public.

On the question of the injunction, organized labor

claims that the courts are lending themselves to the employers by issuing temporary injunctions at crucial moments during strikes, and that although upon a later hearing the injunctions are dismissed they have, in the meantime, served the purpose of the employers to break the strikes. If labor has the right to strike, and no one will deny that proposition, and if the courts are thus made allies of the cause of the employers, it is certainly a serious matter. If it be found true that the injunction is thus abused, the committee investigating this subject will be expected to recommend how the abuse may be corrected without destroying the general principle of the injunction.

Other questions that will naturally come before this Department are: "The Union Label," "Restriction of Output," "The Limitation of Apprentices," "The Minimum Wage," "Piece Work," "Trade Agreements," and "Compulsory Arbitration."

THE CIVIC FEDERATION OF BOSTON.

Following this report Mr. Hayes Robbins, of the Civic Federation of Boston, outlined some of the results of the work of the organization during the year in New England. Mr. Robbins said in part:

The New England Federation organized for business one year ago, with an Executive Committee of 21. This was later increased to 30, and in January last to 42. It was my feeling from the start that we ought to have a definite body of members at large, who should be entitled to attend and vote at our meetings, and feel that they were not merely invited guests, but were officially a part of the work, having some personal concern in its progress and success, and expressly committed to its principles. This last provision was made our basis of membership. We have no financial test; any dues large enough to maintain the work would exclude a large number of our members whose affiliation and influence we desire for other than financial reasons.

It was not an easy matter to pick out the people we wanted as members in the three groups composing the Federation. After a year's campaign, however, we have to-day 547 members, scattered all over the New England States; 239 being employers, 183 representatives of the public, and 125 representatives of labor. Our files of acceptances give us a fairly good index of the strength of sentiment among the broadly representative men of the section, favorable to reasonable methods of industrial dealing.

The fact that our labor membership is smaller than that of the employers is due to the greater difficulty of learning who the influential men are in the large territory covered, but the labor list is steadily growing. The prevailing labor sentiment toward the movement was registered in the emphatic resolutions of endorsement passed unanimously by the Boston Central Labor Union last May, and by the Massachusetts State Branch of the American Federation of Labor last October.

We have also a Conciliation Committee of 15, headed by two of the most capable men in New England for this kind of work—Mr. Louis D. Brandeis and Judge Warren A. Reed, who was formerly Chairman of the State Board of Arbitration, which is perhaps the most effective board in the country, and which was never more so than under his administration.

We are also building up a department of Organization and Education, numbering thus far 41 members, in 32 cities and towns. These members furnish our special points of contact with local situations, and in joining this committee they agreed to give us local information when necessary, and names of people who ought to be interested in the movement.

In the past fourteen months we have had to deal with 24 cases of industrial disagreement, and have taken part in negotiations to prevent trouble where it seemed likely to follow the failure to adjust differences. Details of these cases are on file, but we do not make them public. The difficulty has not been solved in every case by any means, but it may be said of practically all of them that either the trouble has been adjusted or the issue dropped; or, progress has been made toward a possible adjustment after further developments; or, an unforeseen indirect benefit in some co-related matter has grown out of the negotiations; or, the parties have been brought into relations under which the probability of similar friction in the future is materially lessened. President Tuttle testified at our last annual meeting that there never had been a time within his knowledge when there was so little strife or threat of strife within the borders of New England as at present, and expressed the belief that to no one thing was more of that condition due than to the influence this movement has been exerting.

We have held two public meetings, one in April, 1905, and the other in January last. At the latter, our first vice-president, Frank H. McCarthy, of the Cigar Makers' Union, presided, although Mr. Tuttle arrived in time to pronounce the benediction. Governor Guild and his immediate predecessor, ex-Governor Douglas, were both present and spoke; the question of Hours of Labor was discussed by Alfred Mosely, Marcus M. Marks, James Duncan, James P. Archibald, and Louis D. Brandeis. At our meeting of last April we discussed Trade Agreements, Mr. Tuttle presiding, the speakers being Mr. Belmont, Mr. Gompers, William H. Pfahler and John F. Tobin.

We are now forming a new Committee on Workshop

Improvement, to rouse interest in that portion of Welfare Work which deals with conditions affecting the health and comfort of employees within the factory or store. Our chairman for that work is Frederick P. Fish, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and while the members of the Committee proper will be employers, we are forming an advisory board composed of a few selected employers, labor representatives and technical experts, whose advice and help we think will be valuable. The first two lines of work we expect to take up are, enlisting the co-operation of both employers and employees in applying to workshop conditions certain very sane, practical measures that are being successfully promoted by the Society for the Relief and Control of Tuberculosis; and, in another direction, endeavoring to secure better enforcement of the present sanitary regulations of workshops, helping to promote a wider knowledge of what these regulations are, and if possible, getting increased facilities and help for the State police, who are charged with this work.

We have a small office for headquarters, and a considerable amount of current literature and reports on file, bearing on all phases of the industrial situation; this material is pretty fully covered in an Information Index which is consulted more or less by students and others making special study of these subjects.

We have no regular publication, but have issued four special bulletins dealing with various features of our work. Through the courtesy of The National Civic Federation, all of our members receive the CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW. In some cases we have supplied speakers for outside meetings, and we are especially fortunate in having within reach for such purposes a number of good, practical, fair-minded men who understand the subject and know how to discuss it. We expect to send a fraternal delegate, by invitation, to the State Convention of the Maine Federation of Labor next June.

Among the men who have been most useful to the work are, first of all, our President, Mr. Lucius Tuttle, President of the Boston & Maine Railroad, than whom no man in New England holds a higher place in public confidence and esteem. His status with working men is fairly reflected, without exaggeration, in the statement which is typical, by one of the conductors on that railroad who wrote us that he was proud to belong to anything presided over by a man who is loved by 25,000 whose labor he directs. Mr. Tuttle's influence and cordial personal co-operation from the beginning have been a tower of strength to us. Then we have Mr. Brandeis and Judge Reed, already referred to; Charles H. Taylor, Jr., of the *Globe*, one of the first organizers of the work there, its first Secretary, and Treasurer for a year; John Mason Little, our present Treasurer; Frederick P. Fish, Major Henry L. Higginson, Senator Crane, Bishop Lawrence and a loyal group of exceptionally able labor representatives, including Frank H. McCarthy and Henry Abrahams, of the Cigar Makers; Frank K. Foster and Park Mitchell, of the Typographical Union; John Golden, of the United Textile Workers; John F. Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers; James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; D. D. Driscoll, of the Horse Shoers, and Colin Cameron, of the Carpenters.

THE PROGRESS OF WELFARE WORK.

(Continued from page 13)

"Some of the objections of laboring men to insurance plans have been met by progressive employers, who have arranged to return at least a portion of the dues contributed by employees when they leave the service of the company. When a man has been employed from fifteen to twenty years by one company, and has contributed during that period to the relief fund, he may have placed therein all his savings which he can ill afford to lose when his years of usefulness are near an end. A number of employers have abandoned the obnoxious clause which binds the laborer who belongs to the relief society to release the company from legal liability in case of a serious accident.

"There is a growing tendency among employers to encourage thrift by establishing savings funds. It is difficult for employees to patronize the public savings banks, which are open only during working hours, and, furthermore, it does not appeal to a man to spend 10 cents car fare for the sake of reaching a bank where he may deposit 10 cents.

"Employers who have inaugurated a system of lending money to employees in times of stress have discovered a means of eliminating the 'money shark' from their institutions."

On the general topic of the widely growing interest in Welfare Work attention should be called to the action just taken by The Civic Federation of New England in appointing a sub-committee on workshop improvement comprising five officers and an advisory board of thirty-five. Frederick P. Fish, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, is the Chairman of the committee and its object is to promote practical interest in the improvement of such working conditions as affect the health, comfort and convenience of employees in factories, stores and other places where labor is performed.

The National Civic Federation Review

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PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION IN EUROPE.

VALUE OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE'S WORK EMPHASIZED AT THE DINNER OF THE NEW YORK CIVIC FEDERATION.

HAVING practically completed, for the greater part, their study of conditions in the more important American cities as affecting the ownership of such public utilities as gas, water, electric lighting and power, and street railways, members of the Investigating Committee of The Commission on Public Ownership and Operation sailed from New York May 22 on the "Caronia" and are now in Great Britain in the midst of a thorough examination of the facts to be found there bearing upon the various phases of their subject.

The Committee's itinerary during the month of June included Dublin, where the street railway system was investigated; Glasgow, where tramway, electric lighting and gas undertakings were examined; Newcastle, where gas and two electric plants were selected for study; Sheffield, Leicester and Birmingham, where examinations of gas works were made; Liverpool's tramway and electric light undertakings; Manchester's tramway, gas and electric light establishments, and London, where the Committee is now studying tramway, gas, and electric light undertakings, including a trip to examine Bristol tramways, if convenient. The Committee reached London on June 22, where it is to remain until the adjournment of its sessions in England. Headquarters have been established at 9 Arundel Street, Strand, London, in charge of Messrs. Maltbie and Sullivan.

Cable dispatches from Great Britain reporting the progress of the Committee's investigation state that in Glasgow both the "municipalists" and the "anti-municipalists" in the committee are generally impressed with the compactness and perfection of the

Glasgow street railway system. At the banquet to the Committee given by the Glasgow Corporation on June 2, Baillie Alexander, in proposing a toast to The National Civic Federation, asked that the statement that the Glasgow people did not have to pay taxes be contradicted. They paid taxes, he said, but these were more than compensated for by the cheapness of the various public services. Mr. Moffet of Indiana replied that he hoped America would be able to produce such disinterested city councillors as Glasgow had. They had in The Civic Federation a nucleus of this high type. Mr. Parsons of Boston, in proposing a toast to the Corporation of Glasgow, said it was largely a question of civilization. Boston had tried municipal

printing and the experiment was not a great success.

Following the Committee's examination of the Glasgow gas enterprises, Chairman Ingalls was quoted in a cable dispatch as saying that he had been much impressed with the success of municipal ownership in Glasgow and thought the same results could be achieved in America if the right kind of citizens would enter public life. He said: "We have the right kind of citizens, but they all seem to be too busy to take part in the affairs of city government." Of the undertakings he had seen in Glasgow he put the tramways easily first, then the gas supply and, last, the electrical supply system. Mr. Parsons said that the facts that had been ascertained in Glasgow would help them greatly to arrive at a decision whether America had the proper conditions for successful municipalization.

At a banquet given by the Glasgow Corporation on June 4, the members of the Committee expressed themselves as delighted by the cordiality of their reception. Prof. Goodnow said that whether or not the members of the Committee were advocates or opponents of municipal ownership or merely perchers on the fence it was a great pleasure to see what Glasgow had done. The advocates of municipal ownership had come to strengthen their arguments, their opponents had come in a vain endeavor to find weakness and those perched on the fence had come merely to ascertain the truth. The Americans, he added, were credited with suffering with swelled head. For himself, since coming to Glasgow, his head had become considerably smaller.

What has impressed all the members of the



Upper Row (from left to right)—John R. Commons, F. J. McNulty, W. J. Clark, Ralph M. Easley, Talcott Williams.
Lower Row (from left to right)—John H. Gray, Walton Clark, Frank J. Goodnow, Frank Parsons, Edward A. Moffett.

MEMBERS OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION.

Committee is the remarkably high character of the men constituting municipal governments in Great Britain, who devote as much attention to municipal affairs as men in the United States devote to their private business. At a luncheon tendered to the members of the Committee on June 11 by the city government of Manchester was a councillor who has been a member of the government for twenty-nine years and who retired from business in order to devote all his time and energies to the affairs of the city. The members of the Investigating Committee express appreciation of the kindness and courtesy displayed by everybody with whom they are brought in contact. All the municipal officers and the owners of private concerns show readiness to give them all the facts and figures they desire.

In addition to the Committee's investigation of European cities, an extended examination of municipal conditions has been in progress for some months in the cities of this country, including Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Indianapolis, Fort Wayne, Wheeling, Richmond, Allegheny City, South Norwalk, Atlanta, and Norfolk. These investigations of the different cities in Europe and America are being conducted with the sole purpose of collecting the facts—facts that are basal and comparable—as to the ownership of public utilities, and not for the purpose of formulating an opinion as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the action of the various municipalities in adopting the plan of ownership to which each at present adheres.

Various phases of the value and significance of this work of the Commission were emphasized at the New York Civic Federation's dinner to the Commission's Committee on Investigation held at the Park Avenue Hotel on May 21. Hon. Oscar S. Straus presided. Speeches were made by Mr. Straus, Professor Frank J. Goodnow of Columbia University; Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*; Hon. W. J. Gaynor, of the Supreme Court of New York; Mr. August Belmont, President of the National Civic Federation; Mr. Philip Kelly, of the Theatrical Protective Union; Dr. Talcott Williams, of the *Philadelphia Press*; Mr. Walton Clark, Third Vice-President of the United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia; Professor Frank Parsons, President of the National Public Ownership League, Boston; and Mr. Horace E. Deming, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League, New York.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

Banquet Address of Hon. Oscar S. Straus,
Vice-President National Civic Federation.

THERE is no surer index of a nation's decay than when a people become indifferent to their own welfare, and shift individual responsibility to governmental control. Just as there is a limit to the sphere of individual action in a body politic, so there is a limit to governmental duties.

The very fact that in this country so much work of a public nature is done by private initiative, by private individuals, and by so-called semi-public bodies, is the best evidence that our body politic is sound and healthy. I do not mean to intimate that in this country we are free from the corrupting influences of selfish greed; on the contrary, the crop is plentiful, but so is the vigilance of the upright citizens who are continually on the alert, and wield the scythe with stalwart arms, and fearlessly lop off the deleterious weeds which spring up in the night and grow afield.

In no country in the world has so much been left to private initiative, not only industrially, but even to a greater extent in the benevolent and philanthropic fields. The very fact that in this country the people from the earliest times have been accustomed not to rely upon the State for the support of their religious establishments, has had a large influence in broadening the scope of individual activities and responsibilities. Much work that in the old world was left to government, national and municipal, has, in this country, been initiated, fostered and supported by private individuals. This has developed its good as well as its detrimental sides. Many of our public works in city, state and nation have been undertaken by individuals, often in advance of the need of a people. Often this has proved speculative and hazardous, and often the results have proved marvelously remunerative. This extraordinary enterprise has paved the way to our rapid commercial development, and expedited the movement of our population from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Maine to Mexico.

The so-called "unearned increment," if I may borrow a phrase, has grown more and more valuable with the growth of the population of our cities, and it is becoming more and more a serious question to what extent that "unearned increment" should be, and can safely be utilized so as to profit the municipality or State which has a right to hold these valuable franchises in trust for all the people. The question arises, can these franchises be made to return greater advantages to the people if held, developed, and operated in common, or, if held in common and developed and operated by private individuals, or non-governmental bodies.

Many experiments along these lines have been made, some in this country, but more in the greater European cities. The National Civic Federation has taken up the

consideration of this subject so far as it applies to public ownership and operation of public utilities in municipalities, confining its investigations specifically to passenger transportation, whether by elevated, surface, or underground systems; to the supply of water, gas, and electricity. For this purpose it has invited men competent, as scientific experts of practical experience, and accountants, to study the subject in all its phases both here and abroad. These men are highly qualified by capacity and experience to make the investigation. Some of these men have large interests in, and represent private ownership, and some of them are pronounced advocates of public ownership and public operation. All sides of this question are fairly represented, so that the investigations will be from all sides, and in no case one-sided. The men who have undertaken this subject deserve to be commended for their public spirit, and we are assembled on the eve of their departure for Europe to extend to them our unstinted appreciation for their commendable public spirit in undertaking this important investigation.

The Committee, consisting of twenty-one members, have already made some investigations in this country, and on their return those investigations will be continued, and a full report covering the entire subject will be laid before the public, with such recommendations as they may be able to agree upon—in any event, the facts as they find them will be presented in detail.

In addition to the economic aspect of the question, there is even a more important side, the comparative effect that public ownership and public operation, as contrasted with private ownership and private operation, has upon our body politic.

We are not blind to the fact that the government of our municipalities is often inefficient and corrupt. Some of them have been a disgrace to our free institutions, and evidence is not lacking that a large share of responsibility for these unfortunate conditions is due to the corrupt influences of private ownership in the securing and in the controlling of public utilities. On the other hand, it is claimed by some of our leading writers both here and abroad, that in a democracy few things are more to be feared than a great increase in the number of those who are in the direct employ of the State or the municipality. Lecky says: "The temptation of the representatives to use public money and public works as a means of electioneering, and the temptation of the electors to use their political power as a means of obtaining trade advantages for themselves, will soon become irresistible, and the floodgates of corruption will be open. . . . Public works are in this respect far more dangerous under a democratic government than under a despotism."

On the other hand, it is claimed by other writers of equally high standing that public ownership and operation carries home to every one the importance of good government, and arrays on its side the strong classes in a community which otherwise would be indifferent, and that municipal government improves as its duties are enlarged.

With these general and preliminary observations, I will call upon the gentlemen who represent the several sides of this question, to address you. These addresses will be entirely informal but, therefore, none the less acceptable.

METHODS OF THE OWNERSHIP COMMISSION.

Professor Goodnow, of Columbia University,
Describes the Methods of the
Investigating Committee.

SOME time ago I received by the same mail two books on municipal ownership in Great Britain. If one read one of them he could hardly fail to reach the conclusion that the assumption by the British authorities as to the ownership and operation of municipal public utilities was a great success. If upon the other hand, he, by chance, took up the other book, he did not have to go further than a perusal of its table of contents to see that municipal activity along these lines was, in the eyes of the author, a conspicuous failure. In some respects it is true; the conclusions reached by these writers were due to the fact that where disadvantages had to be balanced against advantages, one gave a greater weight to an acknowledged advantage or disadvantage than the other. To that extent the different results reached were due to an honest and perfectly natural difference of opinion. But still, making due allowance for these reasons, for the difference in the final result reached, one could not put these books down without feeling strongly that "some one had blundered." One almost had a suspicion that some one had committed a more heinous offense than a blunder.

Now, this blundering, or worse than blundering, has been, I think, characteristic of most of the literature on the subject of municipal ownership which has as yet appeared. At any rate, this characteristic of the existing literature has been the one which has been most markedly apparent to him who, not blinded by prejudice nor disqualified by interest, has honestly and earnestly attempted to get at the truth. And it was, as I understand it, the purpose of The National Civic Federation in its establishment of the Commission which has entrusted to us the investigation of this most important

subject to do what it could to make future blunders less easy and future misrepresentations, if I may so call it, more easy of detection.

The question naturally presents itself, What are the methods which have been adopted to attain the desired end? In answer to this question, I may say, those responsible for the management of The National Civic Federation laid down one fundamental rule which those of us who have been most active in the work of investigation have had continually before us. That rule was that we were to ascertain facts. The adoption of this rule prevented, in the first place, this Commission from meeting and after argument and discussion coming to a determination that, in its opinion, municipal ownership and operation of any specific public utility under the conditions existing in the average American city was better or worse than private management. For the opinions of this Commission, however valuable they may be, are not facts.

We are confined to facts. Now, what are facts? What are the facts of municipal ownership? Not knowing much about the facts of municipal ownership except that, like other facts, they were, presumably, stubborn things, the first thing which we did in order to do the work committed to us was to devise methods by which these facts might be ascertained. We determined that they could be ascertained only through the examination of specific plants and, inasmuch as the means at our disposal were limited, by the examination of selected plants. Now, some municipal and some private plants had a general reputation of being successful. Some, on the other hand, were reputed to be unsuccessful. If we should choose all the alleged successful municipal plants and should set them off against the alleged unsuccessful private plants, or *vice versa*, we should certainly obtain a conclusion of facts—choice facts, they might be called.

But such a method of ascertaining facts we had certainly to avoid. I should not have said we had to avoid this. All necessity for avoiding it was removed by the wise action of The National Civic Federation, which so constituted the Commission that almost every shade of opinion and almost every interest or prejudice was represented on it as well as on the smaller committees which have had the burden of superintending the work of investigation. The result was that when it came to choosing the particular plants to be examined, opportunity was open for making any objection which could be made to a selection, because of the fact that it was unrepresentative or incomparable with other selections. Indeed, the places selected have been selected as the result of unanimous action on the part of the committees in charge of the work. It was in this way, then, that the attempt has been made to secure a fair selection of the places from which our facts were to be ascertained.

After the places to be examined had been selected, the question presented itself as to what things we should look for in these places. We soon found that these things might be grouped under one of four heads: (1) Character of service; (2) Financial results; (3) Political conditions; (4) Social conditions, particularly labor conditions.

Having determined that what we wished was to be found under one of these heads, we had to decide how we would actually get at the facts. We very soon determined that we must have for this purpose men who by education were qualified to do the work, and we therefore selected four classes of experts, viz.: engineers, accountants, those acquainted with labor conditions and those who by training and experience were able most easily to get information with regard to other social and political conditions. In the choice of these gentlemen we have been most fortunate. We did not select any one who was not accepted without objection by every member of our sub-committee. We endeavored, furthermore, to get absolutely the best men available, and we found in these gentlemen a willingness, when they learned of the paucity of our resources, to forego a part of the charges which they usually made for work of this sort. The experts whom we have selected have been engaged, some in England and some in this country, in acquiring the information desired, which will be submitted to the members of the committee before they are called upon to state their conclusions.

This is about all I can say upon our work. I would that I could say more, but the conditions which we have been called upon to examine have been so complex, the records, particularly of the municipalities which have been examined, have been kept in such shape, that it has been exceedingly difficult for us to get the information that we have desired. The result has been that it has been impossible to finish the work in this country as soon as was expected. It will have to be taken up again on our return from Great Britain. The work on the other side, as I understand, has made much more satisfactory progress. This has been due partly to the fact that the information desired has been more easily obtainable on account of the longer experience which municipalities have had in the management of public utilities, partly to the greater detail in which the records of their work, in accordance with the provisions of law, have been kept, and partly to the fact that the investigation has been supervised by two of our number who have been able to give their entire time to the

work. Thanks to the indefatigable exertions of Messrs. Maltbie and Sullivan and the gentlemen who have assisted them, so much has been done that we hope the committee will be able to reach conclusions as to the relative advantages of municipal and private ownership in Great Britain after having gone over the field in the time which has by our plans been allotted for this purpose.

OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATIONS.

Judge Gaynor, of the New York Supreme Court, Discusses Modern Tendencies.

I HARDLY know what may be appropriate for me to say on an occasion like this; in fact, I feel that bringing any ideas here at all where ideas are the stock in trade, where everybody has ideas, is like bringing coals to Newcastle, where they have more coals than they know what to do with. I feel that I am speaking to philosophers, to men who are considering public subjects seriously, to men who thus far have been of great value to the community.

I think that I may say of this Federation that it has done much in being able to bring together such men as Mr. Belmont on the one side, representing what he represents, and Mr. Gompers on the other, representing what he represents, and that, if The Civic Federation has not made them hail-fellows-well-met, it has disposed them to sit down and discuss soberly important matters between them, and it has thereby accomplished a very great deal for the community. If it had done nothing else it would have done a great deal. Most of the friction in the community on topics which this Federation discusses from time to time on political, industrial and economic subjects, on the topics involving labor and capital and the antagonism between them, arises out of misunderstandings on one side or the other, and from the fact that those representing each side of the subject in this country up to a very recent time have not met together for a discussion with each other; and they could not come to an understanding with each other in any other manner. I say this illustrates the value of The Civic Federation's usefulness to the community in thus being able to bring together these diverse elements.

This Federation is accomplishing a very great deal, and I deem it fortunate that it has now taken up the great subject of public utilities, as to whether or not they shall be owned by the community or by individuals. I deem it fortunate that you have appointed a committee to consider this subject, for the understanding which this committee arrives at will in time be the understanding of this Federation, and that means that it will ultimately become the understanding of the entire community. If this committee can bring in a statement of the facts—not of words, not of rhetoric, but of facts such as we are all so much indebted to Mr. Shaw for in the past—and these facts are presented here and understood by this body, I have no doubt that your final understanding of the matter will "slop over" and become the understanding of the whole community. All great movements spread in that way. If a great masterpiece is produced by an artist some one comes in and sees the work and he perceives that it is a masterpiece, and there is only one person in the world who perceives it. Then he brings in another and he sees it, and so on until at last perhaps twelve persons have seen it and understood it, and their understanding finally prevails and in time becomes the judgment and understanding of all mankind. Now, as to the matter we have in hand, it will be the same way with this committee, so that what they finally ascertain will become the view of the entire country.

The agitation in this country for municipal ownership, and to some extent for municipal management as well, of public service corporations has arisen, in my judgment, out of no hostility toward private management or private capital. We owe much to private management, and it is still a question whether the best service may not be obtained from private enterprise. Private management may in some respects be able to teach us many lessons. But the agitation for municipal ownership has arisen, on the contrary, wholly from the franchises of these public service corporations being over-capitalized or watered, as Mr. Straus has expressed it in his opening address. The community cannot look on this without first a feeling of uneasiness, and then of hostility, and then of open resentment and finally of action against the doubling and trebling over and over of the capital put into these corporations, all of which represents nothing except a perpetual tax by the corporations on the community. We have just seen the corporations in this city bind themselves together in a hard and fast agreement for 999 years on a basis of grossly excessive capitalization, representing the repeated over-capitalization of the constituent companies. Dear me, think of our standing that thing for 999 years! Nine years is more like it. These great gifts, these franchises that are nothing but licenses from the people, are made a drain on the community, by having bonds and stocks issued on them and doubled up, year after year, in all our cities and on our steam railroads as well, until the sum has become colossal enough—I will even

say it even in this presence—dishonest enough to shock the moral sense of the people of this country. There is the seed of this hostility, this feeling toward these corporations.

We have just had a great debate in Washington concerning our national railways. There is no resentment in Washington against capital, but there is hostility to the franchises for these public utilities being made a perpetual tax on the people, as though the recipients had the right to do as they pleased with them. What are the railroads but our public highways! They are as much our public highways as the dirt roads which run alongside of them. The public mind has now come to the understanding of this, and you can't rid the public mind of it. The building of these roads was turned over to private individuals, and the trouble is, not that we have any hostility to capital, but that those who have these gifts have come somehow to understand that they own them for their own profit first and for the public second.

It is a horrible crime for the public highways to carry the freight of one man or group of men at half or any lesser rate than that charged to others, to the aggrandizement of one man or set of men and the destruction of another. Go back to the days of toll gates. What do you think would happen if one man were allowed to drive his cattle on the hoof or his teams through for one-half what another man paid? They would tear down the toll gate; and that is what will happen ultimately to these railroad abuses; the people will tear them down. They will do this peacefully if they can, forcibly if they must. There is nothing more certain than that the people have come to the conclusion that this thing will no longer be tolerated either on the highways of the nation or the highways of the city. They demand that the roads shall be managed for the aggrandizement of no individuals, but for the welfare of all. Highways from the twilight of history have always been built and managed by Government. But from 1840 to 1850 when the iron roads came in some governments for some reasons turned the building and operation of them over to individuals. This was the first time in history that public highways were turned over to the management of private individuals, barring the few toll roads that existed. But nevertheless they were made public highways by government; they were licensed as such, to remain as such. What we call a franchise, for the sake of a better word, was given to the corporations to build and manage them as public highways. I need not say to you that government can take private property only for governmental purposes. This great governmental power of taking private property for public use was given and could be given to these corporations only on the theory that they were engaged in a governmental service or function in carrying passengers or freight which, so long as we know history, was a matter regulated or controlled by government.

And I want to invoke a blessing on the man who, as President of the United States, has seen this great question as you would see it through that pane of glass; who has held it up for the country when no political parties dared to make it an issue; who has forced it before Congress and fought for a final issue in spite of all the abuse and recriminations that have been heaped upon him. Not that I think this law will cure all the ills, but the moral feeling of the people is expressed in it.

When this committee comes back from Europe with the cold facts of the experience of Europe—which is a long experience and where municipal ownership and operation is no new thing, and where it has been solved already—I say, when they get back with their report luminous with facts, and you and I are made familiar with their findings, then your opinion will speedily become the opinion of this whole country. In that way they will accomplish a great good, and I am glad to be here to-night to wish them godspeed.

A LABOR VIEW OF THE COMMISSION.

Philip Kelly, of the Theatrical Protective Union, Views the Commission from the Standpoint of Organized Labor.

AS an after-dinner speaker I am a complete failure, which you will discover before I have finished. I hope, however, that when this Committee returns that I will be one of those who will meet them and extend to them a welcoming hand. If their report is entirely satisfactory it will make a very important chapter in the history of this country. If their report is satisfactory to the people, well and good, but if not, they can rest assured that they will be placed on the gridiron and toasted and roasted to perfection.

Gentlemen, the question of municipal ownership is up. There is no use in denying it. It is discussed in the "L" cars, in the subway and on the surface lines. People discuss it going to church and coming home from church. There are thousands of people in this city and in this country who have not yet made up their minds as to whether it would be a benefit to the people or not to have municipal ownership and operation. Now, as far as the idea has any bearing on the workingman is concerned, I do not think they need have any fear.

Even municipal ownership would not be a complete cure for all the ills that the workingman suffers from at this time. The employees of the Government are not better paid than those of private concerns. The letter carrier in this city works fourteen hours a day, although the law says that ten hours shall constitute a day's work. But they shift them around and the result is they work fourteen hours. I do not know but what I would prefer to work for a private individual or firm rather than for the United States Government under present conditions. I do not think that municipal ownership could affect the labor organizations one way or the other. They are well able to take care of themselves. If they should decide in favor of municipal ownership I believe it would be accomplished in a very short time. But up to the present time, however, no great labor organization has expressed itself positively. It is true that individuals connected with the organizations have expressed themselves for and against the proposition. A lot will, of course, depend upon the report of this committee when it returns from England and Ireland.

Some people say that it would be a dangerous thing if the Government were to have a large number of employees. Is that a fact? I presume that statement is intended to mean that if the Government employs thousands of people in the Civil Service it would become so strong that it could not be turned out of office. Now, England has more employees than any other country in the world, and yet in no other country in the world are some of the governments so short-lived. The Conservative party has been kicked out of power in a relatively short time and the Unionist party lasted only one month. The idea of municipal ownership has some brilliant advocates.

I believe that the only great bodies in this country that have not taken a stand on this question are the labor organizations. But the question is up. The Commission, when it brings back its report, will find that such report will be discussed in the labor organizations throughout the country, and a great deal will depend upon the kind of a report they bring back. I have the utmost confidence in the men who have been appointed on this Commission; they are capable, brilliant, fearless and honest. I know the labor men on the Commission. They are good, straightforward men. The labor men will know that the report our brothers on the Commission bring back will be worth our study and confidence.

THE REMARKS OF PRESIDENT BELMONT.

Head of The National Civic Federation Officially Explains the Commission.

GENTLEMEN, it was my intention, and it was in fact my duty, to be away from New York at this time, but I set everything aside in order to be with you to-night to have an opportunity of saying a few words with regard to this Commission. The gentlemen who have already spoken to you have confirmed what I intended to say, which was that The Civic Federation's purpose was not to obtain an opinion on the question of municipal ownership, but realizing that the subject was before the people, that it was one that was beginning to be discussed, that ultimately it would be the subject of discussion on the stump during our political campaign, and that it vitally concerned the two elements this Federation has striven to bring together, it desired, if possible, to obtain for the public a text-book on the question. I knew all this would probably be said to you, but from the fact that I am the representative of one of the largest traction systems in the country, if not the largest, I thought that I would like to tell you that myself, because it had nothing whatever to do with my personal interest. At a meeting of the Committee I stated that if the results of this investigation furnished an argument for the acquisition by the municipality of the properties which I have been elected to manage, that that would not deter me. On the contrary, as a citizen I welcome a correct interpretation of this subject. As President of the Federation, it was my duty to try to bring about a proper interpretation of the subject.

I did not expect when I came here this evening that any argument would be advanced on that subject. I do not think that it would be delicate on my part to answer those arguments that have been advanced. I could and I should very much like to do so. I would like very much to have these gentlemen who have preceded me this evening and who have based their arguments on certain alleged facts, to seek those facts as zealously as will this Commission. But I want to repudiate in the most unqualified language the insinuation that I manage or that my associates manage these corporations in any other spirit than that of honesty or of correct purpose, and with any other view than that of complying with every letter of the law. But I do think that every corporation and that every corporate manager is entitled to be heard in court first, and that his action should be tested after the verdict of the court and not before. You know to what I refer and therefore it will not be necessary for me to repeat it, and I am sorry that I have to make this statement.

So anxious was this organization that the report should be absolutely impartial that it took every step to free the Commission from any possible relationship to the Federation other than that it should lean upon the Federation for its expenses. The Federation has directed it in no sense excepting to ask that it ascertain facts on the lines laid down by the Federation. That is all they have asked. They have chosen their own Committee and whatever the result of their work it will bear no hall mark of any special interest and least of all has there been any effort to create an argument against municipal ownership of public utilities, and more particularly of transportation. It would have been more than indelicate for me to have promoted any such movement if its object was other than that which Professor Goodnow has stated to you. That is why I wanted to be here to-night, because it has been insinuated by those who desire to discredit this Committee that there was a purpose to dictate to it. I thank you.

SELECTION OF THE COMMISSION APPROVED.

Dr. Talcott Williams, of the Philadelphia "Press,"
Commends the Manner of Appointment.

I HAVE been in doubt since I received the notice of my appointment. I do not belong to the college professor class. I am not a capitalist; but I am a Philadelphian. Perhaps this accounts for the reason of my selection as a speaker to-night. In our city we had a government which left nothing to be desired in the way of fraud. We found out that at our elections there were 70,000 fraudulent votes cast; we knew that it was impossible to stop the white slave traffic; we saw our franchises being sold right and left; we stood all that. But there came a May morning about a year ago when it was announced that our gas bills were to be increased, and we arose as one man and demanded reform. The returns of the election showed on that occasion that there were 110,000 voters who were eager for reform. The reform ticket was elected, and we at last began to conduct our own government. At last, it may be said, that we have a reform movement in Philadelphia. Previously we had tried everything. We owned our own gas works and we liked the proposition so little that we gave them up. Then the company we gave them to we liked so little that we decided to take them back.

Gentlemen, I understand that the purpose for which we are gathered here this evening is to wish this Commission goodspeed on the eve of its sailing, and to express the hope that it will bring back with it the facts. As has been said by the speakers who have preceded me, it is not a question of private ownership; it is not a question of whether this method or that method is slightly more economical in the governing of a city—it is at bottom a question as to whether at any particular period of our history we would not be happier and healthier by a full consideration of the problems affecting the operation of our public utilities, and a determination to solve those problems in the best light obtainable.

I think this Committee has been selected with admirable judgment. In France a committee selected for such an investigation would necessarily have been drawn from the personnel of the existing party in power. A report from such a commission would, in all probability, have been biased and colored to suit the wishes of the party in power. In Germany a royal commission would have made a report that would have been pleasing to the head of the nation. I submit that this Commission in its method of appointment and investigation has been better constituted than it would have been possible to constitute a similar committee in any other country.

We know that in the preparation of this report and that in its submission to the public it is not so much a question of whether taxes should be raised or lowered, but it is more a question as to what is the best solution for giving the people in our great cities an increase in the number of rooms in which the average family is compelled to live; what will give the greatest amount of pure water in the cities, the most efficient form of lighting, and the best kind of transportation facilities. Some compromise, some middle course, may be necessary, but that, I submit, is the main consideration to be sought.

VIEWS OF JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

Among the letters of regret received from invited guests who were unable to attend the banquet was the following:

NEW YORK, May 16, 1906.

Mr. James P. Archibald, Secretary, Committee on Arrangements, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York.

DEAR MR. ARCHIBALD: Acknowledging your note with invitation to dinner to be given to the Public Ownership Commission on the 21st instant on the eve of its sailing, I regret that a prior engagement must make me very late, and more probably deprive me entirely of the pleasure of being with you.

I believe The Civic Federation has taken no other

step so important as that in which this Commission has been appointed; that it can do no greater service than fully to inform our people of the experience of others in this matter; and that the success with which it does this, and the acceptance by our people of its report as a clear and impartial view is likely long to be its best hold on public confidence.

Sincerely,

(Signed)

JOHN DEWITT WARNER.

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Fifteen Members of the Committee on Investigation Now in Europe Studying Conditions There.

MELVILLE EZRA INGALLS is chairman of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, popularly known as the Big Four. He was educated at Bridgeton Academy and Bowdoin College, and was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1863. He practiced law first at Gray, Me., but soon removed to Boston. A member of the Massachusetts Senate in 1867. First as president (1870) and a year later as receiver of the Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Lafayette Railroad, Mr. Ingalls conducted this company from a bankrupt condition, with aid of reorganization in 1873 and 1880, and put its successor, the Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis and Chicago, upon a sound footing, consolidating it with other roads into the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad. From October 1, 1888, until February, 1900, Mr. Ingalls served as president of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. In the Presidential campaign of 1900 he was one of the leaders of the sound money division of the Democratic party. He is president of the Merchants' National Bank of Cincinnati. In 1903 Mr. Ingalls was Democratic candidate for mayor of Cincinnati. In 1905 he served as chairman of the investigating committee of the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

JOHN ROGERS COMMONS is professor of political economy in the University of Wisconsin. He graduated at Oberlin College in 1888, studied at Johns Hopkins University, 1888-90, became professor of sociology in Oberlin College in 1892, Indiana University in 1893 and in 1895 in Syracuse University, resigning in 1899 to become director of the Bureau of Economic Research. He has served as an expert agent for the United States Industrial Commission and as assistant secretary of The National Civic Federation. Professor Commons is the author of "The Distribution of Wealth," "Social Reform and the Church," "Proportional Representation," "Regulation and Restriction of Output by Employers and Unions," "Trade Unions and Labor Problems," etc.

CHARLES L. EDGAR is president of the Edison Electric and Illuminating Company, Boston, Mass. He graduated from Rutgers College with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1882 and later pursued a post-graduate course in electricity at the same college, receiving the degree of master of arts in 1885 and that of electrical engineer in 1887. Soon after leaving college he became associated with the parent Edison company—the Edison Electric Light Company of New York—and remained with this company until 1887, when he went to Boston. He was chief engineer of the New York Edison Company, resigning to become general superintendent of the Boston Edison Company, which was organized in 1886. Mr. Edgar became in turn, general manager, vice-president and president, which latter office he has held for the last five years. Besides being president of the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, Mr. Edgar is president of the Boston Electric Company, the Somerville Electric Light Company, the Woburn Light, Heat and Power Company, the Newton and Watertown Gas Light Company and other central station companies. These companies are closely associated, and supply gas and electricity to Boston and adjacent towns. For three terms Mr. Edgar was president of the Association of Edison Illuminating Companies. He is president of the Massachusetts Electric Lighting Association, chairman of the Boston branch of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and was vice-president of the National Electric Light Association in 1890. At the time of his election to the presidency of the National Electric Light Association in May, 1903, he was first vice-president of that organization.

TIMOTHY HEALY has been active in the labor movement for the past twenty years. Was Master Workman of Local Assembly, 6780 Knights of Labor (Eccentric Association of Firemen, New York City) for several years. Represented the stationary firemen of that city in District Assembly 49 K. of L. and the Central Federated Union. Represented the Knights of Labor of New York City in several conventions of the general assembly of the Knights of Labor, and was president of the Knights of Labor of New York State for two years. For the past ten years Mr. Healy represented the stationary firemen of New York City in the conventions of the State Workingmen's Federation, and was elected and served as a member of the Legislative Committee of the Federation. He was elected president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen in 1903, re-elected in 1904 for a term of two years, and

represented the organization in several conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Healy was largely instrumental in having placed on the statute books of New York a law compelling the licensing of stationary firemen in the City of New York, and is also credited with getting an eight-hour work-day and better conditions generally for a greater portion of the stationary firemen of New York City.

FRANK JOHNSON GOODNOW, professor of administrative law and municipal science in Columbia University since 1883, was graduated from Amherst College in 1879, from the Columbia Law School in 1882, and studied also at the Paris Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, at Berlin University. He is a recognized authority on municipal, administrative and constitutional law. Among his published works are: "Municipal Home Rule," "Comparative Administrative Law," "Municipal Problems," "Politics and Administration," "City Government in the United States," etc.

WALTON CLARK is Third Vice-President of the United Gas Improvement Company, Philadelphia. At the age of seventeen years he entered the employ of the New Orleans Gas Light Company, where he continued in various capacities connected with the manufacturing and distributing work until the fall of 1883, when, for a few months, he was connected with the United Gas Improvement Company, working for it in the erection of the gas plant at Pensacola, Florida. He returned to the New Orleans company in the spring of 1884, continuing with them until the fall of 1885, when he entered the service of the Jefferson City (Louisiana) Gas Company, performing the duties of superintendent of that company for about a year. Mr. Clark then removed to Chicago, and was connected for a short time with the United Coal and Oil Gas Company, of New York, the owners of the Hanlon-Leady patents. In the fall of 1887 he entered the employ of the Kansas City Gas Light and Coke Company, and about eight months later accepted the position of assistant general superintendent of the United Gas Improvement Company, becoming general superintendent, and in 1904 being elected third vice-president. He is also president of the Equitable Illuminating Gas Light Company of Philadelphia, vice-president of the Rhode Island Company, and is officially connected with a number of large gas, electric and street railroad properties. He is a past president of the American Gas Light Association, a director of the Western Gas Association, and director of Franklin Institute of Philadelphia; member of New England Association of Gas Engineers, Pacific Coast Gas Association, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, the Engineering Club of Philadelphia, member of the Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania Military Academy and the Chestnut Hill Academy.

J. W. SULLIVAN, until recently Editor of *The Weekly Bulletin of the Clothing Trades*, has been prominently identified with the labor movement in this country during the past twenty years, most of the time serving in different capacities on the editorial staff of labor papers. He is a member of the Typographical Union. From 1892-95 Mr. Sullivan was general lecturer for the American Federation of Labor on the Initiative and Referendum; has served as a delegate to State and national conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and in 1896 was fraternal delegate of the Federation to the British Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh, and affiliated delegate to the International Co-operative Congress at Paris. He was prominent in the United Labor Party campaigns of 1886-7. Mr. Sullivan is the author of "Working People's Rights," "Direct Legislation," "The Trades Union Movement in America," etc.

MILO ROY MALTBIE is assistant secretary of the Art Commission of the City of New York, and a franchise expert. He was educated in the public schools, Upper Iowa University, Northwestern University and Columbia University, in which latter he received the degree of Ph.D. in 1897. He was University Fellow in Administrative Law at Columbia University, 1895-7, professor of mathematics and economics in Mount Morris College, Illinois, 1893-5; secretary of the Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, 1897-1902; editor of *Municipal Affairs*, 1897-1903, and lecturer in various institutions. He spent the summer of 1899 investigating municipal conditions in Europe for the Reform Club, and in 1903 traveled extensively over northwestern Europe for the Art Commission. Among the many committees of which he is a member the principal ones are the Merchants' Association Committee upon Water Supply, National Municipal League Committee upon Uniform Municipal Statistics, Municipal Art Society Committee upon Street Fixtures, Constitutional Home Rule Committee (secretary), etc. Dr. Maltbie has written frequently upon municipal and economic topics, and is now editing a series of books upon municipal problems for the Macmillan Company.

WILLIAM J. CLARK is foreign manager of the General Electric Company, New York City. He served from 1879 to 1887 as postmaster at Birmingham, Conn., during which time he was frequently called upon by the Post Office Department to act as Post Office inspector. In this capacity he made many important investigations, among them the Star Route frauds, frauds in the Brooklyn Post Office, the famous mail robbery of the Chicago and St. Louis Post Office route in 1886,



THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE OF THE COMMISSION ON PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION.

1. W. D. Mahon
2. Prof. John R. Commons
3. J. W. Sullivan
4. Walton Clark
5. Daniel J. Keefe
6. Walter L. Fisher
7. Melville E. Ingalls (Chairman)

8. Prof. Frank J. Goodnow
9. Edward A. Moffett (Secretary)
10. Dr. Albert Shaw (Vice-Chairman)
11. Edward W. Bemis
12. Milo R. Maltbie
13. Charles L. Edgar
14. H. B. F. Macfarland

15. W. J. Clark
16. Timothy Healy
17. Dr. Talcott Williams
18. F. J. McNulty
19. Prof. John H. Gray
20. Prof. Frank Parsons
21. Albert E. Winchester

the Jersey City Post Office burglary, and a number of other cases of a similar character. In 1886 Mr. Clark began his street railway career by securing a charter to build a street railway connecting Ansonia, Derby and Birmingham, Conn. The following year he contracted with the Vandepoel Electric Company for the equipment of this line, the first of its kind in New England. This enterprise suggested the reorganization of the Vandepoel Company, and negotiations were conducted, culminating in the sale of the Vandepoel patents to the Thomson-Houston Company. Mr. Clark became connected with this concern in 1888 as general agent of the railway department. He remained in this position until the General Electric Company was formed by the consolidation of the Thomson-Houston and Edison General Electric Companies in 1892, subsequently becoming general manager of the railway department. Later he became general manager of the foreign department, which position he now holds. In the early nineties he effected a reorganization of the British Thomson-Houston Company. He held the title of managing director of this company until the completion of his work, when he returned to the United States. During the present year he has been appointed manager of the General Electric Company's traction department, the recent organization of which has been under his supervision. Mr. Clark was appointed United States Government delegate to the International Railway Congress held at Washington in May, 1905. He is president of the Perforated Music Roll Company of New York and a director in several important concerns. Mr. Clark is also the author of several books, including "Commercial Cuba," published in 1898.

F. J. McNULTY is president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with headquarters at Washington, D. C.

FRANK PARSONS is president of the National Public Ownership League, Boston, Mass. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1873; later stud-

ied law and was admitted to the bar in Boston. In 1892 he was appointed lecturer on law at Boston University. From 1897 to 1900 he was professor of history and political science at the Kansas Agricultural College, and in 1900 became professor of political science at Ruskin College, Trenton, Mo. He has also been dean of the university extension department there, and has lectured for the University Extension Association of Chicago. In 1901-2 Professor Parsons was an expert witness before the United States Industrial Commission on the public ownership of railroads, telephones and telegraph. Professor Parsons has made a special study of railway systems and co-operative institutions throughout Europe and America. His publications include: "The World's Best Books," "Our Country's Need," "The Drift of Our Time," "Rational Money," "The New Political Economy," "The Power of the Ideal," "The City for the People," "Direct Legislation," "The Bondage of Cities," "The Story of New Zealand," etc. He is an earnest advocate of the public ownership of monopolies.

ALBERT E. WINCHESTER is general superintendent of the electric works of the city of South Norwalk, Conn.

EDWARD WEBSTER BEMIS, superintendent of the Cleveland, O., waterworks, graduated from Amherst College in 1880; was a pioneer lecturer in the University Extension System, 1887-8; professor of economics and history, Vanderbilt University, 1889-92; associate professor of economics, University of Chicago, 1892-5, and statistician of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1897 he became professor of economic science in the Kansas State Agricultural College and later director of the department of municipal monopolies of the Bureau of Economic Research, New York. His published works comprise: "History of Co-operation in the United States," "Municipal Ownership of Gas Works in the United States," "Municipal Monopolies," "Local Government for the South and Southwest," and

numerous papers and articles on municipal government, monopolies, etc.

JOHN HENRY GRAY has been professor of political and social science in Northwestern University since 1892. He was educated in the public schools at the Illinois State Normal University, was graduated from Harvard University in 1887 and in 1892 received the degree of Ph.D. from Halle University, Germany. Studied also at Paris, Vienna and Berlin. Professor Gray was instructor in political economy at Harvard in 1887-9; chairman of the World Congress Auxiliary on political science in connection with the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893; chairman of the Municipal Commission of the Civic Federation of Chicago, 1894-6; vice-president of the American Economic Association; expert agent of the United States Department of Labor, 1902-3, to investigate restrictions of output in Great Britain; in 1902 represented United States Commissioner of Labor at International Co-operative Congress, Manchester, England, the United States at International Congress on insurance of laboring men, Vusseldorf, Germany, and at International Congress of Commerce and Industry, Ostend, Belgium. Professor Gray is the author of many papers in economic publications, especially in reference to gas supplies.

EDWARD A. MOFFETT, secretary to the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation, has been identified with the labor movement in the United States through membership in the Bricklayers' and Masons' Union of America, and for a number of years has been editor of the union's official journal, the *Bricklayer and Mason*. He was one of the two experts in welfare work furnished to the Isthmian Canal Commission by the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation to investigate the needs and opportunities on the Isthmus of Panama, and to make recommendations for the recreation of the workers engaged in canal construction, as well as to arrange to have carried into effect the plans adopted.

THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.

SIGNIFICANCE OF ITS RECENT CONVENTION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEMS UPON WHICH ACTION WAS TAKEN.

BY HELEN VARICK BOSWELL.

THE General Federation of Women's Clubs recently in convention at St. Paul is a strong organization. It holds in its membership women belonging to every profession and calling; it represents the brains and the hearts of America's womanhood. The Secretary of the Federation in her report very pertinently asked: "Is there anything in reason that 800,000 earnest and persistent women could not accomplish in the United States, if they set about it with determination?"

It is precisely because they are beginning to unify and use concerted action upon certain measures that the public is taking notice of so mighty a force, that public men have to reckon with it, and that legislators are waking up to the fact that they want this power with them and not against them. It is very obvious that many Senators and Congressmen are keeping tab on what the Federation women are doing. The President of the United States sent the Convention a telegram relative to one of its pet measures—the preservation of Niagara Falls—in which he says: "I cordially agree with your hope for the immediate passage of the bill, and trust that the clubs will do all in their power to secure favorable action thereon by Congress."

The Convention took action, vigorous and immediate action, on the Purc Food Bill, telegraphing many Senators and Congressmen, of whom the members were constituents, that the Convention desired the votes of their representatives in favor of the bill. Many telegrams in reply were received, pledging the votes of those same representatives. It is doubtless a matter of much gratification to the women that several of the measures so strenuously advocated by them have become law. Other measures, which hold over until next session because of stress of business in the closing hours of Congress, will be pushed vigorously by the clubs belonging to the General Federation, which proposes to neither slumber nor sleep until every effort has been made to accomplish what it has pledged itself to do.

In addition to the stand on legislative matters already mentioned, the Convention put itself on record as favoring the eight-hour day for women workers, and pledged its efforts to obtain State laws to that end, as well as to work for Civil Service Reform.

The General Federation stands for much that is good. It is naturally a force in moulding public opinion, and has strong influence in crystallizing that public opinion into legislative action. There are times when perhaps, in the language of the politician, it may be "viewed

with alarm" as well as "pointed at with pride" because now and then the conservative element does not bestir itself enough and the very radical element, always ready to be incendiary when occasion offers, gets too strong a hold.

The recent Convention, however, showed that the conservatives are really the large majority, for some rather lurid utterances made by certain members during

of the officers and members are well known parliamentarians—but as one little woman said, "parliamentary law is only the application of the excellent common sense of certain men—let women apply theirs in their own convention."

There can be no gathering of such a large number of delegates without some differences of views on certain questions. Such differences arose, but were so well handled as scarcely to cause a ripple in the Convention proper. The fine work was all done outside.

The thing that stirred the delegates above all else was the question of woman suffrage—should or should it not be allowed to come before the Convention? Several weeks prior to the meeting the industrial advisory committee had sent out to the various clubs a copy of resolutions the adoption of which would practically commit the General Federation to the cause of women's suffrage, a question which the president, Mrs. Decker, has personally pledged herself not to allow presented to the Convention.

Although Colorado (Mrs. Decker's State) is a suffrage State and her State constituency is altogether in favor of woman suffrage, it is a tribute of loyalty to Mrs. Decker and to the Federation that the Colorado women stood just as firm for the prevention of a suffrage discussion upon the floor as did the women of New York and other Eastern and Southern States. All felt that it would hurt Mrs. Decker and might disrupt the harmony of the Federation, and in spite of some misguided efforts on the part of too zealous suffragists, the matter was so well handled that it never had a chance on the Convention floor. Mrs. Decker was unanimously renominated and re-elected, and no woman ever continued in office who held more completely the organization in her hand. Two years of her rule had but whetted the appetite of her great constituency for more.

No woman could hail from Colorado and not have the political instinct, and Mrs. Decker is a true daughter of her State. Her political insight is keen and discriminating. She knows public questions; she knows the relation which her organization can and should sustain to those questions, and is watchful lest it should take an untenable position, led on perhaps by an excess of zeal for the public good which sometimes destroys more than it creates. It is Mrs. Decker's desire that unity and harmony shall prevail in the General Federation of Women's Clubs—the greatest organization of women's interests in the world.



SARAH S. PLATT DECKER,
President of The Federation of Women's Clubs.

the conferences on industrial questions were not received with favor, but frowned upon, and the women wanted facts, not imaginative instances.

The Convention compared favorably with any great convention of political parties, and about as much politics is played—in a feminine way of course, and perhaps depending as much on plain common sense and feminine intuition as on parliamentary law, though many

THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT ORGANIZED FOR WORK.

PROMINENT REPRESENTATIVES FROM ALL CLASSES AND SECTIONS ACCEPT MEMBERSHIP ON ITS COMMITTEES.

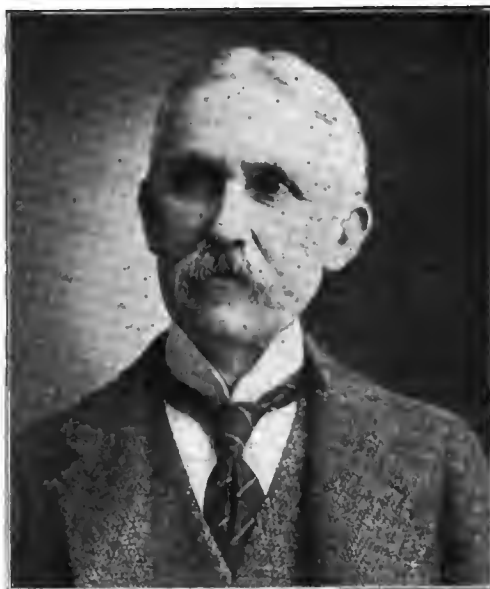
WHEN the National Conference on Immigration called by The National Civic Federation met in New York City last December, it was the first time in the history of the country that general attention was concentrated upon the problem of immigration. Since then the subject has been brought nearer to the people in innumerable discussions on lecture platforms, in the press and before Congress, so that to-day its growing importance to the welfare of the nation is being pressed home to the citizen. For in this development of various phases of the subject the nation is beginning to realize the meaning and true significance of the immigration problem.

Some idea as to the magnitude of this problem was presented at the National Conference on Immigration by the various speakers. It is reflected in the scope and extent of the subjects there discussed. So numerous were these subjects that it is possible here to indicate only a few of them. They include the character of immigration, assimilation of the immigrant into American national life, the necessity for further restriction, the administration of immigration laws, the distribution of aliens, the demand for immigrants, the effect of immigration upon our industrial, political and broad social life; the part played by the steamship companies, the causes of European immigration, European inspection and examination, proportion of immigrants which become criminal, insane and charitable dependents; effects of immigration upon the native birth-rate, naturalization, the selection of immigrants, Asiatic immigration, etc., etc. This enumeration but faintly indicates the far-reaching ramifications of the innumerable phases of the immigration problem, but at the same time it helps to emphasize the reasons which induced the five hundred delegates in attendance upon the National Conference on Immigration to recommend to The National Civic Federation the formation of a Department of Immigration.

It is in carrying out the formally expressed request of the National Conference, which represented all the States and numerous diversified organizations, that the Federation has established such a department. Its purpose is to undertake a thorough and painstaking investigation of the facts in regard to immigration to the United States. Those who have identified themselves with this very important work as members of the department comprise men prominent in the various walks of life in all States and sections of the country.

The meeting for the organization of the Department was held at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, on Friday morning, June 29, and was attended by some fifty members from all parts of the country. Mr. Ralph M. Easley, Chairman of the Executive Council of The National Civic Federation, called the meeting to order and expressed its objects, which were to pass upon the report of the Sub-Committee on Plan and Scope, and to select the officers and committees. Ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner, of New York, presided and Rev. Dr. Joel S. Ives, of Hartford, Conn., acted as Secretary.

Dr. Leander T. Chamberlain, of New York, as Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Plan and Scope, presented the report of that body. A preliminary report had previously been communicated by mail to all the members of the Department, and some of the suggestions which had come from them were embodied in the Committee's report at the meeting. In presenting the report of this Committee, Dr. Chamberlain reviewed briefly the order of events preceding the meeting of June 29, stating that the Chairman of the Executive Council of The National Civic Federation, acting under instructions of the Federation, had called an informal meeting of the members of the Immigration Department living in the vicinity of New York City for May 4 at the Park Avenue Hotel. Thirty-two members were present, and a sub-committee was appointed to put into proper form certain suggestions concerning the different subjects to be considered by the Department. On May 24 the results of the Committee's work were communicated to all the members of the Department. It was also recommended that the Department meet in New York on some date between June 15 and July 1, and all members were requested to express their views with regard to the recommendations of the Committee. Not far from seventy letters were received in reply. The subjects for the various committees recommended by the sub-committee were cordially approved in these letters, and the date most favored for the general meeting of the department was found to be June 29. Accordingly on June 14 the Chairman of the Executive Council called a meeting for June 29 at 10:30 a. m., at the Park Avenue Hotel. On June 20 the sub-committee sent out its second circular letter reminding all members of the importance of the action to be taken at the meeting of June 29, and soliciting suggestions from those unable to attend, especially suggestions as to the committee on which any



FRANKLIN MACVEAGH, Chairman

member would prefer to serve. To this letter not far from fifty replies were received and the suggestions therein were carefully noted and tabulated.

Dr. Chamberlain next read the concrete results of the sub-committee's labors. The committees provided for in the report are as follows:

Committee on Basic Statistics of Immigration.—While no hard and fast limits can be prescribed for the province of this Committee, it is desired that its verified and rightly tabulated statements shall certainly include those statistical facts which are most important in themselves and most significant as basis of inference. If this Committee succeeds in doing its main work promptly, it may be able to supply to other Committees such information as will greatly aid them.

Committee on the Facts of Supply and Demand.—It is suggested that this Committee set itself primarily to showing the actual relation of immigration to the country's needs, not only as to quantity and quality of supply, but also as to localities to be supplied. Its province will include the facts concerning the sources of immigration, and the distribution of the immigrants. The investigation may well embrace both the past and the present.

Committee on Legislation and Its Enforcement.—As in the case of the Committee on immigration statistics, and on supply and demand, the Committee on Legislation and Its Enforcement will aim to ascertain and present indisputable facts. While expressions of opinion in the form of conclusions are not debarred, the great desideratum is verified, comparable facts. What further is needed in the way of legislation and administrative methods can best be inferred from such premises.

Committee on Naturalization.—The province of this committee includes the history of naturalization in the United States, the legislation which has been passed by the Congress and by the several States and the actual results which have ensued, together with an investigation of the evasions and abuses which have prevented results far more favorable.

Committee on Agencies for Advancing the Welfare of Immigrants.—The primary aim of this Committee also will be statistical—the enumeration and description of all such ameliorating agencies, with the outline of what they have accomplished, are now accomplishing, or are failing to accomplish. Here, too, the exact facts will furnish the best basis for an understanding of what remains to be done. It will be competent for the Committee to investigate agencies which profess to be for the welfare of immigrants, but in reality are shameful frauds.

The International Relations of Immigration.—This Committee will consider whatever action has been taken by other countries with reference to the emigration of their people, and will also consider whether there may not be such international agreements between this and other countries as shall promote the best interests of both the nations affected.

Committee on Oriental Immigration.—On no subject is there more need of verified statistics and authentic facts. This Committee will naturally have to deal with the history of Oriental immigration leading up to the Chinese Exclusion Act, and the effects of the same.

Committee on Finance.—Although the labor of the various Committees is gratuitous, there will still be con-

siderable expense connected with the gathering and publication of the desired information. An adequate fund should be provided.

The officers elected by the Department are as follows: Chairman, FRANKLIN MACVEAGH of Chicago.

Vice-Chairmen, Dr. LEANDER T. CHAMBERLAIN of New York, President of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States.

N. J. BACHELDER of Concord, N. H., Master of the National Grange.

DANIEL J. KEEFE of Detroit, President of the Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association.

THOMAS F. PARKER of Greenville, S. C., President of the Southern Immigration Society.

THEODORE B. WILCOX of Portland, Oregon, former President of the Trans-Mississippi Congress.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE, of Santa Fe, N. M., President of the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Secretary, Dr. FRANK JULIAN WARNE of Philadelphia.

Treasurer, ISAAC N. SELIGMAN of New York.

It was also provided that there should be a State Vice-Chairman from every State, Territory, and the District of Columbia, to be selected by the Executive Committee. This Executive Committee consists of the following members:

Executive Committee.

JOHN H. HOLLIDAY, President Union Trust Company, Indianapolis.

JAMES B. ANGELL, LL.D., President University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

CHARLES RIDGELY, Vice-President Ridgely National Bank, Springfield, Ill.

Dr. ALBERT SHAW, Editor *Review of Reviews*, New York.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

JOHN M. STAHL, President Farmers' National Congress, Chicago.

SAMUEL MATHER, of Pickands, Mather and Company, Cleveland.

R. A. MITCHELL, Agent of the Dwight Manufacturing Company, Alabama City, Ala.

G. GUNBY JORDAN, President Eagle and Phenix Mills, Columbus, Ga.

Prof. HENRY C. ADAMS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

JAMES R. MACCOLL, Lorraine Manufacturing Company of Pawtucket, R. I.

Rev. JOEL S. IVES, Secretary Missionary Society of Connecticut, Hartford.

JOHN DEWITT WARNER, Attorney, New York City.

TERRENCE V. POWDERLY, ex-Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C.

HON. JESSE TAYLOR, Jr., Member National Council of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, Jamestown, O.

C. T. PLUNKETT, Secretary Berkshire Cotton Manufacturing Company, Adams, Mass.

Hon. JOHN W. NOBLE, ex-Secretary of the Interior, St. Louis.

Hon. CHARLES A. SCHIEREN, ex-Mayor of Brooklyn.

WARREN S. STONE, Grand Chief Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Cleveland.

THEODORE MARBURG, Baltimore.

JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS, Washington.

P. H. MORRISSEY, Grand Master Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland.

Prof. J. W. JENKS, Department of Political Economy Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

F. D. COBURN, Secretary of Agriculture, Topeka, Kansas.

NATHAN BIJUR, Attorney, New York City.

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The membership of the various committees, as reported by the Committee on Nominations and accepted by the meeting, follows:

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NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER AT ITS HEAD—LEADERS OF THOUGHT AND ACTION ARE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

PRESIDENT BUTLER of Columbia University has been chosen by the Executive Council of The National Civic Federation to head the Department of Industrial Economics. Mr. D. L. Cease, Editor of the *Railroad Trainmen's Journal*, is its Secretary. In addition to these officers there is a general executive committee consisting of leading representatives of the large universities, of the bar, the church, capital, labor, the general public and well-known editors of the daily press and of the principal monthly periodicals and reviews. This executive committee consists of the following:

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, *The Outlook*, New York City.
C. L. BAINE, Editor *Shoe Workers' Journal*, Boston.
SAMUEL BOWLES, *Springfield Republican*, Springfield, Mass.
LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, Boston.
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CLARK HOWELL, Editor *Atlanta Constitution*, Atlanta, Ga.
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BRADFORD MERRILL, Editorial Staff *New York World*.
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ROLAND PHILLIPS, New York City.
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SERENO S. PRATT, Editor *Wall Street Journal*, New York City.
EDWARD ROSEWATER, Editor *The Bee*, Omaha, Neb.
S. M. SEXTON, Editor *United Mine Workers' Journal*, Indianapolis.
Dr. ALBERT SHAW, Editor *Review of Reviews*, New York City.
JAMES SPEYER, New York City.
Prof. F. W. TAUSSIG, Department Political Economy, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, President University of California.
TALCOTT WILLIAMS, *Philadelphia Press*.
CARROLL D. WRIGHT, President Clark College, Worcester, Mass.
O. R. YOUNG, Editor *International Steam Engineer*, New York City.

The program and scope of the work for the Department is to be outlined by a sub-committee consisting of Nicholas Murray Butler as Chairman; D. L. Cease as Secretary; Dr. Albert Shaw, James Speyer, Eugene A. Philbin, Dr. J. M. Buckley, Talcott Williams, Prof. Henry W. Farnam, S. M. Sexton, S. S. Pratt, V. Everit Macy, John Greene, and J. W. Sullivan.

The breadth of view and impartiality with which the Department is to approach its investigation of the broad field before it is reflected in the notable address delivered by President Butler, the head of the new Department, at the recent commencement exercises of Columbia University. President Butler said:

"A spirit of unrest is abroad, not only in our own land, but in other lands as well. So far as this un-



NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, Chairman

rest has an intellectual foundation, it appears to be the conviction that the eighteenth century formulas and axioms upon which our social and political fabric is so largely built do not work as they were expected to work. So far as this unrest has an economic foundation, it appears to be dissatisfaction with actual and possible rewards for industry. So far as it has a political foundation, it appears to be a perception of easily demonstrated inequalities of power and influence and of an equally easily demonstrated inequality of benefits from Governmental policies.

"That this unrest has been and is being used by ambitious men for their own selfish ends and for gain by journalistic builders of emotional bonfires is certainly true; but it will not do to dismiss this spirit of unrest with a sneer on that account.

"It has passed far beyond the bounds of the dreamers and visionaries, the violent-minded and the naturally destructive. Men accustomed to honest reflections and themselves possessed of property, always the sheet anchor of conservatism, have come under its influence. Policies that not long ago were dismissed as too ex-



D. L. CEASE, Secretary

treme for serious discussion are now soberly examined with reference to their immediate practicability. What has brought about this change?

"An answer is not far to seek. An increasing number of men have come to distrust the capacity of society as now organized to protect itself against the freebooters who exist in it. An increasing number of men believe and assert that law and justice are powerless before greed and cunning, and they are the more ready to listen to advocacy of any measure or policy, however novel or revolutionary, that promises relief. Their imaginations, too, cannot help being affected by the appalling sight, so often called to our attention of late, of that moral morgue wherein are exposed the shriv-

eled souls and ruined reputations of those who have lost in the never-ending struggle between selfishness and service that goes on in the human breast.

"The first duty of the trained and educated mind when it faces conditions such as these and must take a definite and responsible attitude toward them, is not to lose its balance, its poise, its self-control. It is worth while to look back at the majestic figure of Lincoln, crowned now with immortality's laurel, tranquil amid far angrier seas than ours.

"Not much is to be gained by passionate denunciation of principles and men, if there is no clear perception of where the difficulty lies and of what it is that is to be remedied. A first step, then, is an analysis of the conditions complained of and their genesis. I lay particular emphasis upon their genesis, for most re-builders of society are singularly neglectful of history. Their lip service of evolution does not often carry them to the point of considering our present institutions—social, economic, political—as evolved, and, therefore, as having the weight of years of human experience behind them.

"Looking back over a thousand years or more, it is plain that civilized man has traveled far. An examination of his progress will show, I think, that it rests mainly upon three principles, gradually evolved and erected into institutions: Civil and industrial liberty, private property, and the inviolability of contract. Upon these as a cornerstone rests what we know to-day as civilized human society. That our society has its evils, terrible and dangerous, cannot be denied. That greed for gain holds an appalling number of men in its grasp and that the moral tone of large business undertakings is painfully low are only too evident. But it is quite too rash a conclusion to infer that society must be destroyed and its cornerstone displaced before those evils can be remedied. It may be true—and I think it is—that the difficulty is not so much with the tried and tested principles upon which society rests as with the honesty and intelligence with which those principles are worked. The abounding prosperity of our country with its untold opportunities for material success, the loosening of the hold of some of the old religious and ethical sanctions of conduct, and the weakening of parental control and discipline, have united to place upon American character a burden which in too many instances it has not been able to bear."

The same general topic was touched upon in the address delivered by President Butler to the students of Columbia University at the opening of the last college year. He said:

"Just now the American people are receiving some painful lessons in practical ethics. They are having brought home to them with severe emphasis the distinction between character and reputation. A man's true character, it abundantly appears, may be quite in conflict with his reputation, which is the public estimate of him. Of late we have been watching reputations melt away like snow before the sun; and the sun in this case is mere publicity. Men who for years have been trusted implicitly by their fellows and so placed in positions of honor and grave responsibility are seen to be mere reckless speculators with the money of others and petty pilferers of the savings of the poor and needy. With all this shameful story spread before us, it takes some courage to follow Emerson's advice not to bark against the bad, but rather to chant the beauty of the good.

"Put bluntly, the situation which confronts Americans to-day is due to lack of moral principle. New statutes may be needed, but statutes will not put moral principle where it does not exist. The greed for gain and the greed for power have blinded men to the time-old distinction between right and wrong. Both among business men and at the bar are to be found advisors, counted shrewd and successful, who have substituted the penal code for the moral law as the standard of conduct. Right and wrong have given way to the subtler distinction between legal, not-illegal and illegal; or better, perhaps, between honest, law-honest and dishonest. This new triumph of mind over morals is bad enough in itself; but when in addition its exponents secure material gain and professional prosperity, it becomes a menace to our integrity as a people."

It will be the effort of the Department by means of national conferences and through careful and impartial investigations to throw light on some of the important present-day problems—social, political, and industrial—by giving to the public a sane and unbiased statement of actual conditions. It is believed that such a plan, by presenting the opinions and experiences of authorities and experts on all sides of the problems to be considered, will go far to enlighten public opinion and to assist in arriving at a decision based upon the merits of each case rather than upon *ex parte* argument or presentation. A definite program on plan and scope will be announced later.

THE TRADE AGREEMENT IN FIVE GREAT INDUSTRIES.

ITS PRESENT STATUS IN THE COAL FIELDS, ON THE GREAT LAKES, IN THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY, ON STREET RAILWAYS, AND IN THE FALL RIVER COTTON MILLS.

SOME indication of the value of the trade agreement is shown by recent developments in five important industries of the country—in the coal fields, in the iron and steel industry, on street railways, in the various occupations along the Great Lakes, and among employers and employees of the Fall River cotton mills. These recent events would seem to strengthen the belief of students of industrial conditions that the trade agreement is the only practical present-day method for averting industrial wars. It is true, of course, that the trade agreement machinery is by no means perfect, but it is the only rational method which human ingenuity has devised for regulating the relations between employers and employees. While the progress of events may at some future day bring forth something better, the present hope of the nation for working out some kind of harmonious relations between labor and capital must depend upon this trade agreement machinery.

One of the most important events of recent years tending to emphasize the great value of this conference method of settling differences between capital and labor is the outcome of the negotiations between the anthracite mine workers and the hard coal operators following the termination of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission. This award was made in 1903 after a five months' investigation of the general labor conditions in the three fields and following the memorable strike of 1902. It was to continue for a period of three years and this expired on March 31 last. Several months previous to its expiration the mine workers and operators held several conferences with the object of arranging some mutually satisfactory basis for a continuance of their working relations. No agreement was reached, however, before the expiration of the Commission's award, and, in consequence, the officials of the United Mine Workers of America ordered a temporary suspension of work in the hard coal fields. This suspension was brought to a close by an agreement entered into in New York City on May 6 between the representatives of employers and employees in the hard coal industry.

This agreement provides for a continuance until March 31, 1909, of the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission of 1902 and of any action which has since been taken pursuant thereto either by the Board of Conciliation, which the award created, or otherwise. The Board of Conciliation is continued with three operators and three mine workers as members, and with provision for an umpire in case of a disagreement among the members. Work was resumed in the three hard coal fields on Thursday, May 10, after a suspension continuing through forty days.

As to the trade agreement in the soft coal fields, it will be recalled that for several months preceding March 31 two meetings were held of the Interstate Joint Conference of the central competitive territory, including western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and that they finally adjourned the latter part of March without employers and employees in this industry being able to enter into a working agreement for the scale year following April 1. Prior to the adjourn-

ment of the last session of the convention leading operators of the western Pennsylvania district consented to grant the compromise wage increase demanded of the union officials and, in consequence, for the first time since 1898, a separate agreement without the sanction of the Interstate Joint Conference was entered into in that district. Since then officials of the United Mine Workers of America and representatives of the various operators' associations in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois have been carrying on numerous conferences in each State

the four States of the central competitive soft coal fields (western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois), and the States in the Southwest territory, which latter comprise Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Texas. In all the States approximately 200,000 mine workers have been idle the greater part of the time since April 1.

Advocates of the trade agreement method of agreeing upon wages and conditions of employment were very much discouraged when it was finally announced

last March that the Interstate Joint Conference of the middle western coal States had failed in its operation for the first time within the past eight years. So determined was the opposition of some of the operators to a renewal of an agreement which carried with it a wage increase that it all along appeared extremely doubtful if a satisfactory restoration of the principle could be effected. Throughout all the subsequent negotiations and uncertainty, however, the diplomacy of President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers has been a potent factor in keeping intact at least the district agreement. Not only has he been confronted with the determined opposition of certain groups of the employing class, but he has had to face internal dissension within his own ranks. That he has succeeded in carrying his organization through what undoubtedly has been a most critical period in its existence, the trade agreement principle, without losing irretrievably is another tribute to his proved able leadership.

This successful outcome of negotiations between the officials of the miners' union and the operators of the different coal producing States in renewing the district agreement may be regarded as a forecast of an early restoration of the Interstate Joint Conference in both the central competitive and the Southwest territory. So valuable has been this joint conference machinery to the uninterrupted prosperity of the coal interests of the country for the past eight years that it is to be hoped it will again become a potent factor in the future relations between employers and employees in this great industry.

President W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railways of America, is another labor leader who has recently demonstrated the efficiency of the trade agreement in settling issues between employers and employees. During the past several

months he has signed for his organization articles of agreement with the Old Colony Street Railway Company, the Boston and Northern Street Railway Company, and the Scranton Railway Company. Each of these agreements provides in substance that the employing company, through its proper officers, shall treat, when occasion therefor may arise, with those of their employees in their collective capacity who may for the time being be members of said association through the properly accredited officers and the committees of said several divisions, and the officers of the Amalgamated Association. The contracts also cover such questions as wages, hours of employment, suspensions, discharges, extra pay for overtime, free transportation for employees, arbitration of differences between officers of the company and its employees, and like general con-



JOHN MITCHELL



W. D. MAHON



P. J. MCARDLE



JAMES TANSEY

for the purpose of renewing the district agreement. In all of these States the mine workers have made concessions as to the conditions of employment, and the operators have restored the wage scale of 1903, which latter carries with it an increase of about five and one-half per cent in wages over those paid the past two years. This, in general, is the agreement signed by western Pennsylvania operators, and such provisions have now been adopted in the agreements signed in the other coal producing States excepting parts of Ohio and the central Pennsylvania district, where the suspension at this writing continues. Thus the officials of the United Mine Workers of America have practically brought to a termination the suspension of coal mining inaugurated in twelve of the coal producing States of the country on April 1, including

ditions of employment. An interesting clause in the contract of the Old Colony Street Railway Company provides as follows:

That the company will do nothing to prevent or discharge any employe from becoming or continuing to be a member of said association, and shall in no way discriminate against a member thereof because of such membership; and that said association shall not discriminate against any person in the employ of said company because of his refusal to join said association or to continue a member thereof; but if any member of said association is expelled or suspended from his membership for a violation of any of the provisions of this agreement, the company, being satisfied that said expulsion or suspension was for such reason and was justifiable, shall dismiss said employe from its service.

The agreement with the Old Colony Railway Company is for a period of four years from and after the first day of October, 1906, with provision as to a consideration and revision of the wage schedule at stated intervals. The agreement with the Boston and Northern Street Railway, which began on June 1, 1906, is also for a period of four years.

A significant feature of the agreement between the Amalgamated Association and the Scranton Railway Company is that it has been made to cover a period of ten years, its date of expiration being April, 1916, and "during that time there shall be no strike or lock-out, provided, however, that on the first day of April, 1909, and on the first day of April, 1912, the question of wages and any other grievances which may be in contention shall be taken up for adjustment." The Amalgamated Association has also recently signed agreements with street railway corporations in East St. Louis, Detroit, Oakland (California), and on both elevated and surface lines of Chicago.

Following a settlement of the strike inaugurated on the Great Lakes May 1 by the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association for the purpose of securing recognition for the Mates' Union, President Daniel J. Keefe of the Longshoremen's organization has succeeded in entering into agreements with the Dock Managers' Association covering wages and conditions of employment for the ensuing year. The agreement is practically a renewal of last year's wages and conditions. A significant feature of the Longshoremen's agreement with their employers is that it is not subject to ratification by a referendum of its members, it being entered into by representatives of the union who possess full power without restriction. Usually the subjects of the agreement are referred to committees of the union, representatives of the latter themselves presenting to these committees the employers' side of the case. The acceptance of the agreement is by unanimous vote based upon the previous ascertained will of a majority, the rule of the majority thus being made binding upon all members of the Association. Any matter not covered by the agreement as well as disputes as to the construction of the contract are subject to arbitration.

It is, perhaps, true to say that the Longshoremen's Association covers more territory and as many, if not more, different occupations than any other labor organization in the world. While its agreement with employers is uniform, it comprises not less than thirty-nine divisions of trade. This association was organized in 1882, and since 1895, according to its officials, the wage scale of its members has been advanced an average of sixty per cent. The organization includes tugboat captains, engineers, firemen, marine firemen, oilers, water tenders, divers, longshoremen, lumber inspectors, elevator employes, tally men, grain inspectors and others, the wages of individuals of these different classes ranging from about \$2 to as high as \$15 a day. This is one of the labor organizations whose trade agreement machinery has worked successfully through a period of wage reduction, the decrease having been accepted in the 1903 joint conference.

One of the many interesting phases of the operation of the trade agreement within this organization is that every member of the union is furnished with and carries in his pocket a copy of the contract entered into by his representatives.

A renewal of the agreement between the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Plate Workers and the Western Bar Iron Association has been effected by President P. J. McArdle and representatives of the employers in a wage conference held at Detroit in June. The scale for the past year was practically renewed, there being but few slight changes, the employers refusing the twenty-five cent increase in wages to puddlers which was voted by the Cincinnati convention of the Amalgamated Association. The slight changes made were in regard to working conditions and customs rather than changes in the wages. The new scale became effective July 1, and attached to it is the continuous working clause. The firms composing the Western Bar Iron Association include such companies as the Shenango Iron and Steel Company, Union Rolling Mill Company, Empire Rolling Mill Company, American Car and Foundry Company, Lake Erie Iron Company, Helmbader Forge and Rolling Mill Companies, Ohio Falls Iron Company, American Roll-

ing Mill Corporation, Vincennes Iron and Steel Company, Highland Iron and Steel Company, Fort Wayne Iron and Steel Company, Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and the Interstate Iron and Steel Company.

The Republic Iron and Steel Company, all of whose mills are union plants, was not represented at the Detroit conference and accordingly is not a party to the agreement entered into there, but at a conference with the officials of this company held at Pittsburg later by national representatives of the Amalgamated Association the provisions agreed to were practically those of the Detroit agreement.

President McArdle has also been successful in entering into an agreement for another year with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company, one of the subsidiary companies of the United States Steel Corporation, covering wages and conditions of employment for sheet and tin plate mills. The wages the past year are continued. At this writing conferences are being carried on between officials of the Amalgamated Association and representatives of the independent sheet and tin plate mills.

Another great industry of the country which illustrates the operation of the trade agreement principle is that of cotton manufacturing in New England. Through negotiations between representatives of the Fall River Manufacturers' Association and President Tansey and other officials of the Textile Council, the latter representing the employes, there has been a restoration of the 1904 wage scale. It will be recalled that in July of that year a reduction in wages of twelve and one-half per cent was made, which was followed by a disastrous six months' strike. Before restoring this wage reduction last month to become effective on July 2, the Manufacturers' Association offered to guarantee to the employes a weekly dividend of five per cent, but this proposition was rejected by the five unions. It provided that until more suitable conditions exist by the cutting of the new crop of cotton, the Manufacturers' Association, beginning June 18 and continuing until October 1, 1906, would guarantee a weekly dividend of not less than five per cent on the present wage, with a further guarantee that if the margin in any one week exceeded this five per cent increase, they would pay an additional dividend upon the same terms as in the agreement of October 30, 1905.

An interesting phase of the Fall River situation is that the sliding scale scheme for wage increases has been abolished, temporarily at least. This was introduced in this industry in October, 1905, with the design of preventing a strike, which it was successful in doing, and it was hoped at the time that the principle would work there as successfully as it has operated in the anthracite industry following the establishment of the sliding scale scheme by the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission in 1903. Whether the sliding scale has been abolished for all time in the textile industry, or merely suspended, will depend on future developments.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA—WHAT IT MEANS.

AMONG the contributions to the *New York World's* symposium on "Socialism in America—What it Means," published in the issue of that newspaper of May 8, is the following by the Editor of *The Review*, which contains a correction of the widely circulated statements attributed to the late Senator Hanna as to the dangers of Socialism:

To the Editor of *The World*:

I have received your circular letter asking for my opinion as to the meaning of Socialism in America and its relation to American institutions. I observe that it begins with the statement that six years ago Senator Hanna, then Chairman of the Republican National Committee, expressed the conviction that Socialism would be the chief political issue of 1912.

I am aware that this statement of Senator Hanna's, originally published in the Socialist papers, has been going the rounds of the press for a considerable time, notwithstanding the fact that it was often emphatically contradicted by him, and in spite of the fact that his opinion was exactly the reverse. In an interview in the *Chicago Times-Herald*, Dec. 2, 1900, Mr. Hanna, in reply to a question from a man in New York regarding the dangers of Socialism, answered:

I am not a bit afraid of Socialism, and will tell you why. There are two things that will prevent it. One is the American school system; the other is the Roman Catholic Church. That great Church is just as much against Socialism as the Protestant churches, as I happen to know, and in the last campaign appeals to class hatred were frowned upon by the highest dignitaries and most influential men of the Catholic organization. As long as this restraining force continues to operate you need have no fear of Socialism dominating America.

In addition to the anti-Socialist forces of the Church and the schools Senator Hanna also recognized the transcendent importance of the opposition of organized labor. The Socialists themselves recognize this and are exerting every effort to "capture" the trade unions or to "smash" them.

Mr. Jack London, President of the league organized for the purpose of teaching Socialism to the young men in the colleges, forcibly states this policy when he says:

The Socialists turn their energies on the trade-union movement. To win the trade unions is well-nigh to win the victory. Instead of antagonizing the unions, the Socialists proceed to conciliate the unions. "Let every good Socialist join the union of his trade! Bore from within and capture the trade-union movement." To-day the great labor unions are honeycombed with Socialists. At work and at play, at business meeting and at council, their insidious propaganda goes on. Night and day, tireless and unrelenting as a mortgage, they labor at their self-imposed task of undermining society.

This "boring-from-within" policy has been adopted by the Debs Socialists. The other branch of Socialists, known as the De Leonites, boldly undertake to "smash the unions" from without by open attacks, in which effort, strangely enough, they are warmly seconded by certain employers' organizations.

But what is more important than the purpose of the Socialists toward the unions is the attitude of the unions toward the Socialists. Out of 125 national organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, representing 2,000,000 wage-earners, it is safe to say that not over five are controlled by Socialists, and these are crafts of comparatively small membership. The great railway brotherhoods of engineers, firemen, trainmen, conductors, etc., are every one strongly anti-Socialist.

The "boring-from-within" faction made its biggest fight to capture the American Federation of Labor in Boston in 1903. On this occasion, at the close of a masterful speech, Samuel Gompers, President of the Federation, dealt Socialism this stinging blow:

I want to tell you Socialists that I have studied your philosophy; read your works upon economics, and not the meanest of them; studied your standard works, both in English and German—have not only read, but studied them. I have heard your orators and watched the work of your movement the world over. I have kept close watch upon your doctrines for thirty years; have been closely associated with many of you, and know how you think and what you propose. I know too what you have up your sleeve, and I want to say that I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I declare to you I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but with your philosophy. Economically you are unsound; socially you are wrong; industrially you are an impossibility.

A vote was then taken, resulting in 2,147 for Socialism and 11,282 against. In 1904, at the annual meeting in San Francisco, the Socialists' resolution was so overwhelmingly voted down that a poll was not demanded. In 1905, at Pittsburg, the "borers-from-within" did not even propose a vote.

The De Leonite Socialists have tried all kinds of plans to "smash-the-union" from without, the latest one being to organize an independent labor body to oppose the American Federation of Labor. Neither the De Leonite policy of "smashing-from-without" nor the Debsite policy of "boring-from-within" has had any appreciable influence on the American Federation of Labor.

It is easy to take election returns and make great claims of Socialistic strength. The Socialists well understand that Mr. Debs's vote of 400,000 was a personal, not a Socialist victory. For example, the single-taxers throughout the country, who have no more use for Socialism than they have for smallpox, voted for him. That this is well recognized by Socialists any reader of their papers can readily discover. They lament that the members of their party are less than 5 per cent of the voters, or less than 250,000. One paper has been calling the attention of the party to "the States where there was the greatest increase of the Debs vote," and urging the Socialists to do their utmost "to capture those who were just voting their first vote, in order to get them really into the party."

But what is more significant than Debs's 400,000 votes as bearing on the growth of Socialism is the result of the elections last fall and this spring. In six States which elected one or more State officers last fall the vote fell far below Debs's vote in 1904. Nebraska fell from 7,412 to 3,421; Ohio from 36,260 to 17,795; Pennsylvania from 21,863 to 10,390, etc.; while in Massachusetts, where two or three years ago there were a number of Socialist mayors, to-day there are none, and the Socialist vote is speedily growing less.

The cry of Socialism is "to help the workingman." From a poll made recently by one of the leading labor journals of the men who are doing the talking and writing for Socialism it was found that nine-tenths of them were newspaper writers and men in the professions. The great mass of workmen themselves recognize that under the regime of Socialism their "last state would be far worse than their first."

R. M. EASLEY.

New York, May 5.

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The Public Ownership Commission.

The spirit in which the investigation by the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation has been conceived and brought into existence by The National Civic Federation; the personnel of the Commission; the method of its selection; and the value to the public of the work the Commission has undertaken, were emphasized in the addresses at the banquet to the Commission's Committee on Investigation given by the New York City Federation on May 21. The Commission, as is well known, has taken up the consideration of public ownership and operation of public utilities in municipalities so far as it applies specifically to passenger transportation (whether by elevated, surface, or underground systems), and to the supply of water, gas and electricity. For this purpose it has invited men, competent as scientific experts of practical experience, and accountants to study the subject in all its phases, both in this country and in Europe.

"These men," said Hon. Oscar S. Straus at the dinner to the Investigating Committee, "are highly qualified by capacity and experience to make the investigation. Some of these men have large interests in and represent private ownership, and some of them are pronounced advocates of public ownership and public operation. All views of this question are fairly represented, so that the investigation will be from all sides, and in no case one-sided." As expressing the views of organized labor, Mr. Philip Kelly, of the Theatrical Protective Union, in his address, said: "I have the utmost confidence in the men who have been appointed on this Commission; they are capable, brilliant, fearless, and honest. I know the labor men on the Commission; they are good, straightforward men. The labor men of the country will know that the report our brothers on the Commission bring back will be worth our study and confidence. I believe that the attitude of organized labor toward municipal ownership will largely be determined by the report of the Investigating Committee."

The method of selecting the Commission was endorsed by many of the speakers, this thought being expressed as follows by Dr. Talcott Williams, of the Philadelphia Press: "I think this Committee has been selected with admirable judgment. In France a committee selected for such an investigation would necessarily have been drawn from the personnel of the existing party in power. A report from such a Commission would, in all probability, have been biased and colored to suit the wishes of the party in power. In Germany a royal commission would have made a report that would have been pleasing to the head of the nation. I submit that this Commission, in its method of appointment and investigation, has been better constituted than it would have been possible to constitute a similar committee in any other country."

As to the value of the investigation undertaken by the Commission, all the speakers at the banquet referred at greater or less length. Hon. W. J. Gaynor, of the New York Supreme Court, said: "This Federation is accomplishing a very great deal, and I deem it fortunate that it has now taken up the great subject of public service corporations, as to whether or not they shall be operated publicly or privately. I deem it fortunate, and nothing is more certain, than that the understanding which this Committee arrives at and that which will in time be the understanding of this Federation will ultimately become the understanding of the entire country." On the same point Dr. Albert Shaw, Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, said: "This Committee can bring back information that will be very useful. It will bring back information that will inspire a zeal for changing our conditions where changes are demanded, and for further study. * * * The men of this Commission are men of very high authority. The work they will do will be of great value to the country. The Civic Federation is to be highly congratulated on having secured their services. They are as competent a body of men as could be got together anywhere in this country. * * * There are a great many ways, direct and indirect, in which the work of this Committee is bound to be of great value, and I am sure its deliberation will result in untold good to our country."

The value of the work undertaken by the Commission was also emphasized by Hon. John DeWitt War-

ner in his letter to Secretary Archibald replying to the invitation to attend the dinner. Mr. Warner said: "I believe the Federation has taken no other step so important as that in which this Commission has been appointed; that it can do no greater service than fully to inform our people of the experience of others in this matter; and that the success with which it does this, and the acceptance by our people of its report as a clear and impartial view, is likely long to be its best hold on public confidence."

Whatever are to be the definite results of the labors of the Commission, *The Review* believes that the report which is to be made will take a place in the front rank among the powerful forces at work to determine ultimately the issue of this great national question.

Labor in Southern Cotton Mills.

Presented elsewhere in this issue is the report of the recent investigation made by Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, into the social and industrial conditions of employes of Southern cotton mills. The subjects covered are the conditions under which the operatives work, homes of employes, education of children, recreation, hours of work, and child labor.

The questions involved in the problem of child labor are presented in a most illuminating manner, the investigation revealing important phases of the subject not generally recognized. It shows that children are numerous in one of the three departments of the mills—the spinning room—but the testimony is refuted which pictures the majority of the employes as being emaciated children of five and six years. Elements contributing to child labor, as shown by Miss Beeks, are the desire of the parents, who previously employed their children upon the farms, to have them work in the mills; the extreme scarcity of labor; the difficulty of securing immigrants for the South, and the fact that in the cotton industry the individual wage is too low for the father to support the family by his labor alone. Conspicuous also among these elements must be included the absence of proper State methods of caring for orphans and paupers, and the lack of laws on compulsory education, birth registration, marriage license, and factory inspection, as well as the low age limit of the child labor laws of South Carolina and Alabama.

From the standpoint of Welfare Work, the well-lighted and well-ventilated mills afford comfortable work-places for the employes; and the employers also provide good homes at nominal rentals, recreation in a variety of forms, kindergartens and schools. In fact, their efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the employes demonstrate a realization of the moral obligation felt by the manufacturers, and credit should be accorded them not only for giving food and shelter and an industrial training to the illiterate whites of the South, but also for steadily raising, through their welfare work, the standard of citizenship.

Labors' Political Policy.

In a recent issue of the *Railway World* the statement is made, under the caption "Labor Leaders Differ About Politics," that President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, appeals to union men to take an active part in politics, while President Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America, says that to carry politics into the crafts would be to create discord and endanger the organization. The above is one illustration of the general misinterpretation which has been given to the political program of the American Federation of Labor as being the preliminary step to the launching of a national labor party. It is true the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are appealing to their followers to take an active part in politics, but not as members of a distinct and separate party. As we understand President Gompers's announcement at this stage of the movement, they intend first "to help their friends and punish their enemies" in every case where this is practicable. But in cases where they have only "a choice between enemies," if it is found expedient

they will nominate men of their own principles on independent, labor or some other ticket which will lend itself to their interests.

The political policy of the labor leaders is very similar to that of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, which has resulted in changing a notoriously bad city council to a fairly representative and decent body. The League only found it necessary to secure the nomination of independent candidates in a very few instances. The idea is a practicable one. It is as legitimate for organized labor to look after its interests as it is for organized employers or any other group interest to work for their own advantage. The National Manufacturers' Association, if one may judge from the literature with which its energetic secretary is bombarding the manufacturers of the country, is carrying on a political campaign along somewhat the same lines.

The Wage-cost of Miners' Suspension.

There are two general statements relative to the recent controversy in the bituminous and anthracite coal fields made by newspapers unfriendly to organized labor which are so palpably absurd that it hardly seems worth while to answer them. One is that the anthracite miners lost \$12,000,000 in wages by their recent forty days' suspension. This is not true, because it is well known that in anticipation of a strike so much coal had been mined (for which extra employment the mine workers were paid) that even if there had been no suspension there would have been a lack of employment throughout the summer months totalling at least the number of days covered by the shut-down.

The other point is that the suspension in the bituminous coal fields resulted in no benefit to the unions "because they only got a restoration of the 1903 scale." This statement is true but the implication is false. The wage increase was a gain and a very real gain. It meant so much in dollars and cents that the operators were willing to risk a fight rather than grant it. To say that an increase in wages averaging more than five cents per ton and amounting to millions of dollars in the aggregate is not a real gain is ridiculous. A comparison of the money cost to the mine worker of the actual time lost by the suspension with the 5.8 per cent wage increase for two years makes the former amount rather insignificant. What is even more to the point, the mine workers stand to hold the restored rate indefinitely, which at once adds to the importance of the gain.

The Federation's Immigration Department.

Among the dominant forces which have been at work in the upbuilding of the American Republic none stand forth to the present generation in a brighter halo than the resultant operation on these shores of European immigration. We believe this much is conceded by all thoughtful observers of American history. But in the rapid transformations which come about in the development of a nation it is also true that those forces which at one time worked to the nation's upbuilding may operate to the destruction of some of its most prized institutions. This apprehension is held by some as to the present-day effects of alien immigration to the United States and it is finding expression in various channels, conspicuously in newspapers, magazines, and books, and in the formation of organizations having for their expressed objects the further restriction of immigration. Three of these organizations—the Immigration Restriction League, the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, and the Junior Order United American Mechanics—are explained elsewhere in this issue. Naturally the basis of their operation is their respective interpretation of the effects of immigration.

The real effects of immigration on our industrial, political and broad social life are not easily to be ascertained. In no realm of human knowledge are the facts more elusive. But these facts are just what are absolutely necessary before there can be a correct understanding as to the right solution of such a grave problem. As long as there are disputes as to what are the facts as to immigration we cannot hope for the proper

direction on this subject of the energy and ability of those public spirited citizens who strive to find the right way to the advancement of the general welfare. A striking illustration of the widely varying interpretation of the facts relating to immigration to the United States, and that, too, on a point which, it would seem, should be beyond dispute, is at hand. It relates to the character of immigration. In a circular recently issued to members of the Junior Order United American Mechanics by the Dayton Council of that organization is contained the following:

Will we American citizens allow the Dago, the other riffraff of Southern Europe and the "Coolie" laborers who will work for a matter of nothing and live on the refuse of the cess-pool and the garbage-dump to replace American labor and take our earnings back to foreign lands, or assist more filth and vice to land on our shores? A large per cent. of immigration is made up of outcasts, criminals, anarchists, thieves and off-scourings of the earth, who are forced to leave their own land, and still are allowed to land upon American soil. Isn't it time that we begin to take measures to stop this inflow of foreign scum? Every true American, naturalized or native-born, regardless of nationality, partisan or sectarian affiliation, will answer, Yes!

In direct contrast with the above we have the following word picture from Immigration Commissioner Watchorn, of the Ellis Island immigration station at New York, which we reproduce from an interview in a recent issue of the *New York Times*:

We cannot have too much of the right kind of immigration; we cannot have too little of the wrong kind. We are seeing to it that we get the right kind—of that I am certain. Consequently I believe that increased immigration of the kind we are admitting to our shores makes for the National weal.

The prime cause of immigration is the letters foreigners in this country write to relatives and friends and to foreign newspapers. These letter writers have thrived, and they spread the news of their success abroad. The result is an influx of bright, ambitious men and women, the brawn and backbone of any country.

Aliens arriving through Ellis Island last year brought with them money aggregating \$938,660. Shake more than 800,000 Americans together and send them abroad, and I doubt if they would make as good, certainly no better, showing.

Of the 41,412 immigrants arriving here last January, 34,363 were between the ages of fourteen and forty-four years—formative years of youth and manhood; splendid years. Of the January total 5,272 were under fourteen years of age, and only 1,837 were over forty-four years of age. So what did we get, therefore? Was it not the youth and strength and vigor and ambition of foreign lands?

So far as the steamship companies are concerned I may say that they are very loath to inaugurate innovations, but sooner or later, for one reason or another, they come to our way of thinking. One very important fact that they have lately digested is that it does not pay for them to ship any old sort of an immigrant to this country. The reason why they have come to know this is that we catch the undesirable aliens at this island and make the company take them back at its own expense, plus also the cost of maintaining them while they are in this port. We sent back so many persons in this way that the steamship companies finally issued letters to their agents all over the world saying that it was absolutely useless for them to send on would-be Americans who were ailing in body or mind, or who were otherwise ineligible to land under the immigration laws of the United States. The refusal of steamship companies to carry undesirable immigrants is one of the greatest checks upon pernicious immigration that I know of. Last year, for instance, the various steamship companies refused to bring 20,000 aliens to this country, not through any deep regard for our laws, of course; but simply for their own interests, knowing that we would have sent them back even if they had brought them here.

Not only is the character of our present immigration in dispute, but also innumerable other factors which go to make up the immigration problem. There are controversies, for illustration, as to the exact percentage of immigrants which remains in New York; as to the proportion of aliens in our penal and re-

formatory institutions, in our almshouses, and in other ways dependent upon public and private relief; as to the ultimate effect of immigration on wages and general labor conditions; and as to the effects of immigration upon the political and broad social life of our cities, States, and even the nation itself. These and other factors of equal importance to the solution of the immigration problem must be known beyond question if we are to control and direct the immigration stream to the advancement of the general welfare. And the one essential to their correct understanding is an organization which seeks these facts, without personal interests of any kind to serve, without preconceived opinions to support, and with the sole purpose of ascertaining those facts which alone are basal and comparable.

It is in this spirit that the Immigration Department of the National Civic Federation, an account of which is presented on another page of this issue, has been organized. The work of the Department will at first be directed along the line of securing basal facts, and to this end seven distinct committees have been created to deal with statistics, supply and demand, legislation and its enforcement, naturalization, agencies for advancing the welfare of immigrants, international relations, and Oriental immigration. The work of these committees will undoubtedly be of great value to a correct understanding of the immigration problem. Possession of the facts which go to make up the immigration issue will present to the nation a starting point for working out by legislation a more satisfactory line of action than is possible at the present time.

Reformers and "Reformers."

Mrs. Martha Moore Avery, in the announcement elsewhere in this issue of the Industrial Bureau which she and Mr. David Goldstein are launching, does well to call attention to the fundamental differences between reformers who want to reform and "reformers" who want to destroy. While we may not agree with all the methods employed by some of the noted journalistic reformers of the day, we can give them credit for honest intentions to really make conditions better. But when we find that a reformer is a pronounced Karl Marx socialist, it is well to scrutinize his statements and methods, because that philosophy teaches that conditions must become worse before they can be made better. It follows, therefore, that his purpose is to make the situation "worse" as fast as possible. One noted socialist "reformer," a member of a number of organizations for ameliorating social conditions, was recently decrying charity organizations when some one said: "Suppose they are not perfect; they are the best we have. Were it not for them a great many working people would starve." Her reply was: "Let them starve. The quicker they starve the sooner will society become aroused at the intolerable conditions and hasten the revolution which will usher in the Socialist State."

Three subjects that furnish a great deal of material for socialist propagandists are tenement houses, sweatshops and child labor. In the last decade great progress has been made in all three fields, but the socialists continue to picture the conditions which existed ten and twenty years ago. It is their fixed policy never to concede progress along any line of activity. With them an isolated case is always typical. However much we may disagree with their philosophy, we must admire their energy and persistence. They manage to become identified with every organization where there is any chance of exploiting their doctrine. Frequently an organization will be found to be shaped and controlled by a group of socialists, although that group may be a very small part of the organization. The public-spirited citizens who compose the larger part of the organization and who furnish all the funds for its work, have no idea that they are being used by socialists, and that they are "rubbing elbows" with people who not only do not believe in the institutions of our country but also are working to destroy them. If the new Industrial Bureau will point out to the country just who these people are it will perform an important public service.

WELFARE WORK AND CHILD LABOR IN SOUTHERN COTTON MILLS.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND AUTOMATIC SPINNING MACHINERY WILL AID IN SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF CHILD LABOR.

[For the purpose of learning what manufacturers of cotton goods in the South have done to ameliorate the conditions under which their employes work and live, Miss Gertrude Beeks, Secretary of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, recently visited fourteen cotton mill towns in South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. This included an inspection of the mills as well as an investigation of the social conditions. The cotton industry having been developed to the greatest extent in South Carolina, the largest number of mills was visited in that State. Children being employed, the question of child labor was naturally involved in the inquiry. While her report shows that there are isolated cases of very young children at work, as well as too many under twelve years, the legal age in South Carolina and Alabama, credit has been given the employers for their efforts to educate the children and to secure proper legislation which would aid in abolishing the evil of child labor. The question has been handled as a broad, economic problem—clearly recognizing the industrial evolution of the South since the destitution left by the Civil War.]

This is the first opportunity afforded the general reader to learn from a disinterested, practical investigator, the truth about conditions in the Southern cotton mills. Much literature has been published on this subject, frequently emanating from a source interested in creating socialistic propaganda rather than depicting facts. Miss Beeks not only frankly criticises where the employers are at fault, but also tells of their remarkable, beneficent efforts. The qualifications of Miss Beeks for undertaking such an investigation are unquestioned. Probably no other woman in this country has had as wide, practical experience in dealing with all phases of the problems connected with the employment of labor, and provision for its well-being in stores, mills, factories, mines, on railroads—and in fact wherever labor is employed.—EDITOR'S NOTE]

By MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS.

IN reporting upon this investigation the following subjects are covered: Condition under which the operatives work; homes of operatives; education of children; recreation; hours of work; and child labor.

Half a dozen cotton mill villages may be located in one town. Each mill has its group of operatives' homes or village within close proximity. The term "operatives" means employes in cotton mills. While other mill settlements were inspected, trips through the interiors of mills were confined to the following eighteen:

Monaghan Mills, Greenville, S. C.
Victor Mills, Greers, S. C.
Pelzer Mills, Pelzer, S. C.
Belton Mills, Belton, S. C.
Cox Manufacturing Co., Anderson, S. C.
Brogan Mills, Anderson, S. C.
Greenwood Mills, Greenwood, S. C.
Grendel Mills, Greenwood, S. C.
Saxon Mills, Spartanburg, S. C.
Olympia Mills, Columbia, S. C.
Saxon Mills, Spartanburg, S. C.
Olympia Mills, Columbia, S. C.
Victoria Mills, Rock Hill, S. C.
Arcade Mills, Rock Hill, S. C.
Manchester Cotton Mills, Rock Hill, S. C.
Graniteville Mfg. Co., Graniteville, S. C.; near Augusta, Ga.
Dwight Mills, Alabama City, Ala.
Massachusetts Mills of Georgia, Lindale, Ga.
Exposition Mills, Atlanta, Ga.
Eagle & Phenix Mills, Columbus, Ga.



A MILL BACK YARD

Observations of the general living conditions were made at the villages of the following mills:

Spartan Mills, Spartanburg, S. C.
Drayton Mills, Spartanburg, S. C.
F. W. Poe Mfg. Co., Greenville, S. C.
Granby Mills, Columbia, S. C.
American Spinning Company, Greenville, S. C.
Bath Mills, in South Carolina, near Augusta, Ga.



FRONT YARD OLD MILL ERECTED IN 1845

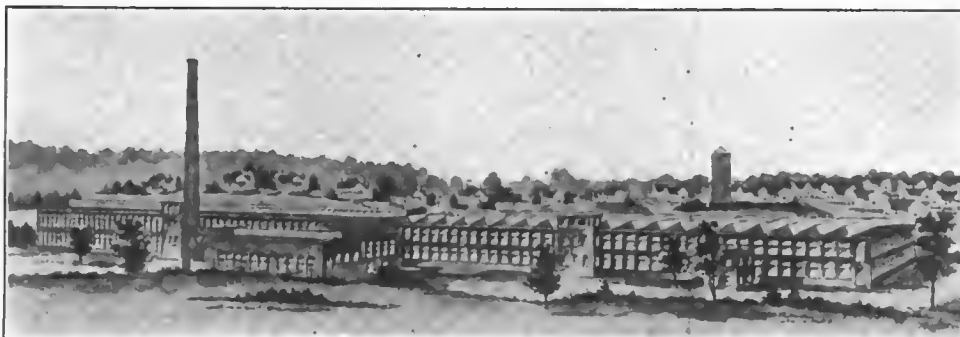
Langley Mfg. Co., in South Carolina, near Augusta, Ga.
Warren Mfg. Co., in South Carolina, near Augusta, Ga.

Piedmont Mills, Piedmont, S. C.
Lorraine Mills, Gastonia, N. C.
Griffin Mills, Griffin, Ga.

In addition to those mentioned, officials of the following mills were interviewed:

Carolina Mills, Greenville, S. C.
Brandon Mills, Greenville, S. C.
Batesville Mills, Greenville, S. C.
Reedy River Mill, Greenville, S. C.
Capital City Mill, Columbia, S. C.
Richland Mills, Columbia, S. C.
Apalachia Mills, Apalachia, S. C.
Ninety-six Mills, Ninety-six, S. C.
Gluck Mills, Anderson, S. C.
Union Mills, Union, S. C.
Woodruff Mills, Spartanburg, S. C.
Fairfield Cotton Mills, Winnsboro, S. C.
Wylie Mills, Chester, S. C.

Testimony showing the same general conditions at the Avondale and Pell City in Alabama; and the La-



MODERN MILLS WITH MONITOR AND SAW-TOOTH ROOFS

nette, Whittier, Decatur, Muscogwe and Trion mills in Georgia, was offered by reputable persons.

These mills are located, with a few exceptions where they are at the extreme lower end of the hilly country, in the noted Piedmont region—the highlands east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The greatest cotton mill activity in the South is, therefore, in one of the most healthful territories in the country and where there are, usually, pleasant breezes which afford natural ventilation for mills upon the elevations. South Carolina has the greatest number of spindles. The statistics for 1904 show the leading States to be:

South Carolina.....	2,928,000 spindles
North Carolina.....	2,192,000 "
Georgia	1,475,000 "
Alabama	820,000 "

In Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Maryland, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri there is some cotton manufacturing but comparatively little, the number of spindles in each State running from 300,000 down to 16,000.

For this investigation mills were selected not only with reference to their relative importance, but a special effort was made to inspect those toward which public attention has been particularly directed in the criticisms of sensational writers.



SPRAY FOR COOLING MILL

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE OPERATIVES WORK.

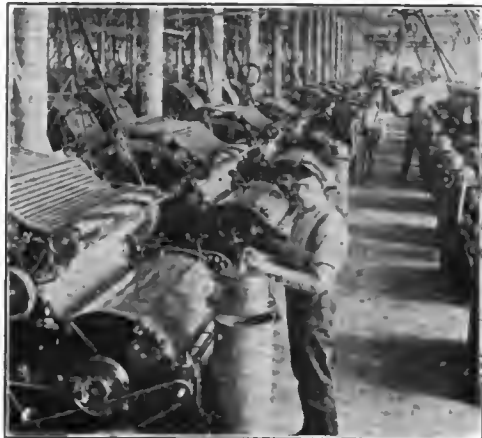
In general it may be said that the mills are unusually well lighted and ventilated, heated in winter and cooled in summer. The saw-tooth roof is used to give a perfectly lighted, modern weave room, and the monitor roof, which insures better ventilation than the flat roof, is found quite often. The employers have been quick to utilize modern devices, such as the exhaust system for the removal of the lint; the cold-water spray instead of the hot-water spray in summer, to humidify the atmosphere for manufacturing purposes; and the blower system for heating in winter and cooling the air in summer. Some, who heat with hot air, use the cold-water spray both winter and summer and have proved

by its use that heat is not essential to the successful manufacture of cotton goods. The aim is to keep the temperature at 70 to 75 degrees. That is probably feasible, excepting in a few old mills in the lowlands. But there and in the uplands, in exceedingly warm weather, some progressive employers have cold water sprayed on the roofs or sides of the mills exposed to the sun. The custom at one place visited is to put ice in the chamber through which the fresh air is drawn into the mill, while in another the air is passed through cool water. The claim that the operatives are more comfortable in the mills during the summer than they were when engaged in the hot sun on the farms

is justifiable. The introduction of electric motors in many mills to take the place of overhead shafting and belting has aided in reducing the amount of dust in the atmosphere. The custom of having pure, cool drinking water easily accessible in the work rooms, is general. One employer was having the ribbed windows replaced with clear glass, "to please the employees because they like to look out." He supplemented the statement with "I would, too." In two mills there are splendid emergency hospital rooms, with operating tables, and even stretchers. Another mill man goes so far as to provide the trained nurse to visit all families where there is illness in the village, which materially aids in preventing the spread of contagious diseases; and one has an isolation hospital for use during epidemics. Medical attendance, at a nominal fee, is pro-



SOMETHING NEW IN A PRESIDENT'S OFFICE



From stereotype. Copyright 1905 by Underwood & Underwood, New York
CARDING DEPARTMENT REQUIRING MEN

vided quite generally through special arrangements with physicians.

The only points of criticism relative to negligence in providing for the comfort of the employes in the mills are bad ventilation and poor janitor service in connection with the toilet arrangements, and lack of elevator service.

Some of the toilet rooms are in the ends of the mills and are well ventilated by windows and the exhaust system, but others are in the centers of the mills with no provision for ventilation. To explain their unclean condition, it was claimed that the operatives, being migratory and moving constantly from one village to another, only remain in one mill long enough to learn the first lesson in cleanliness. The feeling of discouragement relative to the difficulty of educating what the mill men term that "rough class of people" to the proper use of such conveniences would be amusing to the employer who has had to solve the problem with immigrant labor. It should be comparatively easy to so educate the native English-speaking operatives in the southern cotton mills. But, the question of janitor service is left to superintendents and foremen. Elsewhere it has been proven that when the expense of janitor service is charged to the various departments, the foremen who are required to keep down the cost of manufacturing neglect their "housekeeping" duties; and that employes will not make proper use of unclean, unsanitary arrangements. When the unclean condition of the toilet rooms, which with one exception was inexcusably bad, was called to their attention, several of the mill presidents immediately undertook to improve the method of caring for them. The system in force in the excepted mill at Lindale is thorough. Janitors clean the arrangements twice a day, using an antiseptic and a liberal supply of hot soap suds. All the mills have wash sinks which the employes are supposed to use for their ablutions. Until recently such sinks were regarded everywhere as modern conveniences. It was interesting to observe that the employes



ONE FAMILY

want something better. In one mill the operatives have supplied their own individual wash basins which are in rows on the window sills in the work rooms. In another, although the employer has been thoughtful in supplying soap, as usual towels are not furnished and the operatives were observed using the manufactured product in lieu of them.

While the use of elevators to conserve the energy of employes has not become general in this country its need is greater in the cotton mills than elsewhere. The reason is that the spinning rooms, where child labor is found in the main, are usually on the top floors—frequently on the fifth. The employers claim that they have more accidents in connection with the elevators than from the operation of the machinery, but the freight elevators could be guarded so that the employes might be transported safely to the spinning rooms when going to work in the morning and at noon-time. The use of the elevator should be given to all employes on the upper floors because the age limit does not exceed twelve years and no young girl between twelve and sixteen years should be obliged to climb several flights of stairs.



SUPERINTENDENT WHO BEGAN WORK AT EIGHT YEARS

At the entrance of a mill located in a large town the immense crowd of "dinner toters," who carry lunch to the members of the family employed there, indicates the need of a lunch room. In a smaller way that need was also evidenced at a mill in a large city where some of the weavers were observed eating their luncheons which were placed on the looms; and one boy was sitting in the wash sink next to the window eating his midday meal and reading a newspaper. The desirability of introducing rest rooms in the mills was made plain



A GROUP FROM THE SPINNING ROOM

when girls were found sitting upon the landings of the staircases waiting for work. But it may be generally stated that the mills visited are unusually sanitary, comfortable work places.

HOMES OF THE OPERATIVES.

In making this investigation, the criticisms of sensational writers were constantly kept in mind. One of these criticisms relates to the unsanitary homes of the operatives. The writer states:

Each house was encircled by a wooden veranda, and the order of housekeeping described itself before the eyes, as a whisk of the broom which carried all dirt from the kitchen to the porch, and another whisk which landed it on the ground, bedecked, in consequence, with old tin cans, decaying vegetables, pieces of dirty paper, rags and chicken feathers. The outer room was a kitchen, though it might, except for the stove, have been mistaken for a hen-coop. The chickens pecked their way about the dirty floor, venturing as far even as the table upon which



SPINNING ROOM WHERE CHILDREN WORK



From stereotype. Copyright, 1902 by Underwood & Underwood, New York
WEAVING ROOM

stood the meager remains of the noonday meal. The second and the inner room had each a bed—an unmade bed I was going to say, but, how, indeed, could a bed be made without either sheets or pillows? Two grimy counterpanes were flung in disorder across the mattresses.

To learn the facts relative to such statements, an incessant effort was made to see the worst as well as the best conditions. The village, universally regarded as the worst, was carefully inspected, and it cannot honestly be claimed that the homes of the operatives living there are as unhealthful as those of the inmates of the tenements in our great cities. This village, it is true, was a sad contrast to those of progressive employers who are gradually forcing the others to come up to their standard. The houses are merely clapboarded. The interiors are usually sufficiently spacious. Although the lots are not as large as elsewhere because the mill is in a good-sized town, there is ample space for ventilation. A most serious criticism is the fact that the employer in this village has not provided a general cow shed or pasture, the employes being permitted to keep the cows in their yards—and they insist upon keeping cows, also occasionally, pigs. Sometimes the live stock is directly under the bedroom window. Of course, this is unhealthful and aids in contaminating the well-water. The general aspect of the village is unsightly. The absence of paint, trees, gardens, and other elevating influences makes this village comparatively undesirable. But, while all are not model settlements, the conditions pictured in the para-



OPERATIVES GOING HOME TO LUNCH

graph above quoted do not exist in this or any of the other villages visited. It may be stated that generally the premises are extremely neat in the cotton mill villages, and that only in the homes of new arrivals from the primitive districts are the interiors of the cottages unclean. Many a housewife could take lessons in cleanliness from the home of the average



PRIMITIVE MOUNTAIN HOME



AFTER GOING TO THE MILL

mill operative. Where they still exist, the old clap-boarded houses are being remodeled with weather boarding, or torn down and replaced; some of the new homes are being finished with walls of wood fibre; and where not included in the original plans, porches with railings are now being added, the employers considering that such improvements give greater comfort to their tenants.

The impossibility of gaining a correct impression of conditions by cursory observations was clearly evidenced by the following experience:

The first view of the cotton mill settlements was gained between Gastonia and Greenville, along the Southern Railway, where the homes showed the lack of paint. One of the questions asked the first mill man interviewed was why they had not learned the value of utilizing paint. He replied: "It is the custom to decorate every three years and this is the year for painting." This was shown to be the fact as the investigation was pursued for many of the homes just had been or were being painted.

The moral tone of many of the villages has been greatly improved by lighting the streets with electricity. In some instances the interiors of employees' homes are thus illuminated. Simple bath rooms with zinc tubs have been introduced in some of the houses. Some employers have gone so far as to make ice and deliver it to the homes at low prices.

Unsanitary surface wells, which have been the cause of illness in the past, have been and are being replaced by water systems, and the employers are preparing to make another important improvement, that of the sewer system, although in many villages there are excellent plans for removing the refuse weekly—for example, the pan system of Manchester. One president is expending a considerable sum upon oil each year for the marshy tracts which are gradually being drained and put under cultivation in order to make the village, unwisely located by his predecessor, more healthful.

Some of the villages are exceedingly beautiful, both as to the artistic appearance of the buildings and the landscape effects. In some cases, while the homes of the operatives are comfortable and sanitary, they are built from a stereotyped plan. One president said: "It is much easier to give a contract for the building of homes of one kind, especially when there is great haste to get the mill into operation. It is hard to give time to think of houses when one has to purchase ma-



OPERATIVE'S HOME, PARSONAGE AND CHURCH

chinery and equip the mill. Besides, it is cheaper, because a builder will take a contract for less than would be possible if he were to attempt to construct different types of houses." But in a number of villages the architecture is widely diversified and individuality is encouraged, notably at Alabama City. Ordinarily the lots are seventy-five by one hundred seventy-five feet. There are garden plots with prizes for vegetables and flowers, and one mill man is planning to erect greenhouses that the employees may keep their flowers in winter. Several of the mill villages are located in beautiful forests, and at other places employers are planting trees annually with a view of securing ample shade within a few years. In one the mud, so disagreeable in that section during the rainy season, has been obviated by the use of chert. The water immediately runs off the walks and roads thus macadamized. Still another public duty has been relegated to the employers, for the last resting place as well as the temporal home is provided by them, and in some of the villages the cemeteries add to their beauty. In one village where the mills have been in operation for twenty-four years, even former employees are permitted to bury their dead in the private cemetery.

The homes are rented by the employers to the employees at two to five dollars a month for houses of four to eight rooms. The rentals meet the cost of repairs, improvements and taxes. One man stated: "We charge rental for the homes because we think the employees respect themselves more." The rents include not only water, vegetable and flower gardens, but in some cases electric light, free cow pastures, cow sheds and pig pens. The people are very timid and will not live in the towns where the mills are located, nor will they attend the general churches. This makes it necessary for the employers to build villages surrounding the mills. Several mill presidents have equipped model tenements for the residences of the Welfare Workers which serve as examples to the operatives. Hotels or



A MILL VILLAGE

"inns," where the price of board is nominal, have been provided for the clerical forces, and, in a few cases, for unmarried operatives. In one village of 1,800 residents, 800 being operatives, the company expended \$125,000 upon homes and \$20,000 upon social buildings for their benefit. Here, in addition to the \$2,000 which the company is taxed for educational purposes, it expends \$2,000 annually.

EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

Before going into the cotton mill communities, the operatives could not be reached by civilizing influences. Through the Welfare Work of the cotton manufacturers, the children of Americans of Revolutionary ancestry, largely Tories, have been given the benefits which make for the best citizenship. Through the humane instincts of the mill owners, educational opportunities have been secured to them. These men have either assumed the function of the State by providing educational facilities or have been instrumental in securing legislation for school purposes whereby they are the largest taxpayers. Kindergartens and schools are supported in whole or in part by all. The public school system in the South is still in an imperfect condition, and, furthermore, State appropriations are insufficient to maintain the schools longer than four months in each year. In one village where the population is 5,000, 2,200 being operatives, 750 children are being educated at the present time by the mill owner. The salaries paid annually to the twelve instructors, including the Welfare Worker and domestic science teacher who assists her, amount to \$7,000. In some other villages the mill owners pay the greatest amount of taxes to support the schools for the regular term of four months, and then, in addition, maintain them entirely at their own expense for an additional four months. In South Carolina one-half of the three-mill tax for education is applied toward schools for negroes, although they do not pay one-half of the taxes. The colored parents send their children to school more generally than the white people, partly because they are more ambitious for them and partly



THE LAST MILL TENEMENT



HOUSES WHICH REPLACED OLD TENEMENTS

because there is small opportunity of securing work for colored children.

The employers erect the school buildings in the majority of the villages, as well as the homes for the teachers. The elevating influence of a new kindergarten was illustrated by the good care given the modern conveniences installed in it. This was in pleasant contrast to the conduct of the pupils in the ordinary tenement used for the initial experiment. One president said: "When our kindergarten began the work, the children would throw stones at persons going about the village; now they take off their hats." Frequently, half of the children will go to school for a period, and then alternate with the other half later by working in the mills. The children who attend the entire school period frequently go into the mills during the summer months to permit the other children of the family who are operatives to rest from work. For the children who work in the mills regularly there are night classes in arithmetic, reading and writing. Night classes for feminine employees afford instruction in cooking and sewing.

The overseers, who usually come up from the ranks, as a rule are not sufficiently intelligent to utilize all of the modern appliances. Industrial training on a large scale will be possible within a few months at Columbus, Georgia, where the leading mill president gave a tract of land and a large sum of money to secure, as a part of the public school system, such technical training. In



PAINT AND TREES ABSENT

CONTRASTING VILLAGE

Spartanburg, S. C., there is a Science Hall which was endowed by one of the pioneer mill men now deceased. The leading mill president in South Carolina secured a set of educational stereopticon lectures furnished by the State of New York, which is loaned to the other mills in that district. These lectures are free and largely attended. All of these movements show the constant efforts made by the mill men to elevate the operatives.

There are libraries supplied by the employers and churches for the support of which they contribute entirely or in part; and there are well-patronized savings banks. There are other provident funds, the one most general being the "Burial Union." The operatives pay ten cents a month and in case of death the family receives fifty dollars. This also entitles the beneficiary to benefits as follows: At the death of a parent over sixty, \$20, and a child under eight, \$10. In one instance the \$20 benefit paid from the fund in a Georgia mill was for the death of a mother-in-law in Texas. The death benefit for the children, does not, as elsewhere, increase child murder. The future value of the child as a wage earner is of greater importance to the parent than the amount of the death benefit.

RECREATION.

Included in the general effort to provide recreation for the employes there are separate social halls or auditoriums on the top floors of the school houses, theatres, roller skating rinks, gymnasiums, bowling alleys, armories for the military companies of the operatives, meeting rooms for the various lodges and employees' bands, halls for Sunday sacred concerts, athletic fields, childrens' playgrounds with gymnasium outfits, tennis courts, picnic grounds, outdoor dance pavilions and swimming pools. Of course all of the recreative activities listed are not in one village, although a majority will be found in each. One village was visited on the Saturday which opened the athletic season. The initial ball game was played by the Monaghan and the Victor teams, and the mill presidents were as much interested in the outcome as were the operatives. In one town where the employer utilized the cemented tank of water necessary for manufacturing purposes for a swimming pool during the summer season, he was, to quote his own words, "regarded by the prominent citizens as being crazy." He expended \$300 in equipment, including a fence, seats, spring board and dressing rooms. The operatives are allowed the use of the swimming pool free of charge. The citizens of the town are charged ten cents for the privilege of patronizing the pool. The first receipts met the cost of three porcelain bath tubs for the employes in the mill and now they are turned into an amusement fund of the operatives, toward which they add a material amount. Another has a lake of clear mountain water covering six acres. Upon its banks is a natatorium for the employes which cost \$1,500. The dance pavilion has not generally been introduced because of the extreme religious tendencies of the operatives, but it has proved a very successful and elevating source of diversion wherever it has been tried. In one village the pavilion is located in a beautiful park where moonlight picnics are frequent. The music is supplied by the employes' band. Moonlight festivals are sometimes enlivened by prize contests for the most beautiful girl, the most popular man, or the fattest baby in the village, the proceeds being used for a new carpet or organ for the church or toward some other improvement for the benefit of the employes. In another village there is a central band stand near a bubbling spring, and there are seats under the great trees where the residents may sit to listen to the music Saturday evenings. In several places tracts have been set apart for development into parks. "We limber them up Saturday nights after the week's work," said a Welfare Worker when she was showing the recreation hall used for dancing. At Pelzer, where the population is five thousand, the president stated: "Amusements are as necessary for the people as food." In certain villages the mills are shut down one day in the year for an

annual picnic, and although holidays are not as numerous in this section as elsewhere, it is customary to have a Fourth of July celebration and Christmas entertainment at which the operatives and members of their families receive gifts.

HOURS OF WORK.

All the employers who were interviewed clearly demonstrated the realization of their moral obligation toward the operatives in their employ. This was further evidenced by their voluntary action in reducing the hours in South Carolina.

At present* the operatives work sixty-six hours a week. At their own request, the work is divided so that they have a twelve-hour day for five days in order to secure the Saturday half-holiday. The village rising bell is rung sometimes as early as 4 a. m. and frequently at 4:30 a. m. for the purpose of awakening the housewives to prepare breakfast for the operatives who are expected to be in the mill by six o'clock. Owing to the long hours, the operatives are too greatly fatigued evenings to avail themselves, to any extent, of the educational classes or the opportunities for recreation. This is thoroughly realized by the mill owners, and it is now proposed in the State of South Carolina to reduce the hours voluntarily. Seventy-three mill presidents determined, at a meeting in Greenville, S. C., June 5, upon a gradual reduction from sixty-six hours a week to sixty, the change to begin July 1, 1906.

CHILD LABOR.

Far too many children were found employed in the mills, but it is necessary to examine the cause before offering criticism. Until industry was organized, child labor was prevalent upon the farms. Labor for the

make affidavit that their children have reached the age of twelve, there is no inclination on the part of the superintendents and foremen—who are responsible for keeping the mills in operation to their fullest capacity—to doubt the truth of such statements. Even where children under twelve are allowed to work there are many idle machines, due to the scarcity of labor.

In reference to this, one superintendent in Georgia stated: "When competitors are working to get help from one mill to another, it is pretty hard to say to a man: 'You shall not work your children.' The only way to handle this question is through compulsory education which will place all the mill men upon the same basis."

At that mill it has been the custom for years to require parents to sign the following certificate when seeking employment for their children:

I hereby certify that my child.....wasyears old on the..... day of.....and that I am (or am not) dependent on his (or her) labor for a living.attended school for.....months during the year preceding the date of this certificate, and can read and write.

He said: "While we did not in the past employ children shown by these certificates to be under twelve, or who appeared to us to be under twelve, I shall frankly state that we have not observed that rule since labor became so scarce."

A president in South Carolina gave the following testimony: "Six hundred and fifty children are in our schools at the present time, whereas there should be one thousand, and I want some way of having the parents keep their agreements, made with us when they take employment, to send to school all children between the ages of five and twelve. This plan has been in operation for fourteen years. But it is now impossible to force the parents to keep their agreements, for they can go elsewhere and get work so readily." An inspection of the agreements showed a large proportion signed with the parents' mark. This gave evidence of the probability that such uneducated parents would not realize the value of education for their children.

There was ample testimony to show that, before the scarcity of labor became so extreme, mill men sent families away from their villages when parents refused to send their children to school.

This South Carolina man also said: "More attention should be given to providing adequate primary schools, and funds now diverted to 'colleges,' the equivalent of the ordinary high school, could be more usefully employed for a time, and we should have compulsory education."

In another South Carolina town the most progressive mill man has for some time, in lieu of State statistics, had a census taken twice a year for the purpose of listing births and securing the ages of the children. The object is to keep at the mills the records of all the families, so that children under age may be prevented from obtaining employment.

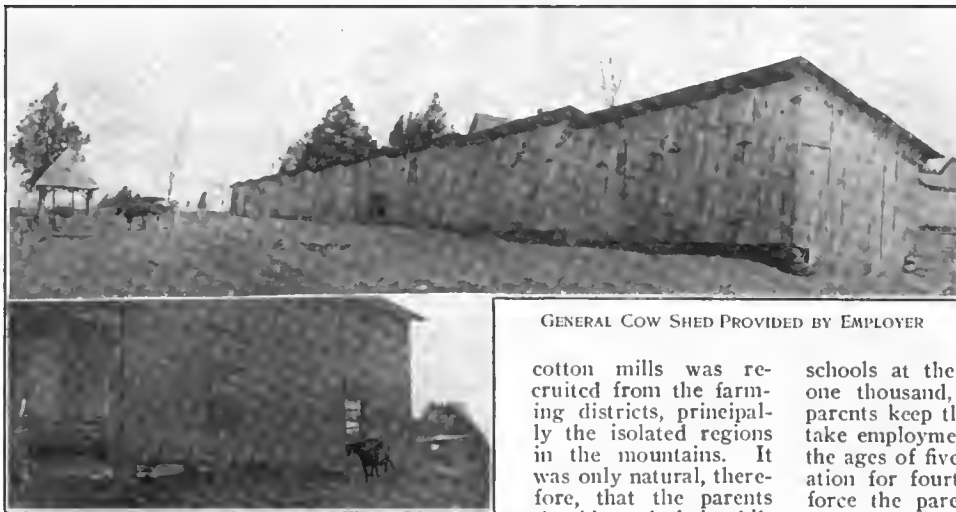
The situation is further complicated in South Carolina by the lack of a marriage license law. Two young people who enter lightly into the marriage state may separate after the birth of several children. The husband will drift to another mill village and marry again. There is nothing left for the children of the first marriage to do but go into the mills, or the intolerable almshouses. The bigamy, due to the absence of divorce law, brings with it an attendant lessened family responsibility.

That an earnest effort is being made by the mill presidents to improve these conditions is indicated by the passage of the following resolutions, in addition to the one relative to the reduction of hours, at the important meeting previously mentioned:

That this Conference urge upon all the cotton manufacturers of South Carolina to carefully and faithfully observe the age law limiting the employment of children to those twelve years of age and older, and forbidding the employment, except under lawful conditions, of children under twelve years of age.



OPERATIVES' WASH BASINS



GENERAL COW SHED PROVIDED BY EMPLOYER

LIVE STOCK UNDER BEDROOM WINDOW

ment of the South, remedial legislation has not kept pace with the industrial progress. Nor has public sentiment educated the parents (who have lacked opportunities for education themselves and, therefore, believe, that it is unnecessary for their offspring) to the point of sending the children to school instead of the mills.

On observing the general prosperity which has been wrought through the cotton industry the question arose as to whether it would have been better to have left the people in pauperism and illiteracy than to have taken them into the manufacturing districts where they could secure an industrial training with pay which would insure a livelihood, be uplifted by the elevating influences and secure an education for the majority of their children.

In South Carolina and Alabama child labor laws have recently been secured which provide that no children under sixteen can work in the mills at night, and none under twelve in the day time, with the exception of the child of a widow who furnishes an affidavit to the effect that the support of the child is needed. In that event a child as young as ten may work. In Georgia there is a gentlemen's agreement among the mill men which contains the same provisions.

The child labor law in South Carolina has been in existence three years. It increased the age limit gradually. During the first year under the law children were allowed to work at ten; the second year at eleven; and the third year at twelve. The twelve-year limit has been in operation only one year. To make the child labor laws precede compulsory education was to place the cart before the horse. Unfortunately, the child labor laws do not provide for factory inspection, compulsory education or truant officers. Therefore, they are practically inoperative, largely because of the extreme scarcity of labor and the competition among the mills for families. The unit of labor is the family and not the individual, and in view of the fact that there is no birth registration law, when the parents



SCHOOL CHILDREN AS "DINNER TOTERS"



A MILL PRESIDENT AND KINDERGARTEN PUPILS

That this Conference of Cotton Manufacturers earnestly approve the passage of a compulsory school law in South Carolina to apply to all children under twelve years of age, and also recommend the enactment of a law requiring the registration of all births, and also a law requiring marriage certificate before any marriage ceremony can be performed in South Carolina.

That the Chairman of this Conference appoint a committee of seven, who shall prepare a circular letter to be printed and placed on the desk of each member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the South Carolina Legislature, urging upon them the enactment of these three laws.

In Alabama, although there are laws requiring the marriage license and birth registration, as well as the child labor law, there is no factory inspection nor compulsory education and the situation is identical with that in South Carolina. The leading mill man in the State claimed that he has a notary public in each department of the mill who requires the parents to swear to the ages of the children when they go into the mills, and he said: "If we had factory inspection, the parents could be prosecuted for perjury and locked up when they swear falsely."

In South Carolina one informant stated: "Our child labor law has given us a class of children loafing that

we do not know what to do with! We sent affidavits from magistrates relative to convictions of youthful criminals who got into mischief when loafing, which enabled us to have the law passed authorizing the establishment of a State Reformatory for boys."

CONDITIONS NOT AS BAD AS DEPICTED.

When inspecting the mills, extreme surprise was occasioned by the invariable statement of the mill men upon entering the spinning room: "Now, *this* is where the *children* are!" This frankness was entirely unexpected, as was the opportunity of free access to every department of the mills. It must be remembered that the mills visited included the ones most severely and frequently attacked.

In making observations the following criticisms of the sensational writers on the subject of child labor were constantly borne in mind:

1. Night work. The "necessity of throwing cold water in the faces of the children to keep them awake." The "wearing of underwear woven in Southern mills where tiny children are allowed to work all night long."
2. "Extreme emaciation of the children. Hall starved and deformed."
3. "No child who has worked in the mill can ever learn to read and write."
4. "A child in the mill never talks to anyone."
5. "Children half naked."
6. Discipline. "Children kicked by overseers."
7. Accidents, with the claim of the "loss of fingers by hundreds of children."
8. "Children working through the noon hour."
9. Consumption. "When an autopsy is performed the lungs are found to be filled with lint."
10. "A child walks seventeen miles a day doffing."
11. "Diminutive or adjustable machinery."

These points are discussed below in the order in which they are listed.

(1.) A persistent effort was made, but without success,



SIX HUNDRED FIFTY OPERATIVES' CHILDREN IN MILL SCHOOL

to find a mill running a night shift. A member of the Child Labor Committee in Georgia "had been told by a friend who had heard from another leading woman in the State" that water was thrown in the faces of the children during certain hours of the night at the Trion Mills. As it was not possible to go back to the Trion Mills, a letter was written to the "leading woman" requesting information on the subject, although when investigating in the vicinity of those mills it was learned that there had been no night work in that district for ten years. Her reply follows:

I am very glad you wrote before quoting me, as your informant was mistaken. I never said anything about throwing cold water in the faces of the children at any mill, much less at the Trion



SCHOOL RECESS

Mill, one of the best regulated in the country. The information got mixed in this way: There was at one time a mill in Rome where I said I had seen a child thrown upon her bed at 10 a. m. in an exhausted sleep because of night work. That mill failed and I think the new management has better regulations.

The writer who spoke of "underwear woven by tiny children at night" showed complete ignorance of the product of the Southern mills, which is largely confined to coarse sheetings and drills for Oriental countries, print cloths, fancy white goods for shirt waists, gingham and outing flannels. There are no fine muslins, lawns or cambrics—the materials used for underwear—manufactured in that section of the country.

In South Carolina leading mill presidents stated that there *might be* some small yarn or knitting mills running at night—possibly half a dozen of the 200 mills in that State—but not a single mill man regarded night work as feasible or profitable, nor was there one operating a night shift. The picture so commonly drawn by sensationalists showing the necessity of dashing cold water in the faces of the children, indicating that to be the general condition, is absolutely false. The general testimony is to the effect that night work is not profitable because it produces too many "seconds," i. e., second-grade quality of goods, and the proportion of output is less because of the drowsiness of the help. In one town the destruction of a mill by fire threw a great many operatives into idleness. The president of another mill adopted night work for the purpose of giving those people employment, but he did not make a cent of profit.

Some of the points raised by mill men against night work were: The machinery gets tired—the particles crystallize and the belting breaks; night work is non-productive because there is so much bad work which cannot be traced to the employees at fault; the night shift leaves the machines in bad condition for the day shift and *vice versa*, because the operatives take no

interest in their machines when jointly used, and all of this creates friction among the employees. When a day shift only is run, each operative is responsible for the condition of his machine. A further objection made by an employer was: "Night work is awful from the moral standpoint."

While night work may have prevailed ten years ago—and it must be remembered that the industry has been developed largely within the past ten years—as the size of the mills has been increased night work has been dropped. The leading cotton manufacturer of Alabama



A PRIMARY CLASS



AFTER SCHOOL RECESS

stated that the reason some mills had it was because a man starting a new mill in a small way with only a hundred thousand dollars in the plant found it difficult to make profits and thought he would realize more out of the investment by running two shifts. The quest for mills running at night was continued up to the end of the investigation without success. It was always a question of hearsay. The scarcity of labor would render the securing of shifts for night work impossible, even if it were desired.

(2.) With reference to the claim that the children are "half-starved, deformed and extremely emaciated," that "their appealing eyes gaze at you from out their pale, bloated brows," that "the memory of faces such as theirs cling in the mind with lingering tenacity; faded masks of withered flesh," and that one "presented the appearance not of a child, but of a gaunt man shrunk to diminutive size," issue must be taken. It is true that children with rosy cheeks are not to be found in the mills, and that they are more or less pale, but there were only two children in the eighteen mills visited who could have been called thin, not in the faces, but their arms were very slight.

The pale complexion, which all mill operatives have, cannot be attributed entirely to work in the mills, but is due largely to the lack of nourishing food. Before leaving the farms, "side meat" and corn bread—a mere mixture of corn meal and water baked—and, as a luxury now and then, molasses, constituted the chief articles of food. As farmers they did well if they had twenty dollars in cash during the year for expenditures. Although their incomes increased, to them fabulously, upon going into the mills, the mother, as well as the other members of the family who could work, was so engaged. With no one to care for the home the family subsisted mostly upon cold canned foods. Domestic science teachers are employed by many of the mill men now to instruct the people how to prepare



A KINDERGARTEN CAKE WALK

properly the food. One employer said: "Our people need more than anything else some system for teaching them how to live."

One of the mill presidents in making an effort to convince a radical that the people are better off in the mill towns than they were in the isolated rural districts, took her for a trip into the mountains. His account illustrates well the conditions under which the primitive mountaineers live:

I showed her a typical mountain family in which there were eight children. The man had a cabin of one room with no stove, four miles from the mill and three miles from church. The oldest child was fourteen, had been to school once, and said he knew his letters. The man had three acres and did a little farming, and sometimes hauled timber at fifty cents a day. I asked her what that family would do if the man should die. (I think you must remember that the primary thing in existence is meat and

bread). She stated that the people were better off here in the good mountain air than in the mills, and I told her I thought air was pretty thin diet.

(3.) That "no child who has worked in a cotton mill can ever learn to read and write" was refuted by families of children where half attend school while the other half work in the mill. This testimony was procured from the children in their homes, in the schools and in the mills. Girls of eighteen to twenty-one who had worked in the mills during childhood were going to the company's night school and learning to read and write. One boy of seventeen was observed in a day school in the primary class making satisfactory progress.

(4.) That "a child in the mill never talks to any one" was shown to be highly absurd not only by the willingness of the children but by their ability to answer all the questions put to them.

(5.) "Children half naked!" That depends on what the term means, but in any event such a radical statement does not describe properly the condition in which the children are found. The majority of the children are stockingless and shoeless when at the mills, but are otherwise very properly clad. The children in the schools are so well dressed as to cause surprise, and when seen on the streets Sundays and holidays all the children are well attired.

(6.) That the children are "kicked and shaken by the overseers" and otherwise severely disciplined cannot be applicable to the general situation. It is always possible that there may be a brute among foremen, but the children in all the mills were exceedingly playful, undisciplined and even destructive. In several spinning rooms they were playing tag around the spinning frames, showing a lack of discipline that would not be tolerated in other districts.

(7.) The picture of the "child of eight which has just had the two larger fingers of the right hand torn from their sockets at the greater knuckles," and the statement that the accident was "but one of hundreds," led to an investigation of the accident records which showed that in one mill where there are 1,400 employees there had been but one accident in four months—a child of eleven lost the first joint of the second finger in picking waste from the gears, which a fellow worker had uncovered, in violation of the strict rules which provide that the operatives shall not clean their machines when in motion. This was pitiful, indeed, but the records showed comparatively few accidents. There is no danger of accident whatever from the part of the machinery upon which the employees are engaged in spinning. In some of the mills the gears have been covered both top and bottom so that it is absolutely impossible for the children to get their fingers caught. This should be done in all the mills, whether there are children employed or not. But it is not fair to say that there are hundreds of cases of children of eight years of age losing their fingers.

(8.) That the children work during but not "through the noon hour" might be proved in isolated cases. The automatic looms are sometimes permitted to run through

the noon hour, because when the thread breaks the loom will stop and no harm can be done to the product. This, it was admitted, may tempt some of the weavers, generally adults, to go back into the mills after taking twenty minutes for lunch because it is piece work, although it was not observed in any mill, and several were visited at that time of day. In any event, this could not apply to the children as they work in the spinning



SHOOTING THE CHUTES AT THE MILL KINDERGARTEN

room and it would not be possible to keep that machinery in operation without a full complement of operatives. There, too, the largest proportion of children are not even spinners, but their assistants, i.e., *doffers* who never work through an entire hour. The children were found playing about the spinning room at the noontime, at twenty minutes past twelve, and when asked why they did not go home to lunch each replied: "I done been." The shade of the spinning room seemed to be preferable to the noonday sun. The machinery, however, was not in operation.

(9.) That consumption has made great inroads upon the health of the children because of the lint in the mills could not be substantiated. In one mill where there are a thousand operatives, reputable persons said that there had been one case of consumption in that village during the last year and the only other case was



KINDERGARTEN MAY POLE

five years ago. In another smaller village there was found one case of tuberculosis, that of a young girl about sixteen. Inquiries were made throughout the trip, but these were the only cases observed; and, in view of the devices for ventilating the mills, it does not seem possible that the lungs can be "imbedded in lint."

(10.) A careful calculation as to the distance which a doffer boy would be required to walk in the performance of his duties during one day, made at one of the largest mills, shows the average to be four miles, and the longest distance he could possibly travel (and he would be going out of his way to do that) to be four and one-half miles instead of the seventeen claimed by the "sensational writer." At a smaller mill the distance does not exceed six thousand six hundred feet.

(11.) It has been claimed that diminutive or adjustable machinery has been manufactured expressly for the use of children in the mills. This is an absurd statement made by so-called sociological experts. The machinery in all cotton mills is the size regularly built for adults, and it is impossible that the product could be manufactured otherwise. Quite as preposterous is the statement that the "children are hidden at work in secret places." In the first place, children were at work in plain sight in all the mills, and in the second place the different processes of manufacture are so systematized that it would be impracticable to divide any department in order to secrete youthful operatives.

INSTANCES OF CHILD LABOR.

The main processes of manufacture in the cotton mill are carding, spinning and weaving. For the products usually manufactured in the South, the carding and other incidental operations require about one-seventh of the total number of employees, the spinning three-sevenths and the weaving three-sevenths in mills where the automatic looms are used. But there are "exceptions to the rule" and so many complex conditions that a definite statement cannot be made with reference to the proportion of operatives in a single department. In some mills there may be one-third of the operatives in each division. The junior operatives of a mill will be found in the spinning room where they are engaged in spinning, doffing and sweeping, principally the last two operations. When the bobbins upon the spinning frame become filled with the yarn, it



IN THE KINDERGARTEN VEGETABLE GARDENS

is the duty of the doffers to replace them with empty bobbins. Usually this is light work, but in one mill children from ten to twelve doff in the roving room where the bobbins are very heavy. There are youthful sweepers also in the weave room. In one mill they are required to drag the bags of waste a long distance for final disposition. Many of the spinners are over twelve, but children between the ages of ten and twelve are numerous in the mills. In four of the eighteen mills inspected, representing a total number of fifteen thousand employees, there were observed seven cases of children undoubtedly under the age of seven years spinning, cleaning bobbins, or putting ends in the balls of yarn. Three of the cases were in one mill which is a financial failure, partly because of the old machinery; and it may be said that two, which were in another, were the only cases of very young children in that mill. The remaining two extreme cases were found in the other two mills—one in each.

The president also made the tour of the first one inspected of these two mills. He said: "Let us go to the spinning room first," and the freight elevator was used for our transportation to the top floor. When it stopped at the entrance to the spinning room, he ejaculated in a surprised tone: "Well!" Right in front of the elevator a little child, who was spinning, was climbing upon the frame to reach the broken threads for the purpose of tying them. When asked the probable age of the child, he said: "Six years." He immediately thereafter inquired of the child its age. The reply came, "Eight." Later, he took the superintendent to task for permitting the child to work. In four additional mills there were some very young children spinning,—one in one mill and a few in each of the others. It would have been impossible to secure the number of children between ten and twelve years in the mills, as it is so difficult to learn the correct ages. The effort was to get a general observation of the situation, and particularly to learn whether or not there was a tendency on the part of the mill men to employ large numbers of children as young as five, six or seven. Clearly this was found not to be the case. It was claimed that very young children are permitted to be in the mills only when the magistrate certifies that "they must work or they would starve," and that they were either orphans or children of widows. It was also generally claimed that, with the exception of orphans who absolutely required the work in order to secure a living, the young children observed in the mills "were not on the pay-roll, but had gone in to help their mothers, who were widows, or were employed after three o'clock, at the close of school, to help their sisters and brothers." Of course, this adds to the pay envelope of the mother, sister or brother helped, and thus indirectly they were on the pay-roll. The regular operatives were given when thus aided, for instance, eight sides of the machinery to operate instead of six. There are also instances where the children are required by the mothers who are operatives to be in the mill after school that they may thus care for them instead of having them in danger alone at home or on the streets.

When the State has provided no proper way to care for the poverty-stricken, it is a debatable question how far criticism should be offered for their presence in the mills. The following instances were cited by reliable persons, some of whom were and some were not identified with mill interests:

"One child of a widow who was unable to work, seven years of age, paid by a mill man to sweep, although inefficient."

"One little girl in the mill with her grandmother, otherwise she would have to go to the poorhouse, which would be unfortunate, as the almshouses here are exceedingly disagreeable."

erate soldier and his daughter in this village. We let them have one of our homes free and allow the daughter to go to the mill to work intermittently—she cannot leave the old man every day—to enable her to make enough to support them."

Another said: "I have a woman in the No. 1 card room who was left a widow. Her husband died of consumption. She asked to be permitted to have her child



OPERATIVES BOWLING

in the mill with her. It was either a question of running her out or allowing her to do this. The woman makes a good living."

Several mill men stated that there would always be some child labor, for "We will always have to provide work for the poor"; and that "if we did not let the children work it would be utterly impossible for some men to care for their very large families."



OPERATIVES' CLUB HOUSE

Attacks should not be leveled at the cotton mills alone. Child labor on the farms, in the homes and in the mills always existed, and the condition is the same, generally speaking, to-day, although it should not be.

While there is an obligation on the part of society to render impossible the employment of children of tender age, and the age limit in the South should be higher,—certainly fourteen years—it must be remembered that the majority of the children in the mills are above the age usually pictured by writers upon the subject of child labor. Furthermore, while the spinners must work continuously during the day, the doffers work only twenty minutes out of thirty-five. Non-continuous work must be a point considered when estimating the injury of employment to the child. Very frequently the

tlings for the doffers when needed. Where finer yarns are spun, because it takes longer to empty the bobbins, the rest periods are longer. Outside of one mill the president has a gymnasium bar for the use of the sweeper boys who are not continuously employed.

In the weave room the work is of such a nature that only adults can properly perform it. But among the fifteen thousand employees there were observed weaving in one mill two children who were probably under the age of twelve, and in another two of probably twelve years. The other main operations, in the card and picker rooms, require men.

The superintendent of one of the mills,—a fine specimen of manhood now forty years of age was once a child laborer. He began work in a cotton mill at eight, was a spinner at fourteen, and had charge of the spinning room at sixteen. As other even more successful men in the South to-day, such as merchants, doctors and bank presidents, worked in the mills when young and secured their early education in the schools supported by the mill owners, it would be just as fair to point to this superintendent who began work at eight as typical of the conditions in the cotton mills as it is to take one or half a dozen extreme instances of child labor and make them picture the general conditions. Neither would be true. That the young workers, however, do grow into responsible positions was evidenced by another superintendent who said: "We have a number of fellows who were doffers and have been promoted to high positions. Almost all of our loom fixers were weavers. Many of our boys have gone elsewhere as overseers." In this mill there were three

spinners,—girls over fourteen, who had gone into the mill as young children and were the picture of health.

A child of twelve in the spinning room can earn more than its father in the picker room, but the wages of a single member are insufficient to support a family, which is always of good size. In one mill village an interesting family of five was visited. The oldest child was going to school and the next in age was working in the mill, but expressed a preference for school. The two alternate going to school and working. The other children are too young to work. The father is employed in the cloth room of the mill and the mother cares for the home. In another mill there was a splendid boy of fifteen years, who with his mother, another son of nine and an infant had gone to the village two years before. The boy, then thirteen, was put to work in the mill; the family got in debt \$75; the nine-year-old boy would go to the agent of the mill and say: "We've nothin' t'eat." The agent took care of them and they gradually paid their debts. The boy-head of the family is pointed to with pride by the agent of the mill, who claims that he will make a head man of him.

SOME OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN CHILD LABOR.

The farming element, which constitutes the dominating influence in the legislatures, does not yet realize the necessity of providing ample taxation for schools. The resources of the several States visited would permit greater appropriations for the public welfare. Child labor legislation without compulsory education laws has proven inoperative. This is due to the unwillingness of the parents to send their children to the schools in preference to the mills. With inadequate school facilities where the child labor law has been observed, the children become demoralized in running the streets. When convicted of crime they are chained to hardened criminals, and their downward course is assured. Through the influence of club women a reformatory has recently been secured in Georgia and one is authorized in South Carolina, which will prevent the mingling of juvenile offenders and adult criminals in those two states. But until compulsory education, for which the mill owners have been agitating more than five years, is secured, with adequate school facilities, the argument that the children are better off in the mills where they gain self-reliance and an industrial training cannot be refuted.

While the vagrancy laws, which the mill men would be glad to see strengthened with "spikes," are practi-



FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

Another instance of how the mill men help to take care of the poor, although not a case of a child under age, was given as follows: "There are an old Confed-

fifteen minutes usual between doffings in the coarse goods mills are devoted to base ball outside of the mill, the floor superintendent going to the window and whis-

cally unenforced, the tendency of fathers to live on the earnings of the children has greatly decreased, due largely to the creation of public sentiment against it. Where there are idle fathers, they are chiefly invalids or drunkards.

Child labor has been accentuated by the scarcity of labor due partly to the high price of cotton, which has lured many of the families back to the farms where they rent a few acres for a season; or one crop of cotton, which is mortgaged in advance. They are called "croppers," because as farmers they move annually, and the roving characteristic is so marked that after becoming operatives they move frequently from one mill village to another. Sometimes the employer will be enabled to hold a family by permitting it to move from house to house,—even across the street. This story was told by a jester: "The people change their abiding place so often that when a wagon stops at his door, the man with half a dozen chickens will find them already on their backs with their feet crossed to be tied."

The work people are so independent and quick to move to a mill where their young children will be employed with the other members of the family, that the temptation of the superintendent with idle machines is very great. Undoubtedly the shortage of labor inclines the superintendents to employ more children than they would otherwise. It also causes them, as one put it, to "become rascals by stealing labor from one another." The employers are trying to teach the people to become home-makers by having their living conditions as attractive as possible. One of the three presidents active in bringing about the movement for shorter hours stated: "The need for recreation is very great. At the end of the year after the people have come to the mill, they only know about twenty others in the village. By arranging time and opportunity for recreation so that they will become acquainted, we hope to secure an attachment for the village to decrease the migratory tendency."

When some of the manufacturers were asked why they did not discontinue the building of more mills than could be "manned," the reply came that they must "fill orders" and would take their chances on being able to get enough help by drawing from other mills.

The scarcity of labor is not only caused by the increase in the number of mills, but by the hesitation on the part of immigrants to enter the South. This is due partly to the sensational literature which has painted such dark and unforbidding pictures.* This literature which has been published supposedly in the interest of the children, has operated against them and actually accentuated child labor. The immigrants are further deterred by rumors relative to numerous murders and few convictions. Commissioner Watchorn states this general inclination well when he says: "Immigrants seek places of which they have heard the most favorable all-around reports." Another element contributing toward the lack of a sufficient number of operatives is the rise in wages which has enabled the women to leave the mills and become home-makers. Furthermore, it is claimed that wages have advanced thirty to fifty per cent in five years, more rapidly than have increased the needs of the people. Their needs must be increased to equal the rise in wages to get them to work steadily. Even where the premium plan of adding to the wages for regular attendance has been tried in the spinning room, it has been found ineffective. Of the total number of operatives upon the pay-roll there are always from fifteen to twenty per cent "loafing," as the people can make enough in four days to live six. One president stated that "the people are not sufficiently ambitious to care to work all the time, but as we are throwing about them elevating influences their needs are growing greater and the next generation will be all right." Naturally, the increasing of the needs of the people to the consuming power of their wages would be a slow solution of this problem, even though "the next generation" may be "all right" in some of the long-established villages such as the one mentioned.

*One such effort received the "blue ribbon." In Belgium, as the best Sociological production, and was used by certain interests abroad to discourage immigration to the South.



OPERATIVES' BAND

Several mill owners estimated that if all the operatives listed upon their pay-rolls would work day in and day out, there would be an adequate supply of labor. When asked why they did not reduce the wages to meet this "scarcity due to higher wages" and thus force the operatives to work full time, it was stated that competition among the mills for labor would not permit.

It must be remembered that wages for individuals in the cotton industry are low as compared with other skilled trades, both in New England and the South, and a statement with reference to the present high wages can be only relative. When the mountain people first went into the mills, although the wages were much lower than now, the total amount earned by a family so far exceeded its earnings upon the farm that it meant almost fabulous riches. The solution of the child labor problem through a further increase in wages would be a slow process, for the wages of the adults would have to be sufficiently high to permit them to



MATCH GAME BETWEEN MILL TEAMS

support their families; and taking into consideration cheaper living, the wages are now apparently as high as in New England in the same line of manufacture, but there while the families work in the mills there are greater opportunities for the fathers in skilled trades outside. The Southern manufacturers also claim that they must compete in the world market—with the wages much lower in Italy, France, Germany and England, while in India they are but a small fraction of what is paid elsewhere.

If one of the solutions is immigrant labor, it will have to be family labor, owing to the nature of the work. The work in the spinning room, at present so largely performed by children, should be taken up by young women over fourteen; the other adult members of the family being employed in other trades outside or in different capacities in the mills, a living wage would be secured. The individual immigrant would not be attracted by the wages which can be paid in the South when he can go to the Northwest and secure a higher rate. Nor does he take into consideration final results due to cheaper living, but he sees the amount of wages paid by the day. Immigrants of few nationalities would mix with the native whites, and it therefore seems that they must go principally to the new mills or to the city mills, thus driving the natives into the country districts.

It was interesting to learn that the greatest scarcity of labor occurs in the spinning room where the children work. For business reasons purely, if for no others, the employers do not desire child labor because the spinning machine is the most delicate and expensive in the mill, and the higher the grade of intelligence to manipulate that machine, they claim the better will be the product and the greater the amount of output. Furthermore, the children are very destructive,—broken bobbins frequently were observed scattered upon the mill floors by the doffers. Again, the loss through wasted material caused by unskilled labor is greater in the spinning room than in the preceding processes because it is so near the finished product. To prove the economic value of older operatives, one employer, who manufactures colored goods, said: "We want children over fourteen because the younger ones cannot tell the difference between the shades." Even the sweeper boys are inefficient because of their youthfulness, and one mill president has introduced negro adults to sweep the floors, while another has substituted superannuated white men. Another said: "It is to our

interest to keep the children out of the mills, for otherwise they will not grow up to be strong men." The leading mill men go so far as to say that *they do not believe children should work under the age of sixteen*; that that would be the ideal condition which they would welcome.

The scarcity of labor in the cotton mills cannot be reduced by the use of negro labor. While reliable information shows that negroes are used in the tobacco factories, where they simply have to strip the tobacco leaves, and have made good locomotive firemen and yard switchmen upon the railroads, it has been proved thoroughly that they cannot be used successfully in the cotton mills. While there is no reason why negroes could not be trained to be good operatives, it has been shown that in the cotton mills they could make enough in two days to meet their needs and that they would not work the balance of the week. Furthermore, it is the characteristic of the negro to roam at night. Being drowsy, therefore, during the day, the rhythm of the machinery puts him to sleep.

The child labor problem may be met partly by the invention of machinery to displace the children. A letter from the president of the Saxon mills in South Carolina, calling upon The National Civic Federation to aid in this matter is quoted here:

If your organization can influence the Draper Company or other leaders in inventions to perfect machines to doff the spinning frames and to catch up and insert between the rolls the broken sliver, you will in my judgment be aiming straighter at the mark of the final solution of the child labor problem than any one who has yet interested themselves in it. I wish sincerely that you could put the whole influence of your organization upon an agitation of the need of automatic machinery in the spinning room where the problem is, in the judgment of many, no more difficult than has been solved in both the weaving and drawing-in rooms, and the need is far greater.

He suggested prize competitions to bring the question to the attention of inventors generally. The automatic looms and drawing-in frames are so marvelous as to be uncanny, and surely it is possible to provide for doffing by machinery, which would reduce the number of operatives required for that work. The drawing-in frame takes the place of seventeen girls, and will perform in eight minutes work that used to require about four hours.

The automatic loom, which has lessened the number of operatives required for weaving has an adjustment for supplying mechanically fresh bobbins filled with yarn when those in use have become empty. This operation is not dissimilar to the process of doffing.

One of the greatest needs is the creation of public sentiment in favor of the modern legislation required, which at the present time is advocated and understood principally by the employers. Generally speaking, the agitation has been promoted by well-meaning but misguided theorists who have not acquainted themselves with the conditions under which the people work or the business management and financial problems of the mills. The legislation needed in South Carolina is:

Compulsory education with provision for truant officers;

Factory inspection to strengthen the child labor law; Amendment of the child labor law to increase the age limit from twelve to fourteen years;

Birth registration; and marriage license law. With the exception of the last two subjects listed, the requirements are the same in Alabama, and in Georgia even the child labor law is yet to be secured.

For the present, the cotton mills are industrial training schools as well as refuges for the unfortunates. Too much praise cannot be given to the mill owners who, in spite of the unfair criticism which has been made, are not only giving food and shelter and an industrial training to the illiterate descendants of the first inhabitants of the colonies, but, through their Welfare Work, are a great civilizing influence and are steadily raising the standard of citizenship.



SWIMMING POOL



DANCE PAVILION

TO SUPPORT TRADE UNIONISM AND OPPOSE SOCIALISM.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE FOUNDER OF THE NEW NATIONAL BUREAU AS TO ITS ORGANIZATION AND SCOPE.

FROM recent announcements in the daily press comes the information that a new industrial bureau to uphold trade unionism and oppose Socialism has just been organized in Boston by the well-known writers and lecturers on socialism, Martha Moore Avery and David Goldstein. Mrs. Avery was formerly a socialist and one of the most ardent supporters of the doctrines of the party. For several years, beginning some fifteen years ago, she took an active part, through her writings and from the platform, in advancing socialistic propaganda. Later, convinced of the complete fallacy of socialist principles, she became an out-and-out opponent of all their doctrines. In organizing the Boston School of Political Economy, of which for some time past she has been the head and director, Mrs. Avery inaugurated the movement she had in view of opposing socialism by a broad plan of education.

Mr. Goldstein who, for a number of years, has been associated with Mrs. Avery in her educational work, also began as an ardent supporter of socialism, only later to become one of its most bitter opponents. The reasons for this change in attitude Mr. Goldstein gives as follows in the Preface to his recent book "Socialism: The Nation of Fatherless Children":

The casual reader would, no doubt, reading in the public press the notice of my withdrawal from the Socialist party, conclude that that action was prompted by the thought of a day. Such, however, is far from the facts in the case. Having for years been interested in the study of economic principles, rather than in the acquaintance of socialist data, I naturally gave my attention, outside of propaganda proper, to acquiring a knowledge of the economic principles which socialism is alleged to rest upon. I came long ago to a realization that the mouthing of the name of Karl Marx was no guarantee of economic knowledge. Seven years ago, together with a few of the then comrades, we organized the Karl Marx class, for the study of his (Marx) work "Capital." Three years ago, having outgrown the work of the socialist master, we changed the name of the class to the Boston School of Political Economy, and took up the study of the original work of the Director, Martha Moore Avery. I know, now, that this was the point at which I began intellectually to move away from the socialist propaganda.

The parting of the ways, from moral standing ground, was more abrupt. The Herron episode furnished the occasion—I resented the attitude taken by the socialist press in regard to George D. Herron's divorce and his "socialist marriage," which had disgusted me—especially for the reason that it could not be denied that he, Mr. Herron, was a socialist leader who was fast mounting to the very top of the ladder in socialist favor. It was at a public meeting held in Boston at which the then editor of the *Haverhill Social Democrat* was the speaker. After he had finished his address in praise of George D. Herron, whom he had lauded as being in power and virtue second only to Jesus Christ, in the discussion which followed, together with Martha Moore Avery and one or two others, the author gave voice to strong condemnation of the lecturer's opinions and to the general tone of the socialist movement throughout the country. It was being sharply forced upon me that that which I had so long fondly believed to be socialism was not socialism at all. It was a severe blow to me—I was cut from my moorings—I could not tell for some months to come whether it was but a personal episode or whether I must in fact regard it as the deliberate position taken in strict accord with socialist philosophy—I had thought my lifework would be given to the cause of socialism, consequently the conflict in my mind and heart was great.

Mr. Goldstein's long experience in the ranks of organized labor qualifies him to speak of socialism in its relation to the great movement of trade unionism. Through close association with socialist leaders on the platform and in "hand to hand fights upon the floor of trades unions," he became thoroughly familiar with the tactics employed by socialists in their persistent efforts to gain control of the trade union movement. He believes emphatically that there is marked evidence to show that upon economic ground the battle to sustain industrial progress will come to an issue between the American Federation of Labor and the railway brotherhoods on the one side, and the socialist organizations on the other.

It is fortunate that two persons so well equipped as Mr. Goldstein and Mrs. Avery, are to be associated in the work of the new national Bureau to combat the dangerous and disruptive influence of socialism. When asked concerning the organization and scope of the Bureau, Mrs. Avery stated them to be as follows:

The object of the National Bureau is the creation, collection and analysis of literature which has for its purpose the defense of national principles vs. those of socialism. The promotion and endorsement of reforms, social, commercial, financial and industrial, with the condemnation of the opposing program of revolutionists whether conducted by socialists or anarchists.

Our propaganda has thus a positive and a negative aspect. The defence of the family as against the encroachments of divorce and free love, which issue, ever before us, has been recently emphasized by the Gorky incident.

To defend the principle of individual responsibility, which alone safeguards the integrity of citizenship; as against the denial of free will which lies as a basic doctrine of socialism.

To defend the rights of private property in capital as against the socialist demand that all industrial, commercial and financial capital shall be owned and operated by all the people collectively.

To advance the interests of those trade unions who work upon the principle that the interest of capital and labor may best be promoted by trade agreements, as against the socialist demand for the abolition of the "wages-system."

To inculcate those heroic virtues which come as the fruit of religion, as against the socialist-atheist psychology which is captivating the lesser man under the prospect of material ease.

Foreseeing the necessity of this undertaking the book on socialism above referred to has been published by Mrs. Avery and Mr. Goldstein. It contains quotations from more than one hundred socialists of international standing, these quotations being taken from socialist books, magazines, documents and papers "which are openly hostile to American institutions and which persistently assail those principles which lie as the foundation stones of Christian civilization." This book is receiving the endorsement of men of all classes of society. Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to the author as follows: "I beg to say that I have read with keenest interest your book on 'Socialism, the Nation of Fatherless Children,' and have no hesitancy in saying that the book is not only timely, but an excellent contribution to the literature on the labor question and the labor movement. It tears the mask of hypocrisy from



MARTHA MOORE AVERY

the face of those who have long pretended to be friends of the trade union movement, and yet seek its destruction or diversion to an improper purpose. I have found your book a ready reference to the many hostile utterances and action of pretended friends." "With the Upton Sinclair frenzy at white heat," said Mrs. Avery, "and the Gorky incident not yet faded

from the limelight, the time is ripe for the classification of what may be called the 'muckrakers' and for a work which should be undertaken to point out that reformers, however sensational their methods or however interested their personal motives, do not attack the foundations of Christian civilization. Within this limit, because their intention is safe, even illy advised propaganda must be ranked with the sound and sober efforts to perfect our National Institutions, which, being grounded upon First Principles are acceptable to all ages.

"On the other hand, this work must show that however seriously some socialists may take themselves or their alleged science, because it is their deliberate intention to destroy what they are pleased to call the 'present system,' namely, private property, the family, the State and religion, they are thus necessarily classed with others of lurid tongue and with bomb throwers. The means employed are indeed different, but Revolution is the object which they all desire.

"No right-minded man can deny the popular cry for Reform,—for something and for many things that shall improve and perfect American institutions, but the principles upon which they are grounded are sound, for God, not men, created them. But it is these principles which it is the express mission of socialism to overthrow. By its very inner constitution the Revolution must first of all strew the human path with the wreckage of faith. Faith in the morality of the individual man; faith in the sanctity of the home; faith in the honor of our native land; faith in the goodness and justice of God must give place to the 'socialist mind' to materialism, to animalism, sugar-coated with idealism. This is the debris of which socialist barricades are building. This was the socialist law, laid down in '48 when Karl Marx with the key of 'Surplus Value,' which unlocks all time and all things, explained the means to the socialist goal. I quote from Karl Marx in 'Secret Societies of Switzerland.' 'We content ourselves at present with laying the foundations of revolutions and shall have deserved well when we shall have excited the hatred and contempt for all existing institutions. We wage war against all prevailing ideas about religion, country, State and patriotism.'

"Reform or Revolution shall be the test, for a reformer though never so extravagant in his speech, does not counsel the overthrow of the existing order. The Revolutionist does.

"The Revolutionist stands against those principles which the greatest minds of all ages have held. Consequently if one would know what a socialist means he must hold the mirror up to that degenerate nature from which free-will and individual responsibility have been taken. For this cult declares that it is environment which creates morals as well as manners; that man is a non-moral being. So any vile means to their end may be used. August Bebel, than whom no living man is higher authority in the world-wide socialist movement, defends this policy in these words: 'We want the wounds of the body social kept in a festering condition in order to allow the class distinctions to become as acute as possible.'

"This advice is carried out! Eugene V. Debs while rolling over and over eloquent phrases calls upon American workmen to arm in defense of the working class against capitalism. Our neighbor, Canada, recently barred from her mails the socialist paper containing this effusion, but we allow the Revolution breeder to do its deadly work with a circulation of 300,000. Oppression of the weak exists and it must be righted, but is this the means and is Revolution the end?

"Evidently Mr. Upton Sinclair, the latest socialist star, is of that opinion. He tells with shocking frankness the whole story of how to win the Revolution in his book, *The Jungle*, and how it was written. Its purpose was to 'blow the top off the industrial teakettle.' We have his word for it. So long ago as 1903 in the month of May, through the columns of the *Independent*, Mr. Sinclair took the general public into his confidence as though it were his Father Confessor, with this difference, that he was not penitent. By his article entitled 'My Cause' he laid bare his inner motives. They have a first and a second term. First, to sell his intellectual wares, and second, to advance socialist propaganda, the news sensation resting on duplicity.

"Mr. Sinclair has indeed, by his trick, 'got even,' as he said he would, with the literary world; he has choked it with his own stuff for a time. He wanted \$1,000 to live on while he wrote his now much talked of *Jungle*. So he created one *Arthur Stirling*, a young poet, who could not find a publisher for his masterpiece. So quite consistent with socialist philosophy he took his life in his hand and went to—hades. Our author perpetuated the scheme of the poet's existence

and of his demise upon the general public through the New York newspapers. They were betrayed into the hoax by the aid of Mr. Sinclair's friends (socialists of course), who reported the imaginary death by the imaginary drowning of the imaginary poet. The first point had been gained. *Arthur Stirling* had by death won a hearing for Mr. Sinclair, who, a few months



DAVID GOLDSTEIN

later, offered for sale the imaginary *Journal of Arthur Stirling*. Thus Mr. Sinclair found a market for his mind and a thousand dollars for his pocket.

"But this was not the end! Mr. Sinclair, who had sacrificed his honor—that is, a man who does not hold the socialist philosophy would have done so—and then he stepped forward to sacrifice his reputation. When 'My Cause' was published, socialists thought it great fun and good means in reaching the revolution. 'I knew,' said the author of *The Jungle*, 'that the hoax would cost me my reputation and the respect of all decent people, but that did not matter, for I have not been favored with the acquaintance of many decent people, and am not obliged to hear what the world thinks of me. Besides, I would cheerfully have robbed a house or sandbagged a millionaire had my task been possible in no other way. My one desire was to raise a sensation, first to 'sell the book, of course, and, second, to give me a standing ground from which to begin the agitation of my cause.'

"The integrity of his evidence regarding the story of *The Jungle* is as good and no better than the authorship of *Arthur Stirling*, his life, poetry, death and *Journal*. For upon the word of Mr. Reynolds not one of Mr. Sinclair's charges, which were placed before the commission to investigate the packing houses, was substantiated. 'Evidence' all coming from socialist sources vanished into thin air when proofs were wanted by the Beef Trust Commissioners, Messrs. Niell and Reynolds. Disgusting and filthy as the conditions were found to be, and loudly calling for no lesser remedy than the recommendation of the President—for 'inspection from hoof to can'—for the pure food bill—nothing was found equal to the packing of dead or diseased flesh of cattle, nor comparable to the horror of rendering human bodies into food products.

"But then the motive of the President is Reform, while that of *The Jungle* and its socialist sources is Revolution—there is a difference as wide as heaven from hell.

"Mrs. Ella Reeve-Cohen-Bloor, a most radical advocate of socialism for many years, whose testimony in support of Mr. Sinclair's charges backed out step by step as it was pressed for proof after proof, plainly states her purpose in 'muck-raking' in the concluding words of her 'Evidence' in the *New York World* of June 3. She says: 'The real remedy will be the public ownership of all these great food industries.' In other words, the confiscation of industrial capital; the means, scandal; the end, revolution! Socialists accept no moral responsibility for breaking down the barriers of truth; anything is all right that will hasten the 'Cause.'

"It is the same with the moral and social relations," says Mrs. Avery. "Socialism defends a code that is neither religious nor rational. As a case in point one may note the address before Congregational ministers in which Mrs. J. Phelps Stokes advocated socialist principles without reserve. For under her treatment religion utterly lost its identity. She exclaims with something of dramatic force: 'By what right, whether divine or human, am I and my sisters compelled to exhaust body and soul that other human beings may be idle, wasteful, and even destroy their own souls in vicious or thoughtless living?' No right indeed! But this is lacking in logic. If this should be the motive for one's work, that 'other human beings may be idle,'

etc., one would thus be a sinner and in grievous need of conviction of repentance and of mending one's ways. This elevated boot is kicking at the wrong fact. It misconceives the character of religion by applying the standard of worldly success to the measurement of Christian grace, since when did religion say that it was a mark of spiritual life to take 'uppermost seats'? For that good men ride in automobiles and that bad men go afoot. As a matter of fact the religion of Jesus Christ is as hard for the rich to practice as for the poor, although for opposite reasons. Now if Mrs. Stokes were as careful of environing 'my sisters' with a moral psychology, as she seems anxious for their material welfare, her defence of the Gorky 'marriage' would not have seen the light of day. But this was a perfectly correct defence of socialist philosophy, and it is by the key notes, or the theme rather, of one's utterance that must give out the understanding as to whether one is for or against national institutions. For quite contrary to socialist theory vanity and lust, not poverty, is the cause of divorce and free love, or if you please the basis of 'socialist marriage.' So not only is the misconduct of some church goes a scandal to the faith in Almighty God, but vastly more so is international socialism which enters the political arena as a means of thrusting out religion and ushering in atheism—or chaos rather. But God is not mocked.

"Our choice is our own, but for those who believe in their home and their country it is worse than folly to support that movement which has for its object the destruction of the family, and the nation. To this end we are pledged, to the analysis of reforms and the revolution."

SOCIALISM ON NEW YORK'S EAST SIDE.

From the Jewish Gazette.

HERE is an interesting news-dispatch which appeared on Tuesday morning in several hundred newspapers throughout the United States:

St. Paul, June 6.—Mrs. Rheta C. Dorr, Chairman of the Industrial Committee of the National Women's Federation, has caused a sensation here by her declaration that in her part of New York, the lower East Side, she did not think she knew "a man or a thinking woman who is not an avowed Socialist or Anarchist."

In one of the several papers in which we saw this item it appeared under the headline:

"ALL EAST SIDERS ANARCHISTS AND SOCIALISTS."

The statement was made at the convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Dorr, who speaks of "her" East Side, is one of the many "friends" who during the past decade have been intruding into its privacy, destroying its homelies, causing radical and irreconcilable differences of opinion to arise between parents and children, nullifying the influence of Judaism as a code and guide of life upon the younger generation of Jews, training and developing a breed of "higher dependents," prigs and cads, humiliating the self-respect of the East Side Jew, and grinding out her experiences, experiment, researches and discoveries into highly remunerative "copy" for newspaper and magazine articles and books, in company (or is it in competition?) with Robert Hunter, J. English Walling, Ernest Poole, John Martin, Hutchins Hapgood, John Spargo and others too numerous to mention. In other words, she is one of the self-appointed "uplifters" of the East Side who have degraded its good name.

Mrs. Dorr is a well-meaning woman, no doubt. Her intentions are good, we are sure, but the road to the habitat of Satan is paved with good intentions. The road to new Sheol that is being prepared for the refugee from persecution and massacre—the gate of exclusion—has, undoubtedly, been paved for a goodly distance by just such books as those written by the Hunters and Spargoes and by such statements as that made by Mrs. Dorr.

Needless to say, the statement is absurd on its face. Not only is it absolutely false that all East Siders are Anarchists and Socialists, but it is equally absolutely false that any very considerable number are enemies of society or desirous of overthrowing the Constitution of the United States. The facts are quite the reverse; most East Siders are neither Socialists nor Anarchists. Of the latter category there are so few that the proportion could be expressed only in decimal number of the fifth or sixth remove; of the former, the number is variable, according to the improvement of the financial condition of the East Side. As a fact, Socialism is fast losing strength on the East Side.

Of course the lady did not say that all East Siders are Anarchists or Socialists. The unscrupulous telegraph editors and headline writers make that implication. What she said was that she did not think she knew "a man or a thinking woman on the lower East Side who is not an avowed Socialist or Anarchist." We believe her; she met none but these, for the reason that being what she is, an intruder and meddler, she would not meet the thinking Jews and Jewesses of the East Side. She met only the "conscious" and "convinced" of the settlements, and her East Side horizon is bounded by the University Settle-

ment, the College Settlement, the People's Institute and the Corning Clark House. The few Jews and Jewesses whom she may have met are that breed who look up to the "uplifters," and being, in one way or another, dependent upon them, imitate them apishly, and repeat their pater, parrotlike. She did not, could not have met East Siders who represent the heart and spirit of the East Side.

THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

The Socialistic Labor Organization of the West Opposes Trade Union Principles.

AN account of the Western Federation of Miners is presented in *The Outlook* of May 19 by Mr. William Hard, who endeavors to interpret the principles of that organization as expressed through its various channels of operation. The differences between the principles of the Federation and those of most other labor organizations, and in particular of the trade unions, are strikingly presented in a comparison of the Federation, which is composed largely of metaliferous miners in the States west of the Mississippi River, with the United Mine Workers of America, whose membership is confined to coal mine workers. After characterizing the latter as "a business enterprise" and the former as "incidentally a business enterprise but fundamentally a philosophical agitation," Mr. Hard says:

The United Mine Workers accepts the present industrial system and regards the employer as its partner. The Western Federation of Miners denounces the present industrial system and regards the very existence of the employer as an evil. The United Mine Workers is interested mainly in the division of the proceeds of the present industrial system between itself and its partner, the employer. It wants to increase its own share of the proceeds, and it wants to reduce its partner's share. The Western Federation of Miners, on the other hand, is interested mainly in the elimination of the employer. It wants more wages, of course, but if it should succeed in establishing a scale of even a hundred dollars a day it would still be bound by its principles to spurn the relaxing comforts of prosperity and to nerve itself to a continuation of the struggle.

Referring to the internal policy of the Western Federation and to its attitude toward the trade agreement principle of settling and preventing differences between labor and capital, Mr. Hard says:

The internal policy of the Western Federation of Miners is consistent with its published principles. The most important part of this policy is an aversion to the signing of contracts with employers. A contract is regarded as a manacle. It binds one union when another union might need its help. Presumably if a contract could be signed by the whole working class of the United States with the whole employing class for the term of a year at a fixed scale of wages, the Western Federation of Miners would not seriously object. But in the absence of such a possibility it seems to the Federation that contracts interfere with the mobility and flexibility of the working class.

In brief, the Western Federation opposes the evolutionary process in the construction of the industrial state and would substitute revolutionary methods for its destruction. It would wipe out in its entirety and by revolution the present industrial state along with all the good it has brought to present-day society, instead of retaining this good through eradicating industrial evils, which can best be done by evolutionary processes. Such socialistic principles (the Federation has openly avowed political action through the Socialist party as the industrial cure-for-all) are fundamentally opposed to all the teachings of history as to the process through which social institutions are best formed. And in consequence they are antagonistic to the orderly and natural development of the broad American social state.

In explanation of the radicalism which prevents the Western Federation of Miners from joining the American Federation of Labor, the central national labor organization with which most American trade unions are identified, Mr. Hard says in part:

The American Federation of Labor tolerates "craft autonomy." That is, when there are several crafts in the same industry the American Federation of Labor usually allows the members of each craft to maintain their own union, if they so desire. The teamsters, for instance, in the packing industry have a union of their own; and so have the firemen; and so have the carpenters. These men want separate unions, and the American Federation of Labor consents. The leaders of the Western Federation of Miners believe that such a division into crafts is fatal. They demand that labor be organized, not according to crafts, but according to industries.

Since the publication of Mr. Hard's article in *The Outlook* the Western Federation of Miners has held

its thirteenth annual convention at Denver, beginning May 28. In their accounts of the convention the Denver newspapers report that 175 delegates were in attendance compared with 300 and 400 delegates in former years. The *Denver Republican* states that "as the roll call of unions progressed it was announced many times that there was no representation." Official reports to the convention, however, stated that a considerable number of unions had joined the Federation since the incarceration of three of its officials in the county jail at Boise, Idaho, for alleged complicity in the assassination of former Governor Steunenberg of Idaho. Among these officials are the President of the Federation, Mr. Charles H. Moyer, and the Secretary, Mr. W. A. Haywood.

This Denver meeting has resulted in a serious split in the Federation over Socialism. It came about through a dispute as to the seating of delegates of the Butte union, the latter being the founder of the Federation as well as its strongest union. The convention seated two members from the Butte union whom the latter had repudiated as delegates because of their Socialistic belief, the Butte union having strongly opposed Socialism. Seven of the thirteen delegates from the Butte union immediately "bolted" the convention and refused to take part in its proceedings.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION ORGANIZATIONS.

Objects of the Junior Order United American Mechanics, the Immigration Restriction League, and the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League.

THE recent remarkable growth in the number of immigrants annually coming to the United States has seemingly given an impetus to the activity of those organizations in this country which have to do with the restriction of alien immigration to our shores. These organizations have of late directed much of their influence toward the halls of Congress with the view of securing additional restriction legislation, and are also renewing their efforts along the lines of educating the public to their view of the situation. For the purpose of indicating the objects and principles of these organizations information is presented in this article as to the Junior Order United American Mechanics, the Immigration Restriction League, and the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League. These are not the only organizations that favor additional immigration restriction, as such a policy is endorsed by labor organizations and others, but to our knowledge they are the only ones organized for this definite and distinct purpose.

The constitution of the Immigration Restriction League states the objects of that organization to be as follows:

The objects of this League shall be to advocate and work for the further judicious restriction or stricter regulation of immigration, to issue documents and circulars, solicit facts and information on that subject, hold public meetings, and to arouse public opinion to the necessity of a further exclusion of elements undesirable for citizenship or injurious to our national character. It is not an object of this League to advocate the exclusion of laborers or other immigrants of such character and standards as fit them to become citizens.

Since the organization of the League in 1894, among its most important activities have been those directed toward embodying in legislation what is known as the educational test. In 1895 it prepared what later became known in Congress as the "Lodge bill," which provided, among other things, for an addition to the excluded classes of "all persons between fourteen and sixty years of age who cannot both read and write the English language or some other language." This bill passed both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Cleveland on March 2, 1897. The League's bill was reintroduced in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-seventh sessions of Congress, the language of the excluding clause being changed to read as follows: "All persons over fifteen years of age and physically capable of reading who cannot read the English language or some other language; but an admissible immigrant or a person now in or hereafter admitted to this country may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read and write or not." So far the League's educational test has not been embodied in legislation. The League's other activities include tests made in New York City as to the illiteracy of Hebrew immigrants and the recent conduct of an inquiry as to the need in the South of immigrant labor. Its headquarters are in Boston, and its Secretary and Treasurer is Mr. Prescott F. Hall.

Another out-and-out immigration restriction organization which, however, confines its activities to the problem as presented by Oriental countries, is the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, with headquarters at San Francisco. This organization has been in existence a little over one year, but it was only on May 6, last, that its principles were formally enunciated

in the preamble to a constitution. This preamble sets forth the principles of the League as follows:

Two unassimilable races can not exist perpetually in the same territory. Contact between such races results in the extermination of that one which, by reason of its characteristics, physical or mental, is least adapted to the conditions of life prevailing in the given territory.

The conditions of life are, in the last analysis, determined by the conditions of labor. Consequently, the question of adaptability, as between two unassimilable races, must be resolved in favor of that race the characteristics of which most nearly conform to the conditions of labor.

The labor of to-day in the United States is a machine, as distinguished from a manual process. That race, therefore, which by its nature is best suited to complement the machine, as the essential factor of production, is in that respect the superior race, and therefore best adapted to the conditions of American industrial life.

The Caucasian and Mongolian races are unassimilable. Contact between these races must result, under the conditions of industrial life obtaining in the United States, in injury to the former, proportioned to the extent to which such contact prevails. The preservation of the Caucasian race upon American soil, and particularly upon the Western shore thereof, necessitates the adoption of all possible measures to prevent or minimize the immigration of Mongolians to the United States.

With these principles and purposes in view, we have formed the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, and we urgently invite the active co-operation of all American citizens, to the end that the soil of the United States may be preserved to the American people of the present and all future generations, that they may attain the highest possible moral and material standards, and that they may maintain a society in keeping with the highest ideals of freedom and self-government.

Mr. Walter MacArthur was the representative of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League, as well as of the State of California, at the immigration conference of The National Civic Federation held in New York City last December.

The Junior Order United American Mechanics, "a loyal, patriotic organization, fraternal and beneficial, strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian," claiming to have 1,600 subordinate councils and over 200,000 members in forty-one States, presents the following in its declaration of principles regarding immigration:

We recognize the landing upon our shores of the ignorant, the vicious and the lawless of the old world as a constant menace to our institutions, and believe that it should be viewed with alarm by the loyal and patriotic citizens of the entire country.

We announce an honest welcome to all immigrants who come hither seeking to better their condition and intending to become earnest and law-abiding citizens of our country. But we maintain that there is no room in this land for the anarchist, the nihilist or the escaped criminal, or for any one who is not willing to pledge allegiance to our flag and nationality, and to place the allegiance due it above that conceded to any other power, civil or religious. We know our flag to be powerful enough to shield and protect them as well as us in the exercise of both civil and religious liberty.

First place among the four objects of the Order is given to the following: "To maintain and promote the interests of Americans, and shield them from the depressing effects of unrestricted immigration; to assist them in obtaining employment, and to encourage them in business." No applicant shall be eligible to membership in the Order except he be "A white male citizen of the United States of America, born within its then territory or domain, or under the protection of its flag."

For the conduct of a campaign, principally along educational lines, designed to bring about remedial legislation relative to naturalization and a further restriction of immigration, the Order the past year placed in the hands of its National Legislative Committee the sum of \$50,000 and appointed a special committee, with headquarters in Washington, to carry on this work in charge of Mr. Jesse Taylor, of Jamestown, O., as its secretary. This committee aims to secure the co-operation of all fraternities, societies and organizations interested in the work. Through this committee the Order prepared a bill (known as House bill No. 17491) which has been reported to the House from the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. Its general purpose is the restriction of immigration, and it embodies an increase of the head tax, an educational test, heavier fines on steamship companies for violations, more rigid inspection of immigrants, etc. Within the Order there has recently been organized a permanent immigration restriction league.

"TAKE YOUR CHOICE."

From the American Federationist.

NO DOUBT some of our readers have heard the thoughtless assertion that certain labor men in the Civic Federation truckle to the employers and other men of means, who also are members, and these labor men have for that reason been urged to quit that association. Of course, those who know could not very well take issue on the question and do not now. But because that side has been frequently urged and coming upon another view which has been recently published, it is believed that it also will prove "mighty interestin' readin'." The great love (?) which the Post-Parry Citizens' Alliance has for trade unions and trade unionists is well known. That conglomeration, impregnated with the virus of trade union-phobia, publish a weekly sheet which they misname the *Square Deal*. In that publication they print an editorial which we republish for the benefit of all whom it may concern. It is as follows:

"We quote from a press report of the last national convention of the United Mine Workers, held in Indianapolis, the following beautiful tribute to the Civic Federation, from the lips of John Mitchell:

Referring to The National Civic Federation, of which he is a member, President Mitchell declared that his association with the gentlemen composing that organization had always been turned to the advantage of the United Mine Workers. The Civic Federation, he said, was composed of twelve honorable gentlemen, who were themselves employers of labor. The cardinal principles of the Civic Federation were to maintain friendly relations with organized labor. This organization favored the trade agreement, and in recognizing the trade agreement had recognized organized labor. "True," he said, "it has men like Eliot, but if we all thought alike there would be no organized labor and no mine workers' organization. There would be no necessity for them." President Mitchell was warmly applauded when he concluded.

While we and other observers must agree with Mr. Mitchell that the Civic Federation is the most useful ally the closed-shop unionists have, we are rather inclined to think that he was "feeling his oats" overmuch when he boastfully proclaimed the fact. Doubtless the most politic Samuel Gompers was filled with chagrined apprehension when he read this ingenious utterance, and realized that it was a most indiscreet exposure, menacing the continued existence of the tin-horn trust of which he and Mitchell are the chief engineers. For Mr. Gompers knows, as Mr. Mitchell ought to, that the Civic Federation can be useful to the labor grafters' guild only in so far as it can make the public believe that it is intended to secure square and fair dealing between the unions and the rest of the world, that it will lose all influence just as soon as the public finds that it is merely the facile instrument in the hands of the closed-shop combine.

That it is that facile instrument in the conspiracy against the free workingmen of America has long been apparent to those who have studied its methods or thoughtfully read its magazine, or who know that in its action the wishes of Gompers and Mitchell are always first consulted and made the governing rule by its executive manager.

There are many good men and true on the various boards and committees of the Civic Federation who owe it to themselves to see that the absolute domination of the labor trust leaders, which makes that organization their creature, is done away with, so that ~~the other side~~ shall at least have a hearing. If they can not accomplish this they should resign. The Federation is doing business under false pretenses. The cunning of Gompers and Mitchell have brought this about. It registers their will and gives the weight of its influence only as they demand. Can any member of the Federation point to a single instance where its action in connection with labor questions had not been dictated by Gompers and Mitchell?

Do not the good men and true—honorable, broad-minded Christian gentlemen, like Dr. Eliot, John H. Patterson, and others, who are advertised as among its official membership, and whose names give it weight; do not these gentlemen know that when a labor question or proposition concerning the relations between employers and workingmen is presented to the executive manager of the Civic Federation his first question is whether it has been put before Gompers and Mitchell, and as to what they think of it, with, when necessary, the positive declaration that nothing will be done by the Federation without the approval of these two men? If these good men and true do not know this, it is time they learned it, for it is a fact well known to others.

The names of the many eminent and patriotic Americans on the official list alone give the Civic Federation weight and influence. That weight and influence is used to promote the conspiracy against the free workingmen of America, at the head of which conspiracy are Gompers and Mitchell.

Would it not be well for these well-meaning persons who have been used by Gompers and Mitchell as stalking-horses to look into things a little?"

The National Civic Federation Review

VOL. II. No. 11

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1906

TEN CENTS



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| 1. Mr. Thomas W. Waddon (Secretary and General Manager of the Newcastle and Gateshead Gas Company) | 5. Mr. Timothy Healy (President International Brotherhood Stationary Firemen) | 10. Prof. E. W. Bemis (Superintendent Cleveland City Water Works) |
| 2. Mr. A. E. Winchester (General Superintendent City of South Norwalk Electric Works) | 6. Mr. J. W. Sullivan (Editor Clothing Trades Bulletin) | 11. Mr. C. L. Edgar (President Edison Electric and Illuminating Company) |
| 3. Mr. M. E. Ingalls (Chairman, Big Four Railroad) | 7. Prof. Frank J. Goodnow (Columbia University) | 12. Mr. Edward A. Moffett (Editor "Bricklayer and Mason") |
| 4. Sir W. H. Stephenson (Chairman of the Tyne Improvement Co.) | 8. Prof. J. H. Gray (Northwestern University) | 13. Walton Clark (Third Vice-President United Gas Improvement Company) |
| | 9. Dr. Milo R. Maltbie (Former Editor "Municipal Affairs") | |

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION AT NEWCASTLE-ON-THE-TYNE

THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP COMMISSION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

IMPORTANT CITIES VISITED, PLANTS INVESTIGATED, OFFICIALS AND EXPERTS INTERVIEWED, AND AN OUTLINE OF THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE'S FUTURE WORK.

FIFTEEN members of the Committee on Investigation of the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation of The National Civic Federation, who sailed for Europe on May 22, having completed their work abroad, returned to the United States in August. Their investigation in European cities was facilitated by the itinerary having previously been arranged by Messrs. Maltbie and Sullivan, two members of the Commission, who, with eight experts, had preceded the Investigating Committee three months. The members of the Committee began their work at Dublin and concluded their labors at London.

In all their examinations the Committee consulted with the engineers and accountants. Not only did these technists accompany the Committee upon its visits to the many plants inspected, but they were also engaged—in pairs, the one the nominee of the "pro," the other of the "anti" members—in completing the critical examination of the plants coming under their respective jurisdictions. These experts were: Street Railways—Norman McD. Crawford, of Hartford, Conn.; Gas—J. H. Woodward, of London, J. B. Klumpp, of Germantown, Pa., and Wm. Newbigging, of Manchester; Electric Lighting and Power—A. E. Winchester, of South Norwalk, Conn., and J. B. Klumpp. Messrs. E. H. Turner, of Manchester, and Robert C. James, of Wallingford, Pa., were the accountants.

Labor conditions in the plants chosen for investigation were studied by Prof. John R. Commons, of Wisconsin University, and J. W. Sullivan, Editor of the Clothing Trades Bulletin of New York. Legislation and franchises were studied by Milo R. Maltbie, of New York.

The data these experts were required to obtain had been indicated beforehand in very comprehensive schedules, described in the April number of THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION REVIEW. The committee will be largely guided by these and the American schedules in framing its final report.

The cities visited and the class of plants examined by the Committee were as follows:

Dublin—Street railways, private.

Glasgow—Street railways, public; electric, public; gas, public.

Newcastle-on-Tyne—Electric, private (two companies); gas, private. Manchester—Electric, public; street railways, public; gas, public.

Leicester—Gas, public. Sheffield—gas, private.

Birmingham—Gas, public.

London—Electric, public and private (five plants); street railways, private (two plants); gas, private.

Liverpool—Electric, public; street railways, public.

Norwich—Street railways, private.

At Glasgow the Committee's work was especially promoted by the fact of its having the very friendly cooperation of so noted an exponent of municipal ownership as Manager Dalrymple of the City's Tramways. At London similar assistance was rendered by Sir Clifton Robinson, whose interests in private companies is not exceeded by those of any other man in Great Britain.

Hearings were held at London, at which leading exponents of company management were heard. Among those who attended these hearings were Lord Avebury, Mr. Sydney Morse, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Emil Garcke, of the Industrial Freedom League; Mr. Dixon H. Davies, Solicitor to the Great Central Railway; Mr. Wm. L. Madgen, and Mr. Robert P. Porter, of the London Times. The principal exponents of municipal ownership were also heard. Among the latter were Mr. T. McKinnon

Wood, leader of the Progressive party of the London County Council; Mr. J. Allen Baker, Chairman of the London Municipal Tramways; Mr. Robert Donald, Editor of the *Municipal Journal* and Managing Editor of the *London Daily Chronicle*; G. W. Spencer Hawes, Member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers.

From the very beginning great interest was manifested in the work of the Commission. Boards of trade, private companies, city governments, labor leaders, members of Parliament, officials of the Imperial Government, representatives of ratepayers' associations—all seemed interested, and every facility was placed at the command of the Committee.

The general sentiment was that the report of the Commission should be of no less value to the people of Great Britain and Ireland than to the people of America. The fact that so many men drawn from different walks of life, and of such diversity of opinion, could be gotten together and dispatched upon so important a mission, was much commented upon, as was the further fact, that they had set out to determine the actual conditions in each case, by employing a corps of engineers and accountants. In short, the Commission and its sponsor, the National Civic Federation,

be promptly furnished members of the Committee; that Dr. Maltbie prepare a history of parliamentary action in relation to the municipal utilities under investigation; Prof. Goodnow, a report on political conditions in the municipalities of the United Kingdom as compared with such conditions in the United States, same to include a discussion of the relation of said political conditions to public and private operation of the particular municipal utilities; Profs. Bemis and Parsons, and Messrs. Walton Clark and Edgar, either jointly or individually, such statements for the plants investigated here and abroad; that the schedules for each plant be collated in a clear, concise statement for the use of the Committee in drafting its report; that the officers of the Committee prepare a general statement of conclusions and recommendations that may be used as a basis of discussion and adoption with such emendation as the Committee may order, etc., etc.

In this country the work of investigation is almost completed. The cities that have been visited are: Wheeling, Allegheny, Indianapolis, Chicago and South Norwalk; a number of other cities have been examined by the experts and by members of the Committee whose work has been specialized. The experts employed in

the American investigation are: Gas—Fred C. Burnett, of Toronto, and A. E. Forstall, of New York; Electric Lighting and Power—C. E. Phelps, Jr., of Baltimore, and Theo. Stebbins, of Columbus, Ohio; Water—Dabney A. Maury, of Peoria, Ill.; Accountants—Marwick, Mitchell & Co.

A report upon the Massachusetts method of regulating the electric lighting industry is being prepared by Alton D. Adams, of Worcester, and C. I. R. Humphreys, of Humphreys & Glasgow, New York.

Expert work, not technical in character, in relation to the plants selected, is being performed by Prof. John H. Gray, of the Northwestern University; and Walter L. Fisher, of Chicago, has prepared a report upon the history of the municipal lighting plant of that city; Prof. Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, has made a similar report on the gas question in Philadelphia. The special investigation of labor conditions is now being completed by Prof. Commons and Mr. Sullivan.

Cleveland, Philadelphia, and one or two other large cities will be visited by the Committee shortly. The subcommittees provided for

in the resolution referred to will then complete the duties assigned to them. This will be followed by one or more meetings of the Committee, at which its report will be drafted.

At the present time the work of collating the matter contained in the completed schedules—the data gathered by the experts—in such a way as to make its assimilation more easy, is now being proceeded with.

It is expected that the Committee will be ready to report to the entire Commission about the first of the year.

As the trade agreement has been found to be one of the most important factors in maintaining industrial peace and stability, and in giving the unions a standing which enables them to take part in determining wage rates and shop conditions without continual recourse to strikes and the expenditure of large sums for carrying on an industrial warfare, it is most essential that they should indicate a determination to at all times comply with the terms of their contracts.—*Iron Moulders' Journal*.



Upper Row (from left to right)—John R. Commons, J. H. Woodward, R. C. James, Wm. Newbigging, Milo R. Maltbie. Lower Row (from left to right)—E. H. Turner, Albert E. Winchester, Norman McD. Crawford, J. W. Sullivan, J. B. Klumpp.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN EXPERTS ENGAGED IN THE INVESTIGATION.

were warmly commended for having undertaken a work of such manifest importance to cities.

The Committee was entertained by the Lord Mayor and other officials of London, the Lord Provost and heads of departments of the Glasgow city government, and by the several other cities visited. A dinner was also given by the Association of Tramways Managers of Great Britain and Ireland, and a luncheon by Mr. Alfred Mosely. The Hon. Whitelaw Reid, Ambassador to the Court of St. James, also entertained the Committee at luncheon. Not only were these affairs highly enjoyable from the social standpoint, but, through the speeches and conversations, they also proved to be the source of much valuable information.

The Future Work of the Committee.

The last meeting held in London adopted a resolution outlining a plan for the accomplishment of the remaining work of the Committee. This resolution provides:

That as schedules are completed copies of same to

PROBLEMS PRESENTED BY INCOMING ALIENS.

STATISTICAL INFORMATION IS CALLED IN QUESTION BY WELL-KNOWN EXPERTS AT THE FEDERATIONS' CONFERENCE ON IMMIGRATION.

STATISTICS generally accepted as representing the facts as to many phases of the immigration problem came in for a vigorous and searching analysis by experts in this branch of knowledge at the annual meeting of the Department of Immigration of The National Civic Federation held at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York City on September 24. All "sides" of the immigration issue, including the two most radical views, were represented, and as a result of the analysis of statistical tables there was a general feeling among those attending the conference, many of them from widely separated sections of the country, that the first and most important work to be undertaken by the Federation's new Department was the correction of much of this alleged statistical information. Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago, Chairman of the Immigration Department, presided at the meeting. Following the general session there were separate meetings of the seven committees of investigation which are charged with the direction of research work.

Mr. Prescott F. Hall, Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, in an extended discussion at the general session of the immigration bills now before Congress, alluded as follows to the lack of information: "I think all who have studied this subject for any length of time feel very much the scarcity of accurate statistics on the immigration question. I certainly do. And it is one of the very encouraging things about the formation of this Department that we can

connection Mr. Hall said: "The flow of immigration is not entirely normal and is not the natural seeking of our shores by the immigrant, but to a certain extent, and to a large extent, I believe it is artificially stimulated. If that is so, there is more reason why we should on this side take steps to stiffen our existing laws, because the steamship companies will take any person whom they can possibly get through. If we stiffen up our laws they will be driven to seek a better class of immigrants and, therefore, the theory of the present laws, i.e., that the steamship companies practically enforce them, will be carried out more in the way in which it was originally intended to be carried out." The additions to the excluded class provided by the Senate bill include those suffering from tuberculosis, feeble-minded persons, persons of poor physique, children under seventeen years of age unaccompanied by parents, and "any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another person, or who is assisted by others to come." Of this last provision Mr. Hall said: "Under the present law any friend or relative may send for an immigrant. The object of this clause is to limit the privilege of sending to such persons as are under some legal or moral obligation to support such immigrants after they arrive. It is estimated that upward of fifty per cent of the present immigration is assisted. The effect of this is that a lot of persons come who probably would not come except for that assistance, that is to say, in many cases the more energetic and serviceable members of a family come over, and after getting a footing here, they send for their friends and relatives who probably would not be able to come alone. It goes without saying that a class which is obliged to be assisted to come cannot be the equal of a class which would come of its own accord; and the class of assisted individuals includes a great many persons who sooner or later come upon the public for support in various ways."

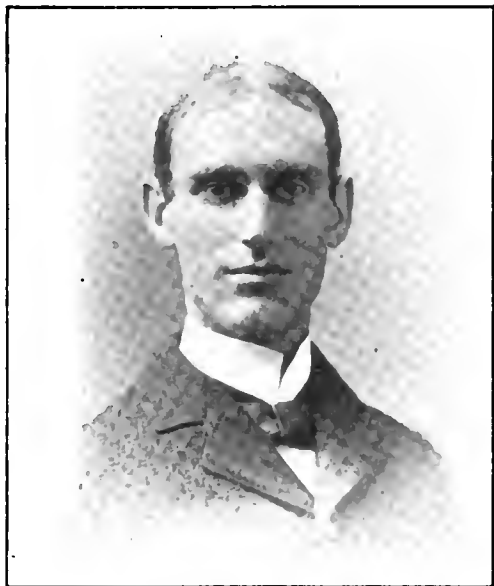
Referring to the section relating to the subject of fines upon steamship companies, Mr. Hall said: "Under existing laws a penalty of \$1000 is imposed upon the steamship lines which bring over immigrants suffering with a loathsome or dangerous disease, if it could have been ascertained at the port of departure that they had that disease. The proposed laws impose fines upon steamship companies in certain additional cases, namely, if they bring idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded and insane persons, or epileptics. The theory, as I said, of the present law is that the rejection of aliens at the ports on this side will not of itself be a sufficient inducement to the steamship companies to examine immigrants carefully at the port of embarkation or at the time they purchase the tickets. Experience, however, shows that the steamship companies will take everybody that can possibly pass muster, and that in fact they bring numerous diseased persons. This fine was put into the act of March 3, 1903, with the object of stopping that practice as to diseased persons. But in 1904 \$31,000 in fines were collected from the steamship companies under this section, and in 1905, after a year's experience, \$27,300 in fines were collected, and the Commissioner-General's report for 1905 of the number of diseased persons brought in by the steamship companies shows that this provision, as it stands in the law of March 3, 1903, is not adequate to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended, as there was an increase of forty-one per cent in the diseased persons brought over the previous year. The object of the section in the proposed measure is to extend the classes which the steamship companies should be obliged to weed out."

As to the demand for labor throughout the country, Mr. Hall stated that, while it is true we need more farm laborers in various sections of the country, the same is true with farm labor in England. "It is not purely an American matter," he said, "for in some parts of Europe it is the same. It arises in the United States from the seasonal character of the work. Immigrants are desired a few weeks of the year to harvest the crops, and the rest of the year there is nothing to do, so that the total rate of wages during the year for agricultural work is less than for contract work in the large cities. As long as that is the case it will be impossible to get immigrants to remain permanently in the farming regions. The kind of immigrant who will go to those regions and take his family there and settle there, and who has some means, and who will permanently take up land there, is the kind desired in the various States. That is not the kind we are now receiving to any extent."

"My friend, Prof. Willcox, has recently published an article in which he attacks the proposition that there is a tendency of recent immigrants to congregate in

the city slums. I do not consider myself competent to discuss that question without a great deal of study, but I would like to point out that for present purposes of restriction it makes very little difference whether the tendency to settle in the slums is a tendency of persons who come here to remain, or whether it is a tendency to be found there. If you have a large stream of immigrants passing through your large cities there will be an excess of certain kinds in the city all the time. For the purpose of relieving that condition and of considering the question of purely exclusion and restriction, it makes, to my mind, very little difference whether there is in fact this special tendency to stick to cities. The eastern seaport cities will in such a case be overcrowded by a certain class of immigrants in any event."

While approving of medical inspection abroad and the employment of secret service agents, Mr. Hall stated objections to Consular inspection of immigrants. He approved heartily of the proposed educational test in the measure now before Congress. He said that the purpose of this illiteracy test is not at all based upon the view that a man is necessarily a better immigrant because he can read and write, but that, as a matter of fact, statistics show that the class that can read and write is on the whole a better class than that which cannot. He stated that the illiteracy test would not necessarily cut down the volume of immigrants, but that it might do so; it would, however, tend very much to raise the quality; and "if one million



MR. PRESCOTT F. HALL

Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League.

hope after a time to get more accurate and reliable statistics. Until that time we have, of course, to take such as we have for what they are worth."

After emphasizing the need and pressing demand for legislation that would further restrict immigration, Mr. Hall analyzed in detail the various sections of measures now pending before Congress. He justified an increase in the head tax, proposed by the Senate bill, from \$2 to \$5, on the ground that there was need for more money to carry out efficiently the work of the Immigration Bureau. Among improvements in the service needing more money, he referred to better facilities for inspection, additional expenses for the distribution facilities proposed, the cost for medical inspection abroad, better paid and more inspectors, the district-attorneys' offices in enforcing present immigrations at Southern ports, additional appropriations for district-attorneys' offices in enforcing present immigration laws, the expense of further and more complete statistical investigation and reports, and the need of more money to meet the cost of deportation. In addition to these proposed expenditures justifying an increase in the head tax, Mr. Hall stated that there is the practical argument that if we are interested at all in the reduction of the amount of immigration, an increase in the head tax will have an effect in that direction.

The clauses referring to the excluded classes were discussed and endorsed by the speaker, and the stimulation of immigration was denounced. In this latter



MR. NATHAN BIJUR

Vice-President of the United Hebrew Charities.

immigrants a year are sufficient for us, why not get one million of the best instead of one million less good. It is not merely a question of suffrage, although that enters into it, but it is a question of assimilation, as an immigrant who can read has many channels of assimilation open to him which a man who cannot read doesn't have."

Besides the Senate bill there is also before Congress what is known as the Gardner bill. The two are somewhat similar, although the House bill contains one or two provisions not in the Senate bill. One of these defines still further a class of immigrants designated as those "liable to become a public charge," and provides for a money test. This was approved by Mr. Hall.

In calling attention to a number of diagrams reflecting statistical information as to the effect of past immigration, Mr. Hall referred to illiteracy, stating that in 1905 the native white population had an illiteracy of 4.6 per cent; foreign whites of 12.9 per cent. "In other words," he said, "immigration to a certain extent tends to keep people illiterate in this country. Illiteracy has been going down, but it has not been going down as fast as it would if we had had an illiteracy test for immigrants in the last fifty years. One-fifth of those in the country at the present time cannot speak English."

Mr. Hall showed diagrams which aimed to present facts as regards crime among native whites of native parentage, foreign whites, and native whites of foreign

parentage. One diagram referred to juvenile prisoners compared with the population of school age, and another showed the male prisoners per million of voting age in 1890. In commenting upon these diagrams Mr. Hall said: "You observe that to a certain extent the children of foreign-born parents are more criminal than immigrants themselves. That means, for a generation or two at any rate, not only is there a great burden upon our penal institutions, but it takes a little while for these unfortunate tendencies to be eliminated. It may be by the fifth or sixth generation this phenomenon will disappear, but for the time being it is in full force, and as immigration is keeping up and increasing, we have that problem constantly before us. That the children of immigrants are more than twice as criminal as the immigrants themselves is due in part to the fact that the immigrants coming into a new country have very often got into hard circumstances and are very largely less favorably situated than the native element. But at the same time, no matter what the cause, the facts remain that they are here and that they constitute that burden."

"In regard to the insane a census bulletin recently issued shows that the foreign-born furnish one and three-quarter times their normal proportion of insane. And another census bulletin shows they furnish three times their proportion of paupers. The fact that the immigrant is a large and increasing burden upon our institutions is evidenced by the testimony of those who come in practical contact with them, namely, the charity organizations. I have recently been in correspondence with the Boards of Associated Charities throughout the country, and I have here a list of endorsements of this Senate bill from widely scattered communities. California, the South, the middle States, and the East alike favor this measure."

"There is one thing upon which my opponents and I can agree, and that is, that we want to get down to definite facts and not rely upon arguments and generalizations. We do not want to argue that, because railroad dividends are high, there is no use in excluding laboring people. We have so far got a certain body of statistics together, such as they are. If they are not correct, we want to improve upon them."

"A great deal has been said about the traditional policy of this country, and just to remove a possible misunderstanding about that I would like to revert to the fact that at the very beginning of this country the people who founded it—Washington, Jefferson and Madison—were all strong restrictionists. As far back as 1826 the State of New York passed a law restricting immigration. Several other States passed laws restricting immigration about the same time. In 1882 the Federal Government took up the subject and since that year has been continuously strengthening the immigration laws. Now, if by a traditional policy is meant the policy of doing nothing, I maintain that that is not the true fact. Our traditional policy has been that of wise and conservative action in regard to such elements as we allow to come in and that is the present status of things to-day. We now exclude sixteen classes of people, and the present Senate bill is not something new of itself, although some of its provisions are new, but is an act calculated to carry out just what the original immigration act of 1882 was passed to accomplish. The present law does not accomplish it. There have been loop-holes. The act of 1891 stopped some. The act of 1893 stopped others. The act of 1903 was still better, but if the Senate bill now pending were to be passed, it would do nothing more than what was originally proposed in the act of 1882, as shown by the debates in Congress. We already have had one elaborate investigation into this subject—that of the United States Industrial Commission—who through its experts have made careful investigations up to the time of publication of their report. We need further data, but to my mind there is no reason for delay in passing what has been characterized as the very mild and moderate measure of these bills. We can at least do that. Then we can study further and see whether anything more is desirable."

THE NEED OF FACTS AS REGARDS IMMIGRATION.

Representative of the United Hebrew Charities Points Out Reasons for Questioning Our Present Immigration Statistics.

NATHAN BIJUR, Esq., Vice-President of the United Hebrew Charities, said that in his study of the question of immigration the first thing that confronted him was the absence of accurate and complete statistics. He said he could not understand how men could draw conclusions and be willing to advocate legislation based upon such conclusions, when at the same time they admit that they have not the facts adequate to the forming of conclusions.

"The question of immigration," he said, "if it be analyzed, I suppose in the last stage comes down to

that the only arguments that survived even superficial scrutiny were generalizations like the reference to the competition of the immigrant with the American workingman, and the fear that something might happen some day if the present immigration continues. He referred as follows to some of the more current statements against immigration: "First, we are told that the immigrant is dependent upon public support in greater ratio than any other part of the population. Now, it would not be surprising if he were, because the immigrant is a poor man. He comes here from other countries to improve his condition. He, of course, occupies the lowest financial stratum of the social structure. That is, he is doing the hard work. Of course, you expect to find among the poorest people the greatest amount of dependence. That is nothing wonderful. I know, everybody knows, that the poor

are more dependent than the rich. If you want to abolish poverty, take that up, but do not mix up social problems and say they have something to do with immigration unless you think that by keeping out all immigration you won't have any more poverty. I do not think that the experience of any country has brought out facts that would justify any such inference. If you find that the immigrant is more dependent than the rest of the population I should say that would be a very natural thing. But do you find him so dependent that it is really something startling? Do you find him so dependent that you think he is unduly dependent and that you are getting what is known as a pauper class?"

Mr. Bijur referred to the report of the Bureau of Immigration for 1904 purporting to show the relative proportion of foreign-born and natives in the charitable institutions of the United States, the proportion being 30 "alien" dependents out of each 1,000 alien population compared to 5 out of 1,000 of the naturalized and 2½ out of 1,000 of the native. In commenting upon this, Mr. Bijur says: "That statement has gone through the entire literature of immigration statistics, and it is absolutely a baseless statement. It has not the ghost of a foundation and never had. The first crucial trouble is that it does not define aliens. It is generally understood as referring to people who have been here only five years. It does not say how these statistics were taken which gave the figures 30,000 alien dependents, but I made investigation of both those figures. Now, remember, this is the very basis on which it has been charged repeatedly that the present immigrant is distinguished from the immigrant who came here and was so desirable in the thirties, forties and fifties—and that the present immigrant is so undesirable. Let us see. The census of 1900 shows that there were but 1,000,000 males foreign-born of voting age in the United States unnaturalized, and that is the same number as the 1,000,000 aliens with which the Bureau's report compares the 30,000 alien dependents. In other words, the report referred to has only as many aliens with which to compare the body of dependent aliens with as there are males of voting age, foreign-born, not naturalized, or what we might call political aliens. On the other hand, this 30,000 of alien dependents is made up of men, women and children, and is

made up of men, women and children who have been in this country all the way from five to seventy years, as the report of the New York State Board of Charities for 1905 plainly pointed out. They took nine hundred and thirty-nine cases of inmates in the almshouses which were tabulated by the Commissioner-General of Immigration and they found that five hundred and forty-four of these were women and that more than seventy-five per cent of all the cases in the almshouses tabulated in the government report had been in the country five years, and some forty, fifty and sixty years.

"But suppose the figures were correct; suppose someone had been able to get statistics about the whole body of persons in this country less than five years, and had found that the people who had been in this country less than five years were more dependent than all the rest of the people. That is of no practical importance at all. The question is, Are the people who



OFFICERS OF THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

this: Are we getting any benefit, or are we getting any harm from immigration? Not do 16,000 diseased people come to our shores in thirty-six years, because, of course, if you have immigration, you will have diseased immigrants. The specious claim that fifty per cent of the immigrants that come in here are 'assisted' does not impress me a bit; because four-fifths of the whole population is assisted since we have about one male wage-earner to every family of five. There is nothing startling about any statement of that sort when you come to analyze it. If this statement is intended to convey the impression that fifty per cent of the present immigrants are paupers and are 'assisted' to come over by other persons than their relatives,—it is a base calumny. The question is, What has anybody now to present in the way of facts bearing on the benefit or the disadvantage to the country of immigration and of to-day's immigration in particular?" Mr. Bijur said

have come into this country during the last five years more dependent than the people who came into this country at some other period were during their first five years. It is not pertinent to compare the present condition of people who came here during the last five years with that of people who came here thirty years ago, and who, I hope, now are millionaires. The fact is that the people who came in during the last five years have not had their chance yet. Give them a show. In other words, that whole statement which through repetition has spread broadcast throughout the country the impression that the present immigrant is more dependent than the immigrant who came in the past, is just nothing."

In commenting upon statistics of crime, and in particular as to male prisoners per 1,000,000 of voting population in 1890, Mr. Bijur said: "Now, remember, to begin with, the immigrant is generally over fourteen years of age. The large proportion of immigrants is grown-up. The proportion of children among the immigrants is very much smaller than among the general population. And remember also that the proportion of crime is very much larger among grown-up people than it is among children. Now then, when you find that there is a greater criminality among the immigrants than there is among the rest of the people, that must be so; it follows, as the night the day, that criminality among immigrants must be in higher proportion than with the rest of the population—just assuming the immigrant is like we are."

"Again, what are the crimes included in your statistics? Have you, as was done with some Massachusetts data, excluded crimes arising from drunkenness, so that the immigrant of 1860 should seem to be more law-abiding than the present incomer? What are the 'crimes' for which juvenile prisoners were convicted? Were they the kind of 'crime' for which the children of the poor are always convicted—the petty offenses of throwing banana skins on the street, and of breaking windows in play—all such offenses that go with a poor population. Yes, we know it is that. Moreover, you would expect to find a greater ratio of crime among the poor than among the rich. You are not discovering anything when you discover those things. You are not getting one whit further than the old story that the immigrant is poor,—in fact, he would probably not come here if he were not poor."

"Now, the other side of the picture—the value of the immigrants to the country. To bring up 1,000,000 people to the age of the immigrants coming to us each year would admittedly cost over five hundred million dollars. We are getting five hundred million dollars annually brought to the country through immigration. Does any one pretend that the criminal and dependents among the immigrants cost us five hundred million dollars annually? If we are going to work with statistics, if you think this question can be solved with statistics, then let us have them all. Let us have both sides of the picture. Then, how about the consumption? There are 1,000,000 immigrants and they are consumers; they are not all dependents; they are not all in the almshouses and the prisons. And as consumers they are adding more to the prosperity of the country. Has anybody figured on that? No. No one bothers about that. Here is a daily growing home market which puts into the shade all our eagerly-sought and dearly-bought foreign markets."

"Now, what I hope will be done by this Department of the Federation is that it will gather together all the facts, such as they are, the best statistics available from everywhere and put them down and say: 'Well, so far as we have been able to gather anything, this is what we know,' and then let us sift them and see how reliable they are. When we find a government report which does not mean anything, say so, and say why. When we find statistics of crime which have left out certain classes of criminals, let us say so. Show what the difference would be if they were put in, and go on through and collect all these things and put to the credit of the immigrant all the facts that are to be put to his credit, as well as charge him with all the things that ought to be so charged. Now, that has not been done by anybody. Everyone who has discussed

this subject has discussed it from the point of view of the advocate. Let us formulate great general facts. We can formulate a general line of facts based upon fair statistics. Although, of course, we can probably never have statistics isolated and correct in this topic like the ascertained facts in physiology, in chemistry, in geology and in other more or less exact sciences and subjects. I have not had my statement challenged yet, that up to date, there have been no arguments to present against our present immigration based upon reliable data."

ASSIMILATION AND IMMIGRATION.

Professor Willcox Calls Attention to Important Phases of Statistics of Crime.

PROF. WALTER F. WILLCOX, of Cornell University, whose analysis and explanation of census statistics has made him one of the leading statistical

It is now 400,000,000. At that time there were practically no people of European stock living outside of Europe. At the present time there are 100,000,000 of European stock living outside of Europe. In other words, the population of the world of European stock has increased 270,000,000 in the last one hundred and fifty years, and a very large part of that increase must be held to be due to the fact that Europeans during that time were allowed to follow the line of least resistance, or to seek their own advantage, even though it called upon them to leave their home or place of residence. We are wont to forget that this is not purely an American question; it is also a European question.

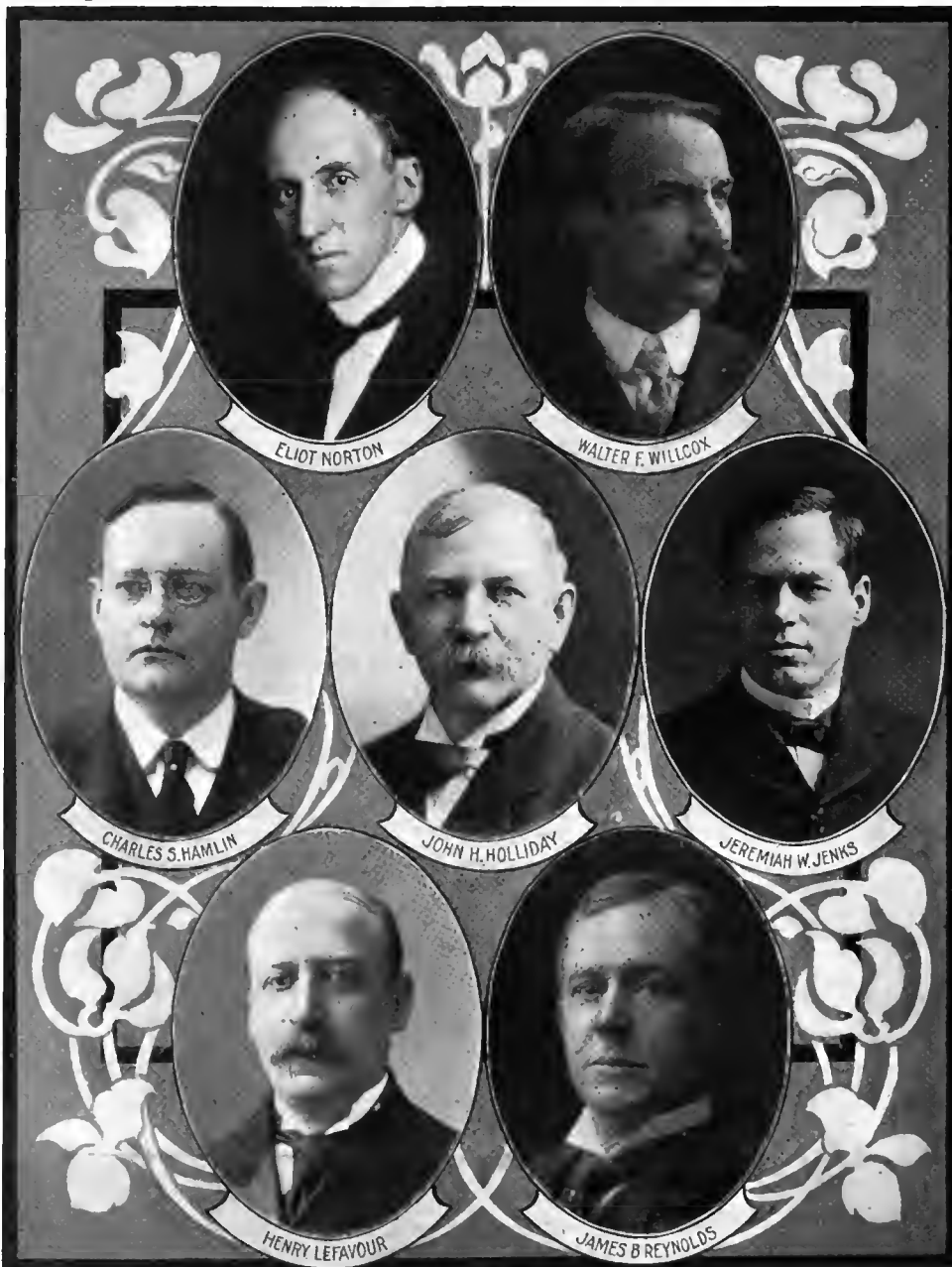
"We are wont to forget that although millions of people are coming to us from Europe, yet the population of Europe at the present time is growing faster than it ever grew before in history. And it is growing faster because of the reaction of these other countries, not merely of the United States but of South America and Australia, which are sending their benefits back to Europe. Practically, this increase of Europe is the whole increase of the population of the world, so far as we can tell, an increase of the people whom, on the whole, we are wont to regard as the leaders of progress."

"It seems to me that these facts establish a strong presumption in favor of the traditional policy of the United States. On the other hand, I think all persons must admit that there might be an excessive immigration into the United States; in fact, it might become so great as to become detrimental to the welfare of this country. Where we would draw the line we cannot say, but if the influx of immigration became, instead of 1,000,000 or so a year, 5,000,000 or 10,000,000 a year, I think most of us, perhaps all of us, would admit that it was too great."

Prof. Willcox stated that what appeared to him to be the central problem was whether or not immigration to our shores is too great. He was inclined to put the question of immigration as being: Is the process of assimilation keeping pace with the process of immigration? In attempting to answer this question, he stated that the first thing to know is how large is our present influx of population, that is, how large is our present current of immigration. This point Dr. Willcox discussed more fully in his paper before the Committee on Basal Statistics, which is presented on another page of this issue.

In referring to statistics which purport to show that the tendency to commit crime on the part of foreign-born people is decidedly greater than on the part of the native population, and that this tendency also manifested itself among the children of the foreign born, Prof. Willcox said: "It should be noted that crime, or rather imprisonment for crime, is much more a city phenomenon than a country phenomenon. I do not mean to say that the city population is more criminal, but that arrest and imprisonment for offenses are more common in the city than in the country. It will, therefore, be expected that those parts of the population living largely in cities would show, in the total population of the United States,

a larger proportion of prisoners than those living in the country. Furthermore, the tendency to commit crime is largely a question of age. The criminal age is from fifteen to thirty years; consequently we should expect to find, as we do find, that those elements of the population which, like the children of our immigrants are very largely of criminal age, would have a high criminal tendency. Hence it is not at all surprising to see on the face of the figures that the children of immigrants show a much higher criminal tendency. But I should doubt whether, if you could make your comparison age for age, you would find anything like that difference. The apparent inference then is, first, that the immigrants and the children of immigrants are very largely in cities and the native population largely in country districts; and, secondly, that the children of immigrants are especially of the age when crime is most likely to occur."



CHAIRMEN OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT.

Mr. Norton is Chairman of the Committee on Agencies for Advancing the Welfare of Immigrants; Prof. Willcox that of Basal Statistics; Mr. Hamlin of the Committee on Supply and Demand; Mr. Holliday on Naturalization; Prof. Jenks on Legislation and Its Enforcement; Dr. Lefavour on International Relations, and Mr. Reynolds on Oriental Immigration.

authorities in the United States, said he felt disposed to accept the principle that the presumption on this question of immigration is in favor of the traditional policy of the country. "The burden of proof," he contended, "must be held to rest with the other side. I believe this for the reason that our policy has worked so well in the past, both for this country and other countries. If we go back, say two or three hundred years, the right to change one's place of residence according to one's judgment of the advantages or disadvantages was not a recognized liberty of the individual. That liberty has gradually established itself in the countries of Europe and in the United States. I take it that no country has done more to establish that liberty than has the United States."

"Now, what about the results of that policy? It seems to me one may say, very briefly, that about one hundred and fifty years ago the population of Europe, according to our best knowledge, was about 130,000,000.

"You notice that the persons indicated by the diagram are not criminals. We are constantly confusing prisoners with criminals. Suppose a person in New York is arrested for intoxication in the streets. The question whether he goes to prison depends chiefly on whether he has \$10 in his pocket to pay the fine. It is very largely true that the statistics of prisoners are the function of the economic standing of the people concerned. If we had the figures, not of all persons arrested for crime, but simply of all who are tried for crime, they would show a difference. I confess I have been unable to find in the figures properly qualified the evidence that there is any considerably greater tendency on the part of immigrants themselves to commit crime than there is on the part of the native population. I think there is a greater tendency on the part of the children of the immigrant as compared with the children of the native."

IMMIGRATION AND HOMICIDE.

Professor Loeb also Points Out Important Statistical Errors as Regards Crime Among Immigrants.

ANOTHER criticism of current statistical information was that of Prof. Morris Loeb, who referred to recent tabulations showing the tremendous effect of Russian, Italian and Slavic immigration upon homicide. "The statistics are really very startling," he said, "so startling that there was evidently something wrong. The presumption was that homicide was taken to stand for criminal tendency, while, as we all know, in New York City for instance, a man who allows a brick to drop from a roof which hits somebody accidentally, that man is arrested for homicide. Homicide was taken synonymously with murder, and I find that homicidal statistics were taken to stand for murder statistics. The conclusions drawn of homicide, when you are unable to differentiate in various parts of the country between accidental killing and murder, are wrong. I do not suppose the foreman of a mine in Arizona can be arrested for homicide if it happens that half a dozen 'Dagoes' or 'Greasers,' as they call them, were blown up by an accidental discharge of dynamite in the bottom of a mine, whereas a foreman in New York would be arrested for any fatal building accident. The question was also entirely eliminated, whether, as in the South, a man would be arrested for homicide if he took part in a lynching bee. And there were no attempts made to discriminate between homicide and murder proper. Nevertheless, within six months those statistics are going to be quoted in favor of restriction."

"But there is another side to it that strikes me very forcibly, and that is this: According to the statistics, which are absolutely erroneous as far as showing actual criminal tendency, the worst offenders were three classes—Italians, Mexicans and Chinese—who stood highest in the proportion per one hundred thousand. It struck me at once that the Chinaman was pretty inoffensive, and the proof came in immediately. Ninety-six per cent of all the Chinamen in the United States are males between twenty and sixty years of age; whereas only twenty-four per cent of the inhabitants of the United States at large are of that age, which has just been shown by Prof. Willcox is the age of crime. Of course, if ninety-six per cent of the Chinamen happened to be of an age when the criminal tendency is strongest, whereas only twenty-four per cent of the entire population of the United States are of that age, you would expect the Chinaman to suffer by a comparison based on these statistics. The same thing is true as regards the Italians and the Mexicans. I was struck by something else, and that was this: In Arizona and New Mexico and the entire territory which was taken from Mexico during our war of 1849, all people are called Mexicans if they speak Spanish, whether they are Mexicans or whether they have been in the United States for two or three generations. Now, all these persons are imprisoned in Arizona and New Mexico and southern California as Mexicans. Nevertheless, there is no way in the United States census to find out how many real Mexicans are in the country, because the United States census disregards the immigration from Mexico as a part of the immigration into the country. Furthermore, among the nationalities which are called very bad on account of this homicidal tendency, I find there are many seamen, and that the man who is arrested on the border, or arrested in a seaport for a crime committed on board ship, or in some low drinking dive on the seashore, will be accredited to that nationality as a criminal, whereas he was never entered as an immigrant. Those figures alone produce such an effect that I cannot see how anybody with a conscience can go ahead and accuse these poor lambs of dirtying the water for the wolf who is drinking upstream."

A LABOR VIEW OF IMMIGRATION.

John Mitchell, the Mine Workers' President, Tells of Its Effects in the Coal Industry.

AMONG others who discussed different phases of the problem was Mr. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America. Mr. Mitchell stated that he approached the problem not as a student or an

expert, but as a practical workingman who has from daily experience observed the effect of practically unregulated immigration. "In this period of unprecedented industrial prosperity," he said, "the people of my trade are given the opportunity to work about 200 days per year. There is certainly something the matter when a man who offers to work 300 days a year is permitted to work only 200 days, and if during this time of great industrial activity, a trade or an industry is only permitted to work 200 days per year, what will they be permitted to work in times of either financial or industrial depression?"

"It is a matter of grave concern to the 600,000 men who mine coal in the United States whether or not there is to be some reasonable restriction made upon the admission of aliens into this country. I think that the restriction ought to be upon the broadest possible lines. I think that we should have due regard for those who are less fortunate than ourselves who live in other countries. I think that we should be careful not to permit ourselves to be under even the suspicion of seeking to keep immigrants from landing here because of national or religious prejudices, but I do believe that there ought to be some qualifications, that there ought to be some educational qualifications; that it should be required by our government that those arriving upon our shores should have sufficient money to enable them to select their employment. It is certainly not fair nor just to the American workingman, or to those who have come here some years ago, that a newly arrived immigrant should be forced, by his own necessities, to take the first job offered to him. If this is to be, it means that he takes the job of someone who preceded him here, or who was born in this country. I think it is not unreasonable, with the large population we have and with our own citizens irregularly employed, for us to afford to them who are here the first and best consideration."

"I believe that by fixing a high standard—a reasonably high standard—as a condition of admission to this country, we are not only protecting our higher standards of life and labor here, but we are fixing a higher standard for those who are abroad. If men must have a reasonable education, if they must have a reasonable amount of money in order to be admitted to our country, the chances are that the countries of the Old World will raise their standard to meet our requirements, and in that way we are not only conferring upon our own people that protection to which they, as citizens of this country, are entitled, but we are fixing a higher standard for those who live in the countries of the Old World."

IMMIGRATION AND THE MACHINISTS.

President O'Connell Says the Immigrant Competes for the Place of the American Workingman.

MR. JAMES O'CONNELL, President of the International Association of Machinists, stated that when men are competing for a living for themselves and their offspring, "then we feel it, then we know something about immigration. It is not academic or statistical with us then. I have the honor of representing an organization of 100,000 skilled mechanics, and we feel the immigrant proposition every day. We meet it every day in our own way. We meet the man who comes in every day and stands at the shop door. We have to compete with him. He is not competing with us, we are competing with him, and if we are successful, all right. If we succeed in assimilating that gentleman to our way of thinking, well and good. But if we don't? The question of assimilating the immigrant is one of years and years."

"We are very materially affected by immigration. Our wages, the condition of our families, the way our families are cared for and fed is gauged by immigration; the schooling of our children is dictated by immigration. It is gauged by the fellow who is competing with us and that fellow comes largely, of course, from among the immigrants. We have our own citizens and our own people who are in competition in a way, but it is the man who has come here and is met at the shore by the fellow who is bidding for him—practically by the owner of these men, as is now being done by the greatest public work a government is undertaking—offering so much and so much, selling Chinamen by auction at nine cents an hour. I say, we are the ones who suffer from immigration—our people, our wives, our children; our standard of living is based, is pitted against immigration. We meet immigration here and there and everywhere. In the mining district, in the mechanical trades, in the clothing industry, the allied industries, and in all the industries in which the human being is engaged in our country to-day, we meet with immigration. We feel that our standard of living is kept down. We feel the need of better protection against immigration (not that we have any desire to keep out the desirable immigrant, and I cannot say to you what is desirable immigration to your satisfaction, although I think I know what I mean by that). We want fair opportunities here and we do not want an unfair competition. In other words, we do not want a tariff upon the product and no tariff upon competition with our labor. We want protection from all sides, and I do not say this in a political sense."

THE DEMAND FOR LABOR.

A View of the Situation as Presented by Conditions on the Pacific Coast.

IN discussing the statistics concerning juvenile delinquents, Mr. Hugh F. Fox of New Jersey, stated that as they were sixteen years old he did not think anyone who had studied the question would be willing to base any conclusions upon them. "Sixteen years ago," he said, "juveniles were arrested for all sorts of things that are not considered crimes to-day and they were dealt with in an entirely different fashion; in fact, the whole attitude of the police and the judiciary in regard to the so-called juvenile incorrigible and delinquent of sixteen years ago would to-day be considered semi-barbarous. The whole progress in this question during the last ten years makes the data of sixteen years ago practically the data of the dark ages. I do not think we can base any conclusion that is of value in relation to the immigration problem on such data as was obtained in 1890 on that question."

Mr. Fox referred at some length to conditions in New Jersey with regard to the dependent and delinquent classes and of the agricultural conditions with reference to labor and immigration in New Jersey and along the Pacific Coast. Referring to the hop business in Oregon, Washington and California, Mr. Fox said: "We are now almost at the end of harvesting. Telegrams have been coming to us frantically from all our agents and buyers and brewers interested with us in the ranches, telling us that they have not enough pickers to harvest the crops. This condition has been getting worse each year, partly because the Chinamen who came in before the Exclusion Act have been prosperous, and the Chinaman to-day is successfully competing with the American, the Englishman and the Scotchman as a hop-grower in the Pacific Coast States. He is running large ranches and is himself in many cases employing white labor. Now, I know it is said that that is casual and occasional and seasonal labor. That is true to a certain extent. There is enough of it in harvesting fruit and in the hop and similar industries to keep men employed three or four months. There is ample opportunity to-day for the man who goes there as a seasonal laborer to get small pieces of land, and by farming not only to earn his living during the other nine months but to become in a few years very prosperous. The fact is you cannot separate the immigration problem from the land problem in that part of the country, and I presume elsewhere. Until the last few years that country contained a large number of men who were land poor, because of the policy of the government in giving away quarter sections of extremely rich and valuable land that was very carelessly farmed. I do not attempt to state what bearing this has upon the immigration problem further than this, that it is perfectly clear there are large sections of the country to-day calling for labor and having no prejudice against its nationality, and that it will be a very long time before the country will be so filled up that the demand for such labor will be at all diminished."

IMMIGRATION AN INTERNATIONAL QUESTION.

DR. CHARLES FLEISCHER, of Cambridge, stated that it seemed to him feasible for the Department to start a project for getting the different nations of Europe interested with us in this immigration problem, and thus lifting it to the plane of an international question. "It is not simply the going and coming of many of these immigrants but the fact of the conditions stimulating immigration to America that raises the question to the plane of internationalism. Knowing America as I know her, through history and through personal acquaintance, I see America as a nation somewhat different from other nations in that we are avowedly humanitarian. Therefore, in justice to our national characteristics as well as to our history, it seems to me that we cannot develop an attitude of hostility toward immigration here and at the same time be indifferent to the causes abroad which stimulate this migration. For instance, we cannot say that we have no right to interfere in the internal conditions of Russia and at the same time try to keep out the Russians who are moved to migrate to America by those very internal conditions that obtain in Russia. Such an attitude of indifference to the causes that stimulate migration is false to our history."

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF IMMIGRATION.

MR. THEODORE AHRENS, of Kentucky, presented to the Department a Southern view of immigration. He said in part: "I do not think that this country has reached the point where it does not require further immigration. Speaking for my section of the country, that is, the South, I am sure we do need more immigration. As a manufacturer, I feel to-day the necessity of the absolute want for labor. This condition exists not only in Kentucky, but in Alabama and other Southern States. We could use a million more immigrants a year, but we want them to be of the best kind. I believe we can get one million immigrants a year of the desirable class. I think we ought

to throw around our immigration laws such restrictions as the bill before Congress proposes, at least the most of them. I believe that every healthy man, woman or child who comes to the United States, whether they have \$25 or not, should be admitted, because this country was built up by just such people. The great majority, such as the Irish and Germans and all other people who came here twenty-five or fifty years ago, never had \$25 or \$50 that one clause of the proposed legislation provides for. I am in favor of keeping out the criminal classes, consumptives, epileptics and people who are not fit to take care of themselves."

PROPOSED IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION.

REV. ADOLPH ROEDER, of New Jersey, in referring briefly to the point raised as to the effect of immigration upon the number of days employed by the coal miners of the country, stated that it might be possible for this condition to be due rather to the control of coal production and transportation by the railroads. In speaking of the additional restrictions to immigration imposed by the bills now before Congress, he stated that he doubted very much whether the head tax, or the linguistic provision, or other sections of the bill, will seriously interfere with the number of immigrants to the United States. He said: "I think there will be almost as many. I hope there will be. And I think they will be of a better class, which would be good for their own sake, because it puts a lot of people at a disadvantage when they are thrown into a country where they cannot distinguish between liberty and license. In the removal of unintelligent men from the sway of a monarchy where they are well controlled and held well in hand, there is always danger of that removal resulting in the feeling of license and in the increase of the sense of personal liberty which does not exist. Personally, I favor these rather slight restrictions proposed in the bills now before Congress."

Among the other speakers at the conference were Mr. Franklin MacVeagh of Chicago, Prof. J. W. Jenks of Cornell, James W. Kinnear of Pittsburg, Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York, and Mr. D. G. Ambler of the Jacksonville (Florida) Board of Trade.

WELFARE WORK IN POWER STATIONS.

From the Paper Trade Journal, New York.

One of the most interesting phases of modern industrialism is the increasing attention paid by large establishments to so-called welfare work, for the betterment of the conditions under which the employees labor. Activities of this kind are in no sense confined to the rank and file of the employees, but are in many instances broadly beneficial to even department heads. In electric railway circles a great deal has been done along this line to improve the living conditions of employees directly occupied in the handling of cars; companies have fostered esprit du corps and strengthened many a motorman and conductor's position in life by liberal contributions to benefit associations, by supplying various necessities at less than cost, etc. Sometimes the power plant has been overlooked in these commendable activities, and it is the purpose of these comments to point out several ways in which welfare work can be extended to this part of the system.

In far too many plants the chief engineers are unprovided with any sort of office facilities worthy of the name. Of course, a power house is no place for mahogany desks, Turkish rugs and Louis Quinze chairs, but where a man is obliged to prepare careful and regular records of the power cost in detail, something in advance of a nail keg or an oil barrel is sure to be appreciated in lieu of a handsome desk. Again, power houses are sometimes lacking in anything but the most elementary sixteenth century sanitary facilities; lockers are conspicuous by their absence; or there is no place where an engineer or fireman can wash himself and then enjoy a meal which has to be taken when on duty. The provision of hot water for this purpose, a mirror and a few brushes are certainly appreciated by deserving men, and cost little from the company's standpoint. Power plant attendants are not averse to good personal appearance on the way home from work, any more than are the draftsmen in the main office. Another point is worth securing: the provision of enough men so that each power-house attendant can take a day off once in seven or eight days, instead of being hemmed in to continuous service all the year round. Bonuses for reduced cost of power generation are helpful in some plants, and promotions from within when capable men for advancement can be secured from the company's own force are usually much appreciated by employees of the right sort. One or two technical journals supplied by the company ought to be available at the power house for all employees, and all reasonable encouragement should be given to power-house men engaged in night duty or outside efforts of any kind to become more efficient workers. It is in no carping spirit that we mention these points, but in many plants the working conditions may be improved by very simple and inexpensive methods.

OUR GAIN IN POPULATION THROUGH IMMIGRATION.

STATISTICS AFFECTED BY CHANGES IN DEFINITION—ATTENTION DIRECTED TO HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS RETURNING EACH YEAR TO EUROPE.

BY WALTER F. WILLCOX

THE meaning of any statistics depends largely upon the meaning of the unit in which the statistics are expressed. It is a common but fallacious assumption that a word used as the name of a statistical unit has precisely the same meaning that it has when used in popular speech. In the present case the word "immigrant" has had and to some degree still has different meanings, which may be called respectively the popular or theoretical meaning and the administrative or statistical meaning, and these two should be carefully distinguished.

In the popular or theoretical sense an immigrant is a person of foreign birth who is crossing the country's boundary and entering the United States with intent to remain and become an addition to the population of the country. In this sense of the word an alien arrival is an immigrant whether he comes by water or by land, in the steerage or in the cabin, from contiguous or non-contiguous territory, and whether he pays or does not pay the head tax. The essential element is an addition to the population of the country as a result of travel and the word thus covers all additions to the population otherwise than by birth. A person cannot be an immigrant to the United States more than once any more than a person can be born more than once. It is a characteristic of this meaning that it does not alter.

The word immigrant in its administrative or statistical sense is not defined on the reports of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, but from that source and from the instructions and other circulars issued by the Bureau the following statements regarding its meaning have been drawn:

1. The administrative or statistical meaning of immigrant is not fixed by statute law but is determined by the definitions or explanations of the Bureau of Immigration and those are dependent upon and vary with the law and administrative decisions.

2. In the latest circular of the Bureau immigrants are defined as "arriving aliens whose last permanent residence was in a country other than the United States who intend to reside in the United States." This definition seems to agree closely with the popular or theoretical one.

3. But the foregoing definition is modified by a subsequent paragraph of the same circular which excludes from the immigrant class "citizens of British North America and Mexico coming direct therefrom by sea or rail." So the official definition is substantially this: An alien neither a resident of the United States nor a citizen of British North America, Cuba or Mexico, who arrives in the United States intending to reside there.

4. The only important difference between these two definitions is that the statistical definition excludes, as the popular definition does not, citizens of British North America, Cuba and Mexico. As the natives of Canada and Mexico living in the United States in 1900 were 14.2 per cent of the natives of all other foreign countries, it seems likely that the figures of immigration for the year 1905-06 should be increased about 14.2 per cent in order to get an approximate estimate of the total immigration into the country during the year just ended.

5. Perhaps the most important difference between the popular or theoretical and the statistical definition of immigrant is that the former is unchanging and the latter has been modified several times by changes of law or by modifications of administrative interpretation.

6. Until January 1, 1906, an alien arrival was counted as an immigrant each time he entered the country, but since that date an alien who has acquired a residence in the United States and is returning from a visit abroad is not classed as an immigrant. This administrative change has brought the statistical and the popular meanings of immigrant into closer agreement, but in so doing has reduced the apparent number of immigrants more than ten per cent and has made it difficult to compare the earlier and the later statistics.

7. Until January 1, 1903, an alien arriving in the first or second cabin was not classed as an immigrant, but rather under the head of other alien passengers. This change likewise brought the two meanings of immigrant into closer agreement, but also made it difficult to compare the figures before and after that date. By a mere change of administrative definition the reported number of immigrants was increased nearly twelve per cent.

8. Until the same date an alien arrival in transit to some other country was deemed an immigrant, but since that date such persons have been classed as non-immigrant aliens. This change also makes the figures before 1903 not strictly comparable with later ones. About three per cent of those who were formerly

classed as aliens have been excluded since 1903. The alteration has brought the two definitions closer together, but in so doing has entailed administrative difficulties which lead the Bureau to favor a return to the former system or at least to favor collecting the head tax from such aliens in transit.

9. An immigrant in the statistical sense is a person liable for and paying the head tax. But to this there are two slight exceptions. Deserting alien seamen not apprehended are liable for the head tax which is paid by the company from which they desert, but such cases are not included in the statistics. Citizens of British North America, Cuba and Mexico coming from other ports than those of their own country are reported as immigrants, but do not pay the head tax. Obviously both are minor exceptions hardly affecting the rule. In the popular or theoretical meaning of immigrant this head tax is not an element.

10. Probably other changes of definition have occurred of recent years. No attempt has been made to exhaust the list. The general tendency of the changes has clearly been toward a closer agreement of the popular and the statistical meanings. But they have probably tended to make the increase of immigration indicated by the figures greater than the actual increase, and to that degree to make the figures misleading. If the Government Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization could make a carefully studied estimate of the extent to which such changes in the official reports really modify the apparent meaning of the published figures, it would render a valuable service.

11. A committee like the present can hardly make such an estimate or go further than to point out that for the reasons indicated the official statistics of immigration are likely to be seriously misinterpreted and are constantly misinterpreted by the public.

The official statistics of immigration being subject to all the qualifications indicated and reflecting so imperfectly the amount of immigration as ordinarily or popularly conceived, the question at once arises. Can any substitute or any alternative be proposed? What the public is mainly interested in, I think, and what it commonly but erroneously believes is indicated by the official figures of immigration, is the net addition to the population year by year as a result of the currents of travel between the United States and other countries.

Alternative figures for the last eight years, a period which closely coincides with the last great wave of immigration now at or near its crest, may be had by comparing the total arrivals and departures in the effort to get the net gain. The results appear in the following table:

Fiscal Year	Total Passengers Arrived	Total Passengers Departed	Total Immigration	Arrivals Minus Departures	Per Cent That Net Increase Makes of Immigration
1898..	343,963	225,411	229,299	118,552	51.8
1899..	429,796	256,008	311,715	173,788	55.8
1900..	594,478	293,404	448,572	301,074	67.0
1901..	675,025	306,724	487,918	368,304	75.5
1902..	820,893	326,760	648,743	494,133	76.3
1903..	1,025,834	375,261	857,046	650,573	75.9
1904..	988,688	508,204	812,870	480,484	59.3
1905..	1,234,615	536,151	1,026,499	698,464	68.1
1898-1905			4,822,662	3,285,372	68.1

The figures indicate that the net increase of population by immigration during the last eight years has been slightly more than two-thirds of the reported immigration. But these figures of net increase should be increased by an estimate of the arrivals by land from Canada and Mexico. As the Canadians and Mexicans by birth residing in the United States in 1900 were 14.2 per cent of all residents born in other foreign countries, this would indicate an influx of 466,000 Canadians and Mexicans, a figure probably in excess of the truth, since the currents have probably been setting Canada-ward of recent years. I estimate, therefore, that the net increase from immigration 1898-1905 has been about 3,750,000 instead of 4,820,000, as might be inferred from the Reports of the Bureau of Immigration. The actual increase would then be about 78 per cent of the apparent increase.

[The above article was presented as a paper by Professor Willcox before the Committee on Basal Statistics of the Federation's Immigration Department. It should be regarded as provisional, and is published not alone for its value and interest but also with the hope of eliciting criticisms or corrections.—THE EDITOR.]

WHY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR WENT INTO POLITICS.

THE VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN OF THE NATIONAL MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION AND OTHER EMPLOYERS' ORGANIZATIONS PRACTICALLY FORCED IT.

THE entrance of organized labor into active participation in national politics, the wisdom of which has been seriously questioned by many friends of the labor movement, is the direct outgrowth of the contest which has been waging the past several years between the trade unions, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, on the one side, and manufacturers, as organized in the National Association of Manufacturers and in the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, on the other. The public, while noting here and there in the press indications of this activity of the National Manufacturers' Association and the vehement half-page advertisements of the Industrial Alliance in which organized labor is attacked, nevertheless the public generally realizes but faintly, if at all, what the real extent of this opposition to the labor movement has meant. Organized labor itself, of course, understands it thoroughly and fully measures the strength of this opposition. Its leaders at every turn in Congress meet the officials and attorneys of these hostile organizations, and spend weeks in open combat with them before the committees. The columns of the manufacturers' journals are filled with denunciations of organized labor, its leaders and all its policies.

One feature of the campaign as carried on by the officials of the National Manufacturers' Association has been the sending of letters to their members which, although marked "confidential," do not fail to reach the labor journals, whose editors publish them to show the tactics of their opponents. To show the nature of this kind of opposition, we present some of these letters:

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

General Offices: 170 Broadway (Maiden Lane and Cortlandt Street.)

NEW YORK, Feb. 20, 1904.

Confidential.

DEAR SIR: Our fight against a favorable report of the Eight-Hour bill by the House Labor Committee in Washington is getting warm, and we ask you, as a manufacturer and employer with a vital personal interest as well as a patriotic interest in beating this arbitrary and dangerous socialistic proposition, to help us.

Hon. _____ of your State is, as you know, a member of this House Labor Committee. While we understand that he is a brave and patriotic man, who will not be afraid to do what is right in this behalf when it comes to a vote in the committee, we naturally wish to have him supplied with as many facts, reasons and arguments against the bill as possible from home in order that any such thing as a weakening on his part might be absolutely prevented; for it is not only certain that every vote in the committee will count, but it is of course of the utmost importance that our friends in the committee should realize that they are right, from the beginning of the fight to the end of it, and that they can well afford to stand by the substantial people of their State in helping the fight to be made, in their own time and in their own way of course; for we certainly want to be friendly enough to our own friends not to ask them to expose themselves unnecessarily.

Therefore, if you should write such a letter—the Congressman's address is House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.—and will make it strong and will not hesitate to make it long and full of reasons, and put some of the feeling into it which we believe all manufacturers and employers entertain at the present time in reference to this coercive labor proposition, a most valuable and perhaps a most essential service will have been done. We should all of us very naturally feel chagrined if the member of the committee from your State should fail, on account of a lack of interest from home, to do his part. Kindly do us the honor and the service to write us what you have done in order that we may have as much information as possible and thus may co-operate with you as effectively as possible.

Yours most respectfully,
MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

General Offices: 170 Broadway (Maiden Lane and Cortlandt Street.)

NEW YORK, June 15, 1904.

Confidential.

DEAR SIR: We should like first to recall your generous and essential service of last winter; for I assure you positively that our fight for free industrial conditions before the various committees of Congress could not have been successful without the assistance of all our friends everywhere.

There is now a service of vital consequence that you can do for the cause. As you know, the Democratic national convention meets in St. Louis on July 6. It

is evident that devotees of Bryan anti-injunctionism and of Hearst eight-hourism—to coin the words—will seek to cause the reaffirmation of the anti-injunction plank of the last two platforms, and, possibly, additional labor planks—for eight hours and almost any kind of socialistic legislation may be endorsed. In fact, it is not safe to assume that these propositions will be kept out of the platform, except by the most diplomatic and resourceful and persistent efforts which you or your association, as an association and as individuals, in common with all of our friends everywhere can make. You have the right to make these efforts; and we ask you, a little more earnestly than we have ever asked anything of you before, to make them.

This labor question is industrial, not political. In your opinion, as well as ours, of course, no party has any business, whether from the standpoint of patriotism or of mere politics to seek to make any such demagogic appeals. I ask you to believe that the whole country feels so nearly as we do on the question, and that public men of both parties are given to feel so nearly as we do on the question, that you are safe in assuming that your efforts, collectively and individually, addressed to any or all of the delegates to St. Louis with whom you are acquainted, or can get in touch, whether on the resolutions committee or not, whether from your State or not, whether known to be friendly to our cause or not, would have the right effect.

These planks will not be left out unless we make the effort. Please do everything on earth that you can, perfectly secretly, without any publicity of any kind, simply scoring with each and every influential person whom you can think of having anything to say about the matter. And please advise me what you have done and are doing, in order that I may co-operate with you as effectively as possible.

Yours most truly,
MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

General Offices: 170 Broadway (Maiden Lane and Cortlandt Street.)

NEW YORK, December 8, 1904.

Strictly confidential.

DEAR SIR: You have not replied to our recent letter. It is our fault; we didn't write you strongly enough.

The simple question is whether your own valued company will not join the other manufacturers of the country in providing an absolute insurance against destructive and even revolutionary labor legislation at Washington and at the different State capitals. We believe that you will.

Nobody has ever questioned that it was the National Association of Manufacturers that beat the Eight-Hour and Anti-Injunction bills in Washington last winter. We have got to beat them again this winter, for Mr. Gompers insists that both bills shall be pressed and Senator McComas, of Maryland, agrees.

Not only is the National Association your only guarantee against the enactment of such revolutionary schemes, subversive of the very principles of our government, but the whole tendency towards collectivist and paternal legislation needs to be stopped, and it is this immense and successful movement of manufacturers which alone, apparently, can do it.

I want again to ask you to join us. If we double our strength, we treble or quadruple our power; but we have to be right, and you can help us to keep right. We have many friends in your industry. Will you not join them, and us, in the good cause? You will get your money back, anyway, in business advantages.

Please let me hear from you. I won't permit you to be disappointed. Yours most cordially,
(Signed) MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

General Offices: 170 Broadway (Maiden Lane and Cortlandt Street.)

NEW YORK, February 27, 1905.

Confidential.

DEAR SIR: We take the greatest pleasure in causing to be mailed to you (from this office under Congressional frank) a copy of the Eight-Hour report, so-called, just submitted by Secretary Metcalf to the Labor Committee of the House. As you will doubtless recall, it was managed last spring—at the close of the most remarkable manufacturers' campaign ever seen in Washington—that this whole question should be referred to the Department of Commerce. The Labor Bureau, under the direct supervision of Colonel Wright, has now completed this inquiry. Not only does the report sustain our contention at every point

(that the compulsory eight-hour day by act of Congress would be uneconomic and even destructive to the industries of the country and a radical or even revolutionary recognition of a wrong principle of government interference at the behest of "labor"), but the reference of the question itself establishes a precedent which possibly is just as valuable; namely, the possibility of referring such questions for investigation by the proper department itself hereafter, a thing which has never even been attempted until our Association took it up. This matter has already been referred to on the first two pages of our American Industries of February 15, as well as in the editorial columns, to which we respectfully refer you; but we ask you to read and preserve the report itself as one of the most significant industrial documents thus far issued.

The House Labor Committee in executive session Thursday laid this report on the table. Its only friend who was present—Congressman Caldwell, of Illinois, (beaten for re-election)—moved to report the bill favorably, but by the watchfulness of our friends it was laid on the table, and thus the notorious Gompers Eight-Hour bill dies with this Congress. In this, however, as in the Anti-Injunction campaign, the labor lobby may be expected to be just as active as ever in the next Congress. But the Association will also be just as active.

We do not believe there is any calculating in money the value of this work which the Association is doing, which, of course, would be impossible if our individual members everywhere did not follow the work closely and back it up promptly and generously whenever we ask them to do so. In fact, it is always their support without which success could not be attained.

Yours most cordially,
(Signed) MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary.

LABOR'S BILL OF GRIEVANCES.

This active campaigning on the part of organizations representing employers and manufacturers became so strong in Congress that in March, 1906, what has come to be known as "Labor's Bill of Grievances" was presented to President Roosevelt, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman *pro-tem* of the Senate by prominent labor officials represented in the American Federation of Labor. These grievances grew out of the refusal of Congress to enact into legislation certain demands of organized labor, including the enactment of the Eight-Hour law; legislation to safeguard the American workman from the competition of convict labor; relief from induced and undesirable immigration; protection of seamen from involuntary servitude; redress from repeated violations of anti-trust and interstate commerce laws; protection from the questionable use of the injunction, and insistence of the right to petition on the part of government employees. In closing their Bill of Grievances the representatives of organized labor said: "Labor now appeals to you, and we trust that it may not be in vain; but if, perchance, you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens."

Following this appeal, and soon after the close of the last Congress, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued an address "to all organized labor and friends in the United States" in which was set forth the political program of organized labor. Following a general analysis of present-day industrial and political conditions, the address quotes a resolution adopted by the National Convention of the Federation as long ago as 1897, as representing the attitude of the organization towards politics. This resolution stated that "the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and workmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunctions of the court, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth." The program stated that "within the past few years claims and promises made in platforms or on the hustings by political parties and politicians, and especially by the present dominant party, have been neither justified nor performed. Little attention has been paid to the enactment of laws prepared by us and presented to Congress for the relief of those wrongs and the attainment of those rights to which labor and the common people are justly entitled and which are essentially necessary for their welfare. Several Presidents of the United States have, in their messages to Congress, urged the passage of equitable legislation in behalf of the working people, but Congress has been entirely preoccupied looking after the interests of vast corporations and predatory wealth.

Congressmen and Senators in their frenzied rush after the almighty dollar have been indifferent or hostile to the rights of man. They have had no time, and as little inclination, to support the reasonable labor measures, the enactment of which we have urged, and which contain beneficent features for all our people without an obnoxious provision to anyone." The relief asked for not having been granted, the program goes on to state that the American Federation of Labor determined upon taking the issue into active politics.

Perhaps the one question above all others that has engaged most strenuously the fighting strength of what may be termed the hostile camps of capital and labor is commonly known as "Government by Injunction." The public generally has little conception of the significance of this issue, being unconscious of the fact that it involves fundamental principles as to the rights of man and the rights of private property. How important these issues are to the future welfare of the nation can best be indicated by presenting a summary of the testimony before the House Judiciary Committee last spring on the anti-injunction issue. Some eight bills treating of this subject were before the Committee. The hearings, however, centered around the bills which aim to limit or define the power of Federal courts in issuing injunctions in labor disputes.

In general, the proposed legislation emphasizes four remedies for the injunction issue. One is the division of contempt of court into two classes—direct and indirect—the latter including an injunction or order of the court, and permitting those accused of contempt who come in this class to have a trial by jury. Another proposed measure makes certain acts innocent; takes certain acts which are lawful for one to do out of conspiracies when done by more than one; that is, it makes legal those acts which are legal for one to do if done by several in a trade dispute. Acts declared to be innocent are not to be restrained or enjoined. One of the proposed measures declares the right to do business to be not a property right.

Another form of proposed legislation provides that the adverse party shall have an opportunity to be heard before an order is granted. This provides that in cases involving or growing out of labor disputes neither an injunction nor a temporary restraining order shall be granted except upon due notice to the opposite party, after hearing, which may be *ex parte* if the adverse party does not appear at the time and place ordered. In support of this bill the railroad brotherhoods have committed themselves, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, the Order of Railway Conductors, and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen being represented in its behalf at the hearings before the House Committee.

Its principal point is that it does not seek in any manner to diminish the power of the court as to the injunction—that is, as to the character of the injunction or as to its power for punishment of violation. It simply goes to the question of the notice before any writ shall be issued. Representatives of the brotherhoods state that they did not regard the Gilbert Bill as a complete remedy for the abuse of the injunctive power by some judges, but they believe it to be a step in the right direction.

The position of organized labor, as represented in the American Federation of Labor, is presented in the testimony of Mr. Samuel Gompers, its president. He contends that there is not now upon the statute books one line that by its fair interpretation is a warrant for the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. He claims that under the operation of the issuance of the injunctions, the very things they might do as men and as citizens, they are denied the right to do as work-

ingmen. "The injunctions treat us as a class; the injunctions apply to us as workingmen, and apply to no other members of the common country," he says. The enjoining of men from committing any criminal act, Mr. Gompers contends, is an improper exercise of the power of the equity court; "yet some of our opponents," he says, "would have it appear that we favor criminal acts, or that we favor their commission. But we contend that the writ of injunction was never intended to be issued to enjoin men from committing any unlawful or criminal act; that both our country and our States provide for the apprehension and the trial by a jury of persons who commit such acts to ascertain whether such person has been guilty of a criminal act and to punish him if he is found guilty, and that organized civil society has constituted a police force, large or small as the circumstances may warrant, for the apprehension and prevention of any criminal act.

injunction was issued—or, rather, many injunctions were issued—prohibiting persuasion, and not even designating what kind of persuasion. We can understand that there is such a thing as persuasion glibly used by the tongue and a club held in the hand; and no one can at all justify such persuasion as that. But even so, in such a case the injunction should not lie, because such an attempt is a threatened assault upon the person, for which there is a law to prevent, to apprehend, to try, and to convict and to punish. But there is a persuasion—that persuasion which is commonly understood in our language—which no man can deny the right to exercise by another. . . . I hold that the workmen have the right to go to any workman employed by anybody, whether in a strike-bound establishment or otherwise, and if such a workman has no legal contract with his employer, and it would not violate the terms of a contract, the associated workmen have the legal right to offer this man inducements to

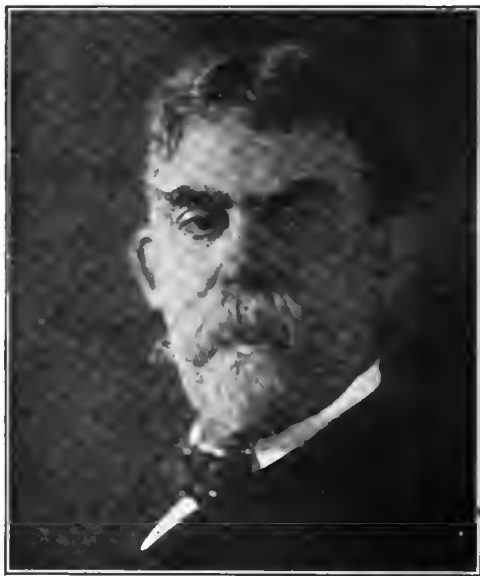
quit his employment and go to work with them in some other establishment, or not to work at all, for the time being. They have the right to 'lure away' and 'wean away' from an employer a workman, and to offer him money inducements, so that he may quit that employment and work for another, or to go idle for a period, in order that a certain lawful, honorable purpose may be achieved. And yet the injunction is issued against workmen for doing that very thing; and for doing it after the injunction has been issued they have been sent to jail."

President Gompers states that organized labor objects to the fact that the courts have read into the law new features. "We are suffering," he states, "from court-made law rather than statute law," and he indicates that the purpose they have in view in offering their bill "is that the law and its purpose shall be as it existed prior to the existence of these modern injunctions in trade disputes arising between employers and employed." He states that his contention is that there has not been one injunction issued that is not in contravention of fundamental rights. He states that he holds that the things which are enjoined and which are in themselves unlawful the courts should not issue injunctions against, because there is already a remedy for them at law. He says further: "We hold that the issuance of an injunction is an extraordinary remedy which is to be resorted to only when the end to be reached can be obtained by no other legal process. That there is a legal remedy for the things which an injunction can enjoin goes without saying, but it is the purpose of the opponents of our legislation on this subject to get rid of the trial by jury in the regular process of the law. Their purpose is to make the judge who issues the injunction both the judge, the jury, and the executioner, and, indeed, to take away from the workman enjoined the constitutional right of being tried before a jury of his peers for any crime or unlawful offence with which he may be charged."

So long as it involves personal liberty Mr. Gompers states that he goes so far as to contend that the courts have not any fundamental power or rightful power to issue an injunction to restrain an unlawful act distinguished from a criminal act. Where it is affecting property Mr. Gompers states that he is in entire accord with the best conception of the writ of injunction; but when it involves personal liberty, the freedom and the exercise of lawful rights guaranteed to the citizen, then he holds that under no circumstances should the writ of injunction apply; and, further, he says it does not apply except to workmen when engaged in a dispute with employers.

"Writs of injunction," he says, "in so far as they enjoin acts forbidden by law, are superfluous, erroneous, and a waste of time and money."

(Continued on page 16)



MR. JAMES W. VAN CLEAVE,
President of the National Association of Manufacturers.



MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President of the American Federation of Labor.



MR. MARSHALL CUSHING,
Secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers.



MR. FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

"The representatives of labor appearing for and advocating the enactment of an anti-injunction bill, and an effective one—I want it to be clearly understood—neither directly nor indirectly nor remotely aim to attack the writ of injunction as a writ. We recognize its importance and its value and efficiency and appropriateness and effectiveness within the limits of its original purpose, and that is to protect property rights when there is no other remedy at law."

President Gompers states that what the American workingmen want is an effective bill that shall remove the condition that has selected them as workmen specially to have injunctions issued enjoining them from doing things that apply to no other man, woman, or child. Referring to trespass, unlawful acts, and criminal acts, Mr. Gompers states that no one can defend them and claim honest citizenship in our country. "But the doing, as I say, of the most ordinary things that men do in their every-day lives are more and more coming to be touched upon by injunctions. One

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WILLIAM J. BOVEN, President Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Indianapolis, Ind.
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WILLIAM HUBER, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Indianapolis.
TIMOTHY HEALY, President International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, New York City.

The Federation's Annual Meeting.

The annual meeting of The National Civic Federation will be held in the Assembly Rooms of the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, Wednesday and Thursday, December 12 and 13. The subjects for discussion will be "The Income Tax and the Inheritance Tax," "Government by Injunction," and "Child Labor."

Among the speakers on the first-mentioned subject will be Andrew Carnegie, August Belmont, William D. Guthrie, Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, Archbishop John Ireland, Oscar S. Straus, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, N. J. Bachelder, Master of the National Grange, Franklin MacVeagh, Melville E. Ingalls, and Nicholas Murray Butler. Other speakers will be Alfred Mosely, who is to present the English tax system, Professor Hermann Schumacker, of the University of Berlin, who is to talk on the German system, and George Foster, ex-Minister of Finance of Canada, who will present the facts as regards the Canadian Income and Inheritance Tax.

"Government by Injunction" will be discussed by John Mitchell, of the American Federation of Labor; H. R. Fuller, representing the Railway Brotherhoods; George R. Peck, ex-President of the American Bar Association, and General Counsel of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway; Walter Drew, Commissioner of the National Iron Erector's Association; Louis D. Brandeis, Esq., Frederick N. Judson, Esq., and Seth Low.

In the discussion of "Child Labor" there will be represented the officers of The National Child Labor Committee, representatives of the trade unions from among those occupations in which child labor is most prevalent, representatives of employers' and manufacturers' organizations, labor commissioners, factory inspectors, and representatives of women's organizations.

That these are three vital questions at this time will not be denied. The general demand, finding expression in so many circles, that there should be some curb placed on huge aggregations of wealth, certainly calls for thoughtful consideration by those who believe in the perpetuity of our democratic institutions. Shall we have a graduated Income Tax, and a graduated Inheritance Tax? If so, should there be exemptions, or should every income be taxed alike? Will an Income Tax produce "a nation of liars"? What has been the experience in Europe?

The importance of the problem "Government by Injunction" lies in the fact that organized labor believes that the courts are being used by employers in a partisan way to prevent or break strikes. The employers, while admitting that there may be abuses of the character complained of, claim that the remedy is not along the lines sought by the unions. The merits of the question are fairly well outlined in an article appearing elsewhere in this issue. The question is "Can the abuses complained of by organized labor be remedied without destroying the beneficial principle underlying the injunction?"

The question on Child Labor to come before the meeting is largely this: What is the real extent of the evil, and is everything being done that is possible to do to meet it? As to the character of the evil there is practically no divergence of opinion; as to its extent there is a wide difference of opinion. Many speakers and writers on the subject declare that there are two million children working in the factories, mines, mills and in mercantile and street trades, etc., under fourteen years of age, and that child labor is on the increase. Others claim that these figures are gross exaggerations, and point to the 1900 census which shows in round numbers 1,750,000 children "under 16 years" of age engaged in gainful occupations. But of this total number the same census shows, it is claimed, that there are 1,065,000 engaged in agriculture, and 500,000 in round numbers who are over fourteen years of age, which reduces the total number which it is sought to protect by legislation, to less than 200,000. It is claimed on the one side that there are twelve thousand boys under fourteen years of age in the anthracite coal breakers, whereas officials of the state of Pennsylvania, after investigating the matter, claim that there are not over 8,100 all told under sixteen, and that with

only 760 of them is there any doubt about their being over fourteen,—the age beyond which no attempt is made to prevent employment.

Whether there is a disagreement on the number or not, there will doubtless be an agreement among the speakers at the coming meeting that whatever the number of children of tender years engaged in gainful occupations, they should not be permitted to work if they are under fourteen years of age.

The executive committees of the various departments will meet on the evening of the 12th, and in addition to discussing important questions relating to their respective fields of endeavor, will plan their work for the coming year.

The Conciliation Department will organize its work in a way that will enable it to be in touch with every industrial center and to carry on during the coming year a great deal of educational work along the line of Conciliation, Arbitration and Trade Agreements.

The Executive Committee of the Immigration Department will consider the various projects which have been advanced for the distribution of immigrants and which have in view relieving the congestion of aliens at particular points and at the same time meeting the demands of those sections of the country where immigration is so much desired.

The Welfare Department, in addition to considering the Employers' Liability Act, the question of Safeguarding the Lives of Employees, and Industrial Insurance, will plan its campaign for bettering the conditions of employes in the public service, national, state and local. A special committee the past year has been investigating the conditions under which our public employes work, and will recommend that as active efforts be put forth in their behalf as the Department has hitherto taken in the interests of employes of private establishments.

The Immigration Problem.

It was pointed out in the preceding issue of THE REVIEW that widely varying and antagonistic views are being entertained on the immigration question because of the absence of the facts. In that issue we quoted opponents of immigration as claiming that a large per cent of immigration is made up of "outcasts, criminals, anarchists, thieves and off-scourings of the earth," and in contrast with this we presented another view by a high authority who claimed our immigrants to be "bright, ambitious men and women, the brawn and backbone of any country." Through immigration, Commissioner Watchorn also said, the United States is receiving "the youth and strength and ambition and vigor of foreign lands."

Another and a much more comprehensive view as to controverted facts on the immigration question was presented by well-known experts in this line of knowledge at the conference of the Immigration Department of The National Civic Federation held in New York City on September 24. Many of the statistics generally accepted as accurate were shown not to represent correctly the actual situation. Some of these statistics—even government statistics which usually go unquestioned—were so vigorously combated that many at the Conference expressed their surprise that thinking people should have gone so long without taking some steps to remedy the conditions. So important was this feature among other objects of the Conference that a number of speakers made reference to it in their addresses. Mr. Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, expressed his views on this point as follows: "I think all who have studied this subject for any length of time feel very much the scarcity of accurate statistics on the immigration question. I certainly do. And it is one of the very encouraging things about the formation of this department that we can hope after a time to get more accurate and reliable statistics."

Another of the speakers, Nathan Bijur, Esq., Vice-President of the United Hebrew Charities, stated that in his study of the question of immigration, the first thing that confronted him was the absence of accurate and complete statistics. He said: "What I hope will be done by this department of the Federation is that it will gather together all the facts, such as they are,

the best statistics available from everywhere, and put them down and say: 'Well, so far as we have been able to gather anything, this is what we know,' and then let us sift them and see how reliable they are. When we find a government report which does not mean anything, say so and say why. When we find statistics of crime which have left out certain classes of criminals, let us say so. Show what the difference would be if they were put in, and go on through and collect all these things and put to the credit of the immigrant all the facts that are to be put to his credit, as well as charge him with all the things that ought to be so charged. Now, that has not been done by anybody. Everyone who has discussed this subject has discussed it from the point of view of the advocate. Let this department formulate great general facts."

The Committee on Basal Statistics of the Immigration Department has undertaken to perform this important service. Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, one of the leading statisticians of the United States, is Chairman of this Committee, and its personnel is made up of other leading statisticians and prominent students of immigration questions. A conception of the character of the work this Committee has undertaken and the scientific spirit with which its members are imbued is indicated in the paper by Prof. Willcox, which is presented elsewhere in this issue. We commend this paper to the thoughtful attention of our readers.

Welfare Work Among Railway Men.

Improvements in safety appliances, the increase in block signals, the construction of double tracks, the progress in locomotive and car construction, and the adoption of new devices have all tended the past twenty years or more to minimize the dangers of railway travel. All these mark a phenomenal advance in the direction of safeguarding the traveling public from accidents. At the same time there are not wanting indications which point to the necessity of greater emphasis being placed on the "human" element, especially as regards the men in charge of the trains. Only in very recent years has the attention the subject demands been given to caring for the physical qualifications of engineers, firemen, and trainmen.

In the recent reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission dealing with the causes of railway accidents, the "human" element occupies a prominent place. It is plain that the physical qualities of the men in charge of trains must be in as perfect condition as possible, if accidents are to be prevented. It is upon this principle that many railway companies are now working. They are requiring their men to abstain from alcoholic beverages, from tobacco and the like which scientifically are known to affect the sight, the nerves, and in general the self-possession of the men. Many railroads are also requiring their trainmen to undergo rigid physical examinations. For preserving in their best working order these physical qualities, railway managements are providing rest and recreation houses for the trainmen at various important points along their lines.

In no other occupation is modern welfare work for employes more necessary than among railroad men in charge of trains. Almost any single accident of any importance results in a money outlay on the part of the railway company more than sufficient to provide efficiently for the care of their trainmen, and we believe that if this one fact could be impressed upon the attention of railway officials it would be a sufficient argument to induce them to undertake welfare work to an even greater extent than is now being done.

But it is not the money cost to railroad companies, in the destruction and damage of property and in the expense of lawsuits growing out of railway accidents and wrecks, that is the element of prime consideration when such a vital subject as welfare work among railway employes is up for discussion. Of far more importance is the assurance to the traveling public that by such consideration of the physical welfare of employes, traveling on American railroads, as far as the human element is a factor, is made safer. Such a result is doubly assured by well-organized and well-conducted welfare work among railway employes. An idea of what is being accomplished in this direction by

one railroad can be gained from Dr. Latta's article on "Rest Houses for Railroad Men," which appears elsewhere in this issue. It emphasizes two essential factors in successful welfare work—responsible organization and competent management. Similar work among other railroads will be described in succeeding issues of THE REVIEW.

The Ownership Commission Abroad.

The announcement in detail on another page of this issue of the investigations of the Commission on Public Ownership and Operation indicates that this very important undertaking is approaching its termination. The article presents an account of the work performed in the important cities of Great Britain, and refers to the social aspect of the Commission's visit, which should be regarded as an important side of the Committee's studies, inasmuch as the social events enabled them to become better acquainted with those experts and officials in Great Britain who are recognized as among the ablest men in the different lines of work coming within the province of the Commission. It is of interest in connection with the Commission's visit abroad to read of the general expressions of approval of the task undertaken by this body, much of the success of the work of the Committee being due to the courtesies extended to the members. For the efforts of the distinguished foreigners who placed every facility at the disposal of the Committee, the thanks of the members are due.

The coming month of December will probably see the completion of all the special investigations of the different cities as outlined by the Commission, with the probability that by the first of the year the Committee of Investigation will be in a position to present its completed report to the entire Commission. As soon as the Commission has passed on the report finally, it will then be made public. We believe it will have considerable effect upon future discussions of the Public Ownership problem, and that it will be a work of reference for many years to come to those concerned in the various questions involved.

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

The attention of our readers is directed to the synopsis on another page of this issue of the very able articles against socialism written by Mr. James A. Cable, editor of the *Coopers' International Journal*, and published in recent issues of that paper. It will not only surprise, but we believe it will interest our readers to see how clearly and forcibly a workingman disposes of socialistic doctrines, which presumably are being put forth for his benefit. Mr. Cable sees through the confusion between trade unionism and socialism which has grown up in the minds of many, and is able to distinguish between the two. In fact, Mr. Cable, instead of conceding the two as being identical, clearly shows that there is nothing in harmony between the two, despite the fact that some trade unionists profess socialism. The keynote of the whole discussion may be summarized briefly in the author's statement as follows:

"One of our correspondents challenges us to show reason why the trade-union and the socialist movements cannot be harmonized. The reasons are clear. The two movements are seeking opposite ends.

"By reason of its defects the socialists seek to overthrow the present order.

"By correcting its defects, the trade unions seek to make the present order endurable.

"Now, if the trade unions succeed in making the present order endurable, the aim of socialism is thereby defeated; whereas, if the socialists succeed in overthrowing the present order, the aim of the trade unions is defeated. As the success of the one means the failure of the other, the two are diametrically opposed to each other."

This clearly-stated distinction between trade unionism and socialism is commended to the thoughtful attention of our readers, and in particular do we recommend its study to those who have been in the habit of confusing the two and of regarding them as only different names for the same things.

MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER, by direction of President Roosevelt, has been detailed from the Department of Justice to investigate the conditions under which women and children work throughout the United States. Mrs. Foster has had years of experience in philanthropic work that peculiarly fit her for this position. She was among the first women of the country to practice law, and most of her clients were moneyless and defenceless women and children. She has been prominent in reform movements and usually has had charge of crystallizing sentiment into practical results.

In 1900 Mrs. Foster was appointed by the late Secretary Hay as a representative of the United States to the



International Red Cross Conference at St. Petersburg. Last year she accompanied the Taft party to the Philippines and made a special report to President Roosevelt on the condition of women and children there. She has but recently returned from a trip around the world, in the course of which she studied the condition of women and children in India and China.

The selection of Mrs. Foster for such work commends itself to the general public, for while full of generous sentiment, she is a student of economics and has the logical mind that looks at all conditions in the light of reason.

MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL, well known to club women of the country as a forceful public speaker, has recently been appointed Chairman of the Industrial and Child Labor Committee of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Boswell had charge of the session of this important committee during the convention held at Saratoga the early part of this month, and she was highly complimented for the excellence of her program, and for the fairness with



which it represented the different phases of the industrial question.

Miss Boswell has had some years of experience in public work, having organized numerous clubs, and is always fortunate in holding the confidence of the many club women who are her associates. She completed her law course at the Washington College of Law of the District of Columbia, and has found her legal knowledge of great assistance in her public work.

Miss Boswell is connected with the National Civic Federation and during the winter will give a number of lectures before the women's clubs of the country for the Welfare Department of the Federation.

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REST HOUSES FOR RAILROAD MEN.

PENNSYLVANIA'S PROVISION FOR THE WELFARE OF ITS CONDUCTORS, ENGINEERS, FIREMEN AND TRAINMEN.

By SAMUEL W. LATTA, Chief Medical Examiner.

VERY few persons, outside of the railroad people, have any idea what a rest house is or its purpose. I shall explain its origin and the benefits that are derived from it.

In its early days the Pennsylvania Railroad, like all pioneers, experienced great difficulty in not having its train crews where they could be reached readily when needed. This was particularly the case where the men were at the end of the runs and away from their homes. The idea was conceived, therefore, of having rest houses or bunk houses, and they constituted the forerunner of all the welfare work initiated by the company.

The first rest house, as far as I can learn, was established prior to 1875. There was an old hotel building in Philadelphia which our company bought, renovated and fitted up as a rest house for its freight men, that being then a terminus of the freight runs.

Special trains and extra sections of regular trains require special crews. There is no knowing when they will be needed. Emergencies arise, particularly in the night, and it is necessary to be able to locate the men quickly. Freight yards and termini are frequently located at isolated places distant from residential centers and difficult of access to boarding houses. Adequate accommodations are necessary for the crews, arriving and departing at all hours of the day and night, at prices within their reach. In instances, as in Philadelphia, as much as thirty thousand dollars was expended on such a house to allow the men all the comfort and health that is necessary for them to do their work properly.

In many cases the company has rented a room or rooms in private houses, and in some instances an entire house to ensure the comfort and welfare of its employees. In the large yards, situated distant from proper

A description of one of the rest houses may give a fair idea of them all. The house in Philadelphia, at 1605 and 1607 Filbert Street, is under the care of a competent number of necessary helpers to make the beds and keep the place plentifully supplied with bed linen, soap and towels, while a librarian looks after the library and game room. Over \$30,000 were expended on the site and furnishing of this house; it costs \$400 to \$500 per month for service, all paid by the company. Everything in this building is absolutely free to the men. The house contains reading, game and diversion rooms, a day bunk room, a room for day lounging, bedrooms, locker rooms, and so forth. There are seventy-two beds for night use; sixteen couches for day use; nine hundred eighty-three individual lockers, wherein the men hang their clothes; fifteen stationary washstands; and eight lavatories on different floors; the library contains 1,286 books circulating among the fam-



READING ROOM (Pennsylvania R. R.)

ilies of the men at the rate of three hundred a month; the games furnished are dominoes, checkers and chessmen; the reading room is supplied with Philadelphia and New York newspapers, and various weekly and monthly periodicals. One thousand men avail themselves daily of the privileges of this room; some of them on local runs visit it several times a day. It furnishes a delightful place for rest and recreation while waiting for duty calls. Any one can occupy a couch during the day. Any one desiring a bed for the night must register. He goes to the attendant in charge and states that he is going on duty on a certain train. His name is registered opposite the bed in which he is going to sleep, as well as the time and number of the train for which he is to be called. He is given a check for the bed, and when he goes to the room the colored man in charge allows him to occupy that bed. At the proper time in the morning or during the night he is called for his train. This



LIBRARY IN PHILADELPHIA REST HOUSE, (Pennsylvania R. R.)

accommodations, rooms are furnished with chairs and lounges for the use of the yard men. In large freight and transfer stations rooms in which to wash, and to keep and change their clothes, and places for them to eat their lunch are furnished. Some have reading rooms supplied with newspapers and periodicals.

At many isolated places where only one, or at best a few crews have a lay over, cabin cars are used for the freight crews. These are fitted with six bunks, a stove and utensils for cooking, and answer well as substitutes for rest houses. Every freight train has its cabin, and, whenever necessary, the crews can sleep in the cabin, provided with all necessary means of comfort.



GAME ROOM (Pennsylvania R. R.)



DAY BUNK ROOM (Pennsylvania R. R.)

building is sanitarily as near perfect as it can be made. The plumbing is first class; the ventilation is as near perfect as it can be with due regard to dangers of drafts. The beds are taken apart and bedding and rooms are thoroughly aired every day. Every effort is made to render these bedrooms absolutely clean, healthy and safe.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has a rule that everything provided on the road must be of a certain stan-



LOCKERROOM AND NIGHT DORMITORY (Pennsylvania R. R.)

dard; there are a standard track and standard trucks, and so in the rest houses there are standard beds. Each bed is a good iron cot with woven springs; and the mattresses are of excellent quality. The company pays special attention to the cleanliness and sanitary conditions of the rooms. The men take pride in going to them, and they show visitors around and comment upon what is done for their health and comfort.

In some places the rest houses are connected with the dispatcher's office by means of electric wires. Those for the wreck-trainmen are all connected in that way. The wreck-train houses are all the property of the company. The operator touches a button which rings a gong in each man's bedroom and in five minutes the train is on the way. (When at their homes the men are reached by callers, their residences being carefully



LUNCHROOMS (Pennsylvania R. R.)

kept in the trainmaster's office and every change promptly noted. When a train is to be made up, the caller is given the names and residences of the men and he calls them for that particular train).

At many places the rooms are only used for resting between hours of labor. Then they are equipped with chairs and tables, to make them convenient places for the men to eat luncheons brought from their homes. In some a cook stove makes possible hot coffee. In many small yards, such as are between here and Philadelphia—at Newfield Junction for instance—shanties are provided in which the men keep their clothes and lunch baskets. Each has a key to the building, which is kept locked.

At the large yards we have the big rest houses. Recently there were established very large classification yards at a point called East Altoona, where it was necessary to erect two rest houses. One contains a hundred fourteen bunks for the use of the engineers and firemen, and the other seventy-four beds for the trainmen. I will read you a quotation from a letter that I had from the superintendent of that division: "At East Altoona there are nine rooms fitted up for sleeping rooms. Each of eight of these rooms has eight beds, the ninth room, being somewhat larger, contains ten beds. The beds are made of iron and are single; they are all furnished with Ostermoor mattresses and springs; each bed has two sheets, pillow with pillow case, and blanket; there are a spittoon and chair furnished each bed and at the head there are three hooks in the wall on which to hang the clothes. There



DRINKING WATER CAN IN ENGINE (Pennsylvania R. R.)

This cooler is made of .80 inch tank steel; the inside covering is made of .022 inch galvanized iron and there is a space of $\frac{1}{4}$ inches between the outside and inside cases filled with granulated cork. The bucket fitting inside is made of .022 inch galvanized iron and has a capacity $3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons.

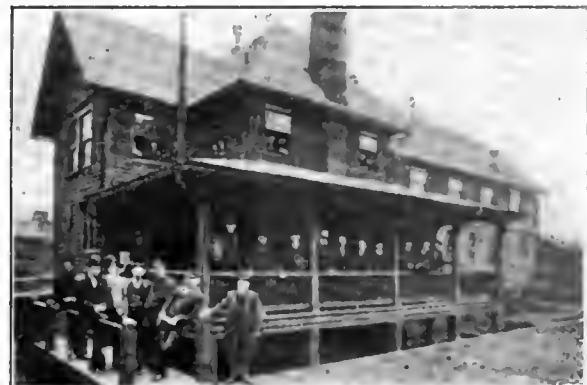
is matting through the center of each room and between each bed."

It will be seen from this that on completion of this yard the necessary provisions were made for the comfort of the men.

The needs of the men are closely looked after, and the same consideration for the care and comfort of the men is shown, whether it involves but one crew or more. On the lines east of Pittsburg and Erie there are fifty such places where two thousand men are given free beds every night. It is difficult to give the number of resting or loafing places furnished. Some seventy-five thousand dollars have been expended on furniture and over thirty thousand dollars are spent annually for maintenance. Now, the lines west of Pittsburg are gradually introducing the necessary bunk and rest houses at all points where they may be required.

The men must have means of diversion. Saloons coming into existence to supply it, gave rise to conditions from which serious results often followed and called for means to overcome them. Indeed the moral welfare of the employees, particularly the passenger and freight men, was a matter of great seriousness to the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad from its very earliest days. The company has on its payrolls about two hundred ten thousand men, counting the lines east and west of Pittsburg, and its operated and controlled lines. To successfully conduct the business the morale of this great army of workmen must be at least above normal.

A clear brain is needed to safely operate trains freighted with precious lives and priceless commodities. In the furnishing of the rest houses, not only did the



WASHROOM AND Y. M. C. A. REST HOUSE (Pennsylvania R. R.)

company supply the essentials, such as the beds, closets for clothes, lavatories and restaurants, but it also furnished means for amusement, such as newspapers, periodicals, libraries, and games. Some of the houses have rooms fitted with mechanical appliances for instruction in airbrakes, and injectors, and instructors are provided to teach the men. This instruction is very useful, for they have to apply that knowledge in their work, and every man who uses them has to undergo examination in the use of airbrakes.

From a small beginning the rest houses have grown to what they are at present. Some of them are managed entirely by the company, others by the men themselves, and some are under the care of the Railroad Y. M. C. A. Some of them furnish beds free; others charge a nominal sum, like ten cents a night for the bed, and food is furnished in the restaurants at cost.

Arrangements are made at some places with private parties to furnish meals at small cost within the means of the men. Where that is not possible the cabin car,



Y. M. C. A. REST HOUSE AND HOSPITAL ON ONE OF THE GOULD LINE

equipped with cook stove, utensils and means to prepare food and hot coffee, is provided. At points, such as on the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington division, in addition to the bunk rooms we furnish a cook house. This is not unusual where the terminus is at a distance from places where board can be obtained.

In Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, there is a railroad men's dining room, at which a first-class meal is served for fifteen cents. Any employe in uniform can go there and get his dinner. He gets roast beef and two vegetables, bread and butter, dessert and coffee for fifteen cents. So along the road, scattered all over, wherever there are restaurants under the control of the company, special rates are made for trainmen. On a dining car the conductor and crew can get a dinner for twenty-five cents, such as you will receive at a dollar.

The company realizes that anything which provides for the physical and mental welfare of the men, rendering them more content, not only benefits the men, but also the company, in that it receives from the employes better and more loyal service. Where men have left the employ of the Pennsylvania Railroad, engaging with some other company under different conditions, they have returned to our company. An experience of more than twenty years with the railroad has convinced me that the company receives large returns on its investment by the excellent service received from its men and the loyal support that the employes delight in giving.

Interrogations and answers follow:

Q. Is there any compulsory element? Are the men compelled in any way to use the restaurants and rest places?

DR. LATTA: They are obliged to be where the company can put its hands on them. We never had any one raise objection to occupying these rooms, especially when they are free; but I do not think they would regard it as compulsory, except in so far as we want to have the men where we can put our hands on them. If they choose to take board at outside places we do not object. We simply provide these places and, if they choose, they occupy them.

Q. Why do you charge for lodging in some places and not others?

DR. LATTA: I don't believe I can answer that question; I don't know why it is done. I know it is a fact. In some places the houses are managed by the men and are located at the request of the men. It may be that the house is not absolutely necessary there, but is put up for the accommodation of the men, at their request, and they manage it. We provide the heat and light in all cases. I would like to say in this connection that I do not think our men approve of houses not under the control of the company, if it can be helped. I know they would rather that the company or they should manage them than the Y. M. C. A. One of the reasons is that the men they send there to handle them are not experienced; they are not familiar with railroad men. You have to learn to know railroad men—they are not like other people in a great many respects; you have to learn their peculiarities and know how to meet them. A branch Y. M. C. A. is established at some point and given charge of a rest house, and they send some young fellow out there as secretary who doesn't know anything about railroad men; he doesn't know railroad men and he has to learn, and the men don't like that. I suppose one reason is that the company does it for nothing; the company does a great deal for nothing. But no scheme for the benefit of the masses will succeed without responsible organization and competent management. Such essential features have marked the successful progress of the institutions of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

HOW THE RAILROAD MEN REGARD SUCH CONVENIENCES.

Not long ago a locomotive fireman, while in New York City, expressed great enthusiasm for the work of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, but he feared that the railroad workers of the country would perhaps be overlooked by the department, and he had many convincing things to tell as to why special interest should be taken in the work of railroad employes. He said:

"In this railroad world of ours there are a great many men working and working hard for a living, and particularly with engines. As the conditions are which confront the men continuously in this great service, there is one crying need, and that is rest rooms, places where the men can go while waiting for the return of their engines to their initial starting point, that they may have rest sufficient to give them the life that is necessary for them to carry on their work. The rest room should be a place sufficiently warm and equipped with the necessary arrangements to bring comfort to the men, in the way of bathrooms, shower baths, and also individual washbowls.

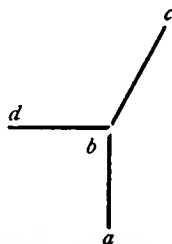
"When I speak of rest rooms, I mean rooms where bunks could be furnished for the men who have from two to five hours of uncertainty when they are waiting to return with their trains. They should be near the terminals so that the men could be spoken to at any time that it might be necessary in the way of calling them to their work. Some roads have such

houses. The Central Railroad of New Jersey has several bunk houses. They have nice, clean cots, and all the facilities in the world for the men to lay over from 12 to 24 hours. They have nice stoves and there is an opportunity for the men to do their own cooking. This is one of the roads which has provided in this way for the comfort of their men.

"The Pennsylvania Railroad does so well by its employes that they are always contented, for they get everything they need. It used to make other men feel bad to think that the Pennsylvania men got everything and we on the other roads got nothing, but other roads do something now. The C. B. & Q., the C. & N. W., Grand Trunk, Union Pacific, Southern Pacific System, Santa Fe System, Central Railroad of Georgia, and the St. Louis & Southwestern Railroad have some rest houses.

"The need for these rest houses is continually felt. I had a remarkable experience last December at one station which is a new freight terminal. Of the six houses at that place, I found four were saloons and two were large boarding houses. All the employes—five divisions—put up in these houses—sixty crews. I never saw such a drunken lot of men in my life. They threw their money away in these saloons, because there was no other place for them to go to cat or sit down. In another town I think it is not too much for me to say that every dollar that the men earn goes to the saloons, because the only places where they can get lodgings are the saloons. As only railroad men go into this particular town, it is very evident that the saloons get their patronage only.

"There are roads in this country where the men start out and do not get back home for a month.



"The men start from *a* and go to *b*, then they go from *b* to *c*, then back to *b*, and from *b* to *d*, for instance:

"There is no use in this sort of thing. The company could manage so that the men would not be away from home so long. It is a matter of arrangement. The Pennsylvania Railroad has a very different method, and it is just as easy to arrange the runs as they have arranged them. The men are often kept out longer than they should be because the motive power has run down and the railroad companies have not kept it up properly. One reason why the work consumes so many hours is because the engines are so large and the fuel is of poor quality, being mixed with snow and dirt often in bad weather."

That the life of the fireman is a hard one and that he needs all that can be done for him in the way of welfare work is graphically shown by another fireman: "Where the men work fourteen hours a day they have the best jobs. My run is 165 miles every day six days in the week. It is one of the good jobs. Only 17 per cent of the men can 'hit the ball,' that is, stand up and do their work. It is only recently that the work has been so hard—all in the past six years. In many of the large engines in the West the fire is so hot and the space so narrow that many of the men require leather blankets from the waist to the knees to protect them—to keep their clothing from burning. The men are subjected to extreme heat and extreme cold. It is said that only one man in six who enters the position of fireman ever becomes an engineer; five fall by the wayside because health fails, or the eyesight is affected from the intense heat and looking into the bright light.

"Railroading has been revolutionized in the last six years and all the work lightened except that of the fireman. That has become almost unbearable.



"THE WAY SOME MEN WASH IN ALL KINDS OF WEATHER"



"THE FIRST THING A MAN WANTS AFTER LEAVING HIS ENGINE IS A BATH AND A GOOD SQUARE MEAL"

"Seventy per cent of the men are in the freight service, where the runs are long and uncertain. It is not unusual for them to be out fifty hours, and in extreme cases they have been on duty as many as seventy hours, so you see their comfort especially requires consideration. One of our worst accidents occurred where the engineer on a freight train, who had been on duty thirty-two hours without rest, went to sleep while waiting on a siding for a passenger train to pass. His crew left the train and it slipped down on the main track and was struck by the passenger train."

One of the "crack" engineers of the country, who ran a fast train for twenty years, tells that many of the men lie down in their engines to sleep.

"Many a time I have slept alongside of mine on the ground. Often the men lie on the hot sand at the roundhouse or in the sandhouse or a handy box car in warm weather will offer the best accommodations.

"One very great need has been a place not only where the men could rest, but where they could clean up and were welcome. Most of our men come in from 8 to 12 P. M. and there is no place to go except the saloons. They are always welcome there.

"In a certain town in Indiana of 900 inhabitants there are thirteen saloons in full blast. In an Illinois town of 3,000 population there are twenty-two saloons. Both are railway terminals. There is not even a place for a man to wash his dirty face and hands when he comes in tired.

"On many roads as soon as the men ask for any conveniences for their comfort the reply comes: 'We pay so much for so much work.' We try to make an employer see it is the best investment which he can make because, if a man coming in from a good hard trip can get a bath, he is refreshed, but if he does not get a chance to change his clothes, a chance to bathe, and a chance to sleep, he starts out again tired. The first thing a man wants after leaving his engine is a bath and a good square meal.

"At many terminals, if the men come in after midnight there is no place to go except the saloons to get a bite to eat. There is a piano going in each saloon



A MODEL WASHROOM WITH VENTILATED LOCKERS



NEW MEXICO REST HOUSE NAMED BY THE MEN, "ROSE COTTAGE"

and it is very attractive to the men. After thirty or forty hours on the road a man has a bad taste in his mouth. Nothing looks well to him. The world is all wrong. Then, if he can get something dainty and well cooked to eat he feels quite different.

"The men worked three years to get a building on a certain road on the promise that one would be put at every terminal if this one should succeed. The company put \$12,000 in that building alone. The environment was beautiful and it was a nice building, but it was wretchedly managed. For instance, there was a running brook, and it would have been easy enough to have thrown the refuse into it, but it was simply pitched into the yard, emitting an unhealthy and disagreeable odor.

"Then a man would get dirty coffee which had been boiled all day, tough steak and some potatoes that had been cooked in cottolene. He knew exactly what he would get three times a day if he went there. Every Sunday we had chicken for dinner. A man would bet \$10 that he would get a wing. I don't know how many wings the chickens had, but I never got anything but a wing!

"In that building they put in nice shower baths, six tubs, a reading room, library, gymnasium, game room, restaurant and beds at ten cents, but they put a young fellow in charge who was entirely unfitted for the position. At first 165 men went there to rest and refresh themselves, but this man did not keep the place clean. The food was not cooked well and the men were made to feel that they were in the road all the time. That grinds in on the soul of a workingman more than anything else.

"It grew worse and worse, and finally the beds were not even made. We got into beds that were not changed sometimes for a week. After a few rounds like that the men said, 'If we have to live in dirt, we might as well go back to the saloons.' Inside of a year that building, which we had tried so hard to get and which had so much that could have been made of benefit to the men, was wrecked purely through mismanagement by the man put in charge."

Another fireman makes a special plea for drinking water. He says: "The men should have cans on their engines for drinking water. They have them on the New York Central. I asked for water cans, and the superintendent said, 'What is it that you firemen don't want?' On another road the company was asked to provide water cans for all engines and to furnish ice



"A CAGE IN THE BUNK-HOUSE YARDS OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAY at an Arizona terminal. Well adapted to the warm climate. Legs of cage in cans filled with water to prevent entrance of bugs. The cages are made of screen on account of mosquitoes and because it is much cooler for the boys to sleep out of doors down on the desert. The men have washstands and bathtubs."

between the months of April and November. The general manager read that paragraph in the proposed contract and said, 'Furnish water and ice coolers! Why not ice cream through the months of July and August?' I told him that would be satisfactory. I got the coolers but not the ice. If the men do not have water they go and fill up on beer at the end of the runs just to quench their thirst."

In regard to rest houses, the fireman says:

"A bad feature about these places generally is that there is no attendant. Wash rooms and lodging rooms are not kept as clean as they should be. I went into one boarding house where a man had died and the room was given to another man without even changing the bed. There should always be an attendant to see to it that the bedclothes are changed. Consumption largely comes from the fact that it is contracted from the bedclothes. In the last four years our death and disability rate has shown a great increase of consumption.

"On our road, with the exception of a bunk room, in one city, which is not near the terminal, the men have no place to sleep except in stock or waste rooms, which are damp and cold. The men simply lie on the floor, with not even a cushion for their heads.

"The men should also have a place to keep their clothes and the rest house should be near enough so they can get to the trains easily. They cannot carry clothes in the engine, especially if the engine cabs leak.

"The work of the firemen is very dirty and frequently they have no place to wash up. They usually have to eat in all their dirt. In one of our round-houses the men have a small trough with cold water, right out in the roundhouse, but they cannot use this because it is so exposed. They would be obliged to remove some of their clothing in order to wash themselves satisfactorily. Being overheated, they cannot do so except in warm weather, because the roundhouses are cold, and the men would be compelled to disrobe almost in the open air. Besides, the wipers use the wash place in the round house and the water is never drawn—no pretension being made to keep the trough clean.

"Up to two years ago they used to give two pounds of waste a day to clean our hands and now we only have a quarter of a pound a day with which to clean the engine and our hands and faces. It won't do for the fireman to give his engineer any,—he can't spare it! You are supposed to clean your engine. You have to do that! As for wiping your face with it, it is out of the question!

"Another great reform in this work would be if all railroad companies would institute lunchrooms or eating places along the lines where it would do away with the necessity of men carrying food that they are compelled to retain in air-tight pails from ten to fifty hours. Surely after fifty hours this food is unfit to eat."

Another engineer says:

"All engineers and firemen know that the great needs for the betterment of their labor conditions are decent places to sleep, wash, eat and have some simple recreation as an offset to the enticements of the saloon. The continued change of officers on railroads in the last six years has had a tendency to prevent greater improvement in conditions. Every man in the operating department does everything possible to curtail expenses, but even where they are desirous of introducing these beneficial features for the men they have no time to consider them."

A MODEL HOSPITAL CAR.

The hospital car of the Erie Railroad is provided for use when, in case of an accident, passengers or employees are injured and the nearest hospital is so far away that operations on the spot become necessary to save life or relieve suffering. It has been pronounced by surgeons to be the most complete and perfect hospital equipment possible in a car.



THE ONLY PLACE OF SHELTER FOR THE MEN UPON WHOSE ALERTNESS PUBLIC SAFETY SO LARGELY DEPENDS

The car, which is 60 feet long, is divided into two compartments. It has an operating room 15 feet 10 inches in length equipped with an operating table having a movable head and foot extension in the center, an instrument sterilizer on the right and a surgeon's basin on the left. The car also has two lockers fully equipped with surgical instruments and stocked with bandages, plasters, sponges and all anesthetics, antiseptics, astringents and other medical and surgical necessities. Sliding doors four feet wide on either side with portable steps permit an easy entrance with a stretcher to the operating room, which has six windows, two windows in each door and a large window in the roof over the operating table. All are of ground glass and provided with white rubber roller curtains. Two 4-flame acetylene gas lights, a single flame over the wash basin and a portable lamp furnish light in the operating room at night. A gravity water system to furnish both hot and cold water from tanks just under the roof of the car is provided. The flow of water can be regulated by a surgeon with a valve operated by the foot, thereby avoiding the necessity of handling any of the equipment. Head lining and inside finish are of a composite board entirely without beading, molding or carving which might serve as places for the collection of infectious matter. White enamel paint is used as a finish and the floor is covered with white rubber tiling.

Two sliding doors with ground glass windows lead to the ward-room. It is 43 feet 4 inches in length, and equipped with 11 brass bedsteads, a lavatory and saloon. It has white rubber tiling on the floor, composite board sides, painted in white enamel, and white rubber curtains between the beds, which are provided with spring and hair mattresses, rubber sheets, and bed clothing. Equipment boxes underneath the car are provided with crutches, splints, army stretchers, surgical implements, wrecking tools, and other accessories.

There are six-wheel trucks, insuring the utmost freedom from vibration, on which rests the steel under-frame. Steel platforms at either end of the car, with gates which can be closed against the curious, are provided. Three-stem couplers and draft gear ease the movement of the car.—*Erie R. R. Employees' Magazine.*



INTERIOR OF HOSPITAL CAR



"DUGOUTS." THE WAY SOME RAILWAY MEN SLEEP IN NEW MEXICO ASLEEP IN HIS ENGINE

THE FEDERATION OF LABOR IN POLITICS.

(Continued from page 9)

neous, and unnecessary, and they have no function to perform. In so far as writs forbid acts which the law does not forbid they are erroneous and their future issuance should be prohibited." In demanding anti-injunction legislation, Mr. Gompers states that organized labor asks for nothing extraneous, nothing that is unjust or improper. He says: "We want no immunity from the law for any crimes or unlawful conduct of which any man in the labor movement may be guilty. I grant you that here and there some man may be gathered into the fold of a union of labor who, either from a perverted mind or from wrongs which he has suffered elsewhere or here, may do a thing which no man can defend and which no union man will defend. But you must bear in mind that the organized workmen of America have not always the choice of material."

VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES

In addition to the position advocated by representatives of the railway brotherhoods and that taken by the American Federation of Labor, and opposed to these two, is "the other side." This latter is that held generally by employers, and it is in favor of the *status quo*. In advocating this policy before the House Committee, Mr. James A. Emery, representing the Industrial Citizens' Association of America, and other employers' organizations, expressed his belief that "in its actual effect upon the protection of property and personal rights, which we believe an equity court contemplates, the ultimate effect of such legislation, with the moral weight which it would have upon the legislatures of the States, considered merely as a matter of expediency, would be a course of very serious danger by the withdrawal of effectual remedies, adequate protection, which these courts have given during all the time that Federal courts in the operation of Congressional legislation have had jurisdiction of these matters, and would also operate to affect the action of States dangerously."

Because the power of injunction has been abused by the courts is no argument, he claims, for taking away that power, and he states that it is an exceedingly dangerous position to make the chief argument directed in favor of the proposed legislation the abuse of discretion upon the part of Federal judges. He says: "The powers of the court in existence at the present time have been very frequently used because there has been very frequent occasion for their use. There has been an occasion to protect property by virtue of the right of injunction, and of personal rights involved because of the fact that a continuous attack has been made upon those personal rights; and this is not merely the view of the persons who, by virtue of their interests in the offered legislation, might be assumed to be prejudiced, but it is the view of members of the judiciary, of public men who have had occasion to make themselves familiar with the facts, and of tribunals of a moral character, which from time to time have had an opportunity to present their views upon the question."

"In a labor dispute it is continually laid down as though that were a dispute by itself or was to be governed by different rules in morals and in law; that a man has a right to go to another who disagrees with him as to the advisability, the expediency, or the justice of the strike, and on the streets, in the cars, wherever he finds opportunity to approach him, to keep insisting upon his view and compelling the other to accept it. Gentlemen, if we did not have any other jurisdiction of the equity courts except to restrain a nuisance it would at least seem under that that not only was it necessary that such a power should be exercised to restrain it, but it would be exceedingly unwise to adopt legislation that would seem to prevent the issuance of an injunction to prevent the annoyance of another."

"Legislation that would have as its purpose the deprivation of Federal courts of that power which they possess to-day to fit the remedy to the wrong would be a long step in the direction of taking from the courts and throwing into the field of politics, if you please, the essential principles upon which the Republic itself is founded, and those essential principles, the protection and vindication of which are not merely necessary for the protection of this Government, but of all government and all civilized society—the right of a man to work, the right of a man to sell his labor, the right of a man to enter into a labor market and buy labor offered freely and willingly to him, the right of a man to live his life free from annoyance, the persecution, the intimidation, the coercion, and even the undesirable persuasion of others—is a right that partakes of the very essentials embraced in our Declaration of Independence—the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—which principles were laid down by the fathers of our country, as the essential things upon which the Republic rests."

Another bill which representatives of the American Federation of Labor supported before the House Committee is entitled "A bill to regulate the issuance of restraining orders and injunctions and procedures thereto, and to limit the meaning of 'conspiracy' in certain cases." According to the provisions of this bill no restraining order or injunction is to be granted in labor controversies unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right for which there is no adequate remedy at law. It is further provided that "for the purposes of this act no right to continue the relation of employer and employee, or to assume or create such relation with any particular person or persons, or at all, or to carry on business of any particular kind, or at any particular place, or at all, shall be construed, held, considered or treated as property, or as constituting a property right." In Section 2 of this act it is provided that no "agreement between two or more persons concerning the terms or conditions of employment of labor, or assumption, or creation, or the termination of any relation between employer and employee, or concerning any act or thing to be done, or not to be done, with reference to, or involving or growing out of a labor dispute, shall constitute a conspiracy or other criminal offense, or be punished or prosecuted as such, nor shall the carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined, unless the act or thing agreed to be done, or not to be done, would be unlawful, if done by a single individual; nor shall the entering into or carrying out of any such agreement be restrained or enjoined, unless such act or thing would, if done or not done, be of the character described in the first section of this act."

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE FEDERATION'S BILL

Mr. T. C. Spelling, who appeared before the committee as the representative of the American Federation of Labor, stated that this bill was submitted as a substitute for the other bills which the representatives of the Federation had been supporting. The presentation of testimony and the discussions following the submission of this bill centered largely around two points. One was whether the right to do business was a property right, and the other related to the constitutionality of the measure.

On the first-mentioned point, Mr. Spelling argued that no man has anything resembling a property right to carry on business of any kind, or to any extent, anywhere in the world. He claims that a property right is nothing distinct from property. The great dividing line, he says, is between personal and property rights. The right to carry on business is not, in his opinion, a property right when it is divorced from the question of good-will in a particular business. He claims that it is not a fair assumption that any State has decided that the right to do business is property. It is not a final settlement of the matter even if one State or more than one State has done it. He believes that Congress has power to say that the right to do business shall not be considered or treated as property for the purpose of this act. He says: "This being an act to regulate, or limit, the use of Federal process, the questions of the property right under State laws and views of State courts have no relevancy. Congress either has this power or it has not. If it has the power, this enactment is a supreme law of the land. There is no question whatever of a taking of property without due process of law. To say that 'for this purpose' certain things shall not be 'considered, held or treated' as property, is merely to set a definite limit to the power to issue certain extraordinary court process. It is no infringement upon any property right nor the impairment of any State law, nor the invasion of State jurisdiction. Any State courts which hold the right to do business to be property may adhere to that view and enforce it, because we cannot by this or any act control the jurisdiction of functions of State courts." He claims that what is sought under this bill is the lopping off of unwarranted judicial extension of the words "property," or "property right," and "conspiracy." He denies the claim of opponents of the measure that the right to labor is property as much as he denies their claim that the right to do business is property.

Opponents of the measure, most of them representing associations of employers, contended before the Committee that the right to do business is a property right, and it was claimed that the enforcement of such a measure would be in effect to deprive a person of property without due process of law.

Walter Drew, Esq., representing a number of Citizens' Alliances, says the first thing the bill would take away, if it became a law, would be the good-will of the business, "a species of property which in this country is sacred, inviolate, and is protected by our courts." He states that every court, State and Federal, announced the doctrine that good-will is property, subject to contract, to be bought and sold and dealt with as any other species of property. He claims that the right to assume or create the relation of employer or employee has become an established doctrine of our courts, mainly at the instance and behest of laboring

men themselves that labor is a commodity to be bought or sold in the open market like any other commodity, and that the right to buy and sell it is a property right, like any other property right, to be protected by our courts. He claims that the bill not only confiscates property, but confiscates the highest kind of property. "As well attack our system of credit," he says, "as to attack the good-will of our business institutions."

Mr. Daniel Davenport states that the measure "assumes by act of Congress to declare that to be not property which by the laws of every State in the Union—I state it without qualification—is property within the meaning, or, as the term is used, in legal and equitable proceedings, and under the recognized system of jurisprudence in force in this country." He claims that any attempt on the part of Congress to declare that which by the laws of the several States is property, shall not be property, when it comes to the question of whether it should be protected by the courts, would be an unconstitutional exercise of authority by Congress.

LYMAN ABBOTT ON SOCIALISM.

DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, editor of *The Outlook*, in an editorial on Socialism, explains what he considers to be its spirit, doctrine and method. After stating that *The Outlook* is in hearty sympathy with the spirit and largely in sympathy with the doctrine of Socialism, Dr. Abbott dissents from its method. On this point he says:

"We dissent from the method and to some extent from the doctrine of State Socialism—that is, of that form of Socialism which would make the State the chief if not the sole employer of industry—for two reasons:

"State Socialism assumes that the evils of society are primarily in the organization of society; so that if the organization were changed, the evils would disappear. In fact, society never will be better than the individuals who compose it. A sound ship can never be made of rotten timber. Individual reformation and social reconstruction must go on together.

"State Socialism assumes that all functions of society should be carried on by one organization, name-



DR. LYMAN ABBOTT,
Editor of "The Outlook."

ly, the State. In fact, society can better perform its various functions by separate organizations. Putting the Church under State control did not make a free Church. It is more free since it has been taken out from State control. Putting industries under State control would not make the industries free. The industries of the free State of Congo are under State control, and industrial despotism is nowhere in the world so bad as it is in the free State of Congo. The Socialist replies that Socialism assumes a democratic State to organize and carry on democratic industries. But in assuming that the State will be democratic when the strong men of the State are incited by covetousness as well as by ambition to control the State, they assume as true what history proves to be false. To take industry out of the hands of a Carnegie and put it into the hands of a Croker would not make industry free, although Croker were kept in power by popular suffrage and Carnegie were not.

"In estimating the value of Socialism the student should keep clearly in mind this distinction between its spirit, its doctrine, and its programme. He should not be ready to accept its programme merely because he believes its doctrine and admires and shares in its spirit."

THE LITTLE MOTHERS' AID ASSOCIATION.

A MOST PRACTICAL AND SUCCESSFUL EFFORT TO LIGHTEN THE BURDENS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN TENEMENT HOUSES.

By HELEN VARICK BOSWELL.

DICKENS put a great deal of wisdom into the mouth of his quaint character of Chops the Dwarf, and Mr. Chops remarked on one occasion anent Society: "It isn't so much that a person goes into Society, as that Society goes into a person." That is about the way it is with Philanthropy and Mrs. Clarence Burns. She didn't deliberately go into philanthropy, but it went into her so deeply as to take root and blossom forth in the most beautiful welfare work that has ever come to cheer the hearts and better the condition of little daughters of the wage-earning women of the tenements, who have thrust upon them by sad necessity the cares and responsibilities of the mother, when she leaves them to look after the smaller children while she is earning the wherewithal to feed and clothe them.

The Association, of which Mrs. Burns is president, has named this child "The Little Mother." You may see her in the streets, alleys, backyards, and on doorsteps, caring for the baby, amusing her toyless flock as best she can, and you pass her in the street as, with basket or bucket on her arm, she carries food, fuel or beer to her family. Her tiny hands do the cooking, scrubbing, washing, mending; her little feet run the errands and after the toddling babies all the long, weary day.

These children are robbed of childhood's natural heritage of joy—they are unpaid laborers, about whose hardships no sensational writers are filling pages in the magazines, though they are often dwarfed and deformed by burdens too great for their years—but burdens which are cheerfully borne. The other day I noticed one of the little mothers trying to join a group of children who were following a piano organ. The other little girls were dancing and running, and doing all the things she wanted to do, but there around her neck were the arms of that Moloch of a baby—a regular Old Man of the Sea. If she could just follow along and hear a little of the music was all she hoped for, for you can't dance or run carrying a baby, and such a thing as deserting it never entered her loyal little heart. Her faithfulness is often pitifully demonstrated when she is relieved of the burden for a little while and taken out to Holiday House at Pelham Park for a week's rest. Recently a little deformed girl there was asked why she wakened so early in the morning, and why she did not seem to be enjoying herself more, and she timidly said that at six o'clock she always commenced to worry some, thinking of her mother who started out then to scrub offices, and wondering how the other children were getting along without her. She herself had reached the advanced age of nine years.

Another little girl of twelve, also very wakeful in the early morning, told the attendant she was used to waking early, because in hot weather she always got up at four o'clock and took the baby out and wheeled it about from four to six, so it could get some cool air—at six she came in to get breakfast for the others. Oh, those "others," who are always on the faithful Little Mother hearts. Many of these little girls never get any rest until illness actually overtakes them, and they are sent to the hospital. One of these recently told Mrs. Burns, who was visiting her, that it was the "first rest I've ever had"; and like Little Dorrit's poor Maggie she thought an "orspital was a 'cavinly place!"

Now what are some of the practical features of the work which Mrs. Burns and her associates are doing to lighten the load of the Little Mothers and to fit them to do more easily the things they have to do, and later to become useful members of the community?

In the first place the Little Mothers' Aid Association ranks among the five biggest charities of New York City, and while called a charity, and though much money is given to carry on its uplifting work, yet there is no question of pauperizing in the bounty bestowed by it. No child is made conspicuous by her needs, and self-respect and ambition are stimulated. By promptitude, diligence, kindness, every Little Mother can earn a certain number of good marks at each lesson which she attends at the several houses conducted by the Association, and as these accumulate she is enabled to purchase from the clothing department articles sufficient to supply her wardrobe—she is a purchaser and not a pauper. Fifteen good marks can be exchanged for a pair of stockings, twenty-five for underclothes, sixty for a dress, eighty for shoes. For these marks she gets a certificate, which she uses to make her purchases, and while it might not be exchangeable for silver and bank notes at the United States Treasury, it is a standard medium of exchange at the Little Mothers' Aid Association. Instead of personal things, the marks will buy cooking utensils, and soap and other things for laundry work—and the un-



MRS. CLARENCE BURNS,
President of the Little Mothers' Aid Association.

selfish "little women" spend many marks in articles of this kind.

The establishments at which the work is carried on are "Happy Day House," 236 Second Avenue, Manhattan; "Pleasant Place," 16 Greenwich Street, Manhattan; "Up-town Branch," 108 Lawrence Street, near 128th Street, Manhattan; "Sunny Side," 84 Pacific Street, Brooklyn.

At each of these houses "Homemaking Circles" are maintained where the Little Mothers of the neighborhood are taught to make and mend their clothes, to purchase, prepare and serve food in an economical, wholesome and appetizing manner—to fix up something really good for "Papa's dinner pail" that doesn't cost any more than the things he used to buy; to care for their health and that of the household. Singing, calisthenics and recitations are also taught. The marked improvement in the morals and manners of



"LITTLE MOTHERS."

the children in these localities has proven the value of the individual training received. Many instances are on record where through the influence of the Little Mother who is getting the benefit of such training, temperance, thrift and integrity have been permanently established in homes, and bad habits overcome with good.

The sewing and laundry classes are always well attended and the cooking classes, needless to say, are

always full, for the children "eat up" all the plain but good things which they are taught to cook and no feast of Lucullus was ever half so well enjoyed. The teaching of these industries is adapted to the needs and limitations of the humblest homes. Inexpensive decorations for the family table are suggested that beauty as well as thrift may be fostered in the home. Take the record of one year for instance: From October to June 1,568 meals have been served by the cooking classes; in the sewing classes 10,482 lessons were given to the eager little maidens.

At the several houses, the small brothers and sisters are gathered daily in the day nursery while their Little Mothers are learning to be more useful to them. These little ones are clothed and fed and bathed, and kindergarten games are played, and they are a happy lot.

The bright rooms of these houses, where the children, often for the first time in their lives, experience the gracious influences of home and instruction, are a happy refuge from the storms of winter and from the stifling heat during the summer months.

It takes much time, thought, and executive ability to keep such a work going and to aim always to enlarge its beneficence. There are no salaried officers. The only ones paid are the servants, the superintendents and the cooking teachers. A woman physician volunteers her services and goes at certain hours to the houses where the girls can consult her, and often visits them and their families in their tenement homes.

This Association was organized years ago by Mrs. J. H. Johnston, who is its honorary president. Mrs. Burns is the active and untiring and energizing force of the work at present, and her associates marvel always at the amount she accomplishes. No woman in all New York City better knows the needs of the poor, no woman is more thoroughly en rapport with the lives of the tenement dwellers, but years of such work have only sweetened Mrs. Burns' faith in humanity, and belief in the institutions of America. She knows the uplift movement of the times, for she helps to make it, and in herself and as exemplified in the Little Mothers' Aid Association, brings a living refutation to the wails of the Socialist that "whatever is, is wrong."

There is need for a great fund to carry on this work, and every year a bazar is given at the Waldorf-Astoria for which hundreds of interested women work unceasingly, and which nets thousands of dollars. Individuals often do much to give joy to the Little Mothers. Mr. Frank Tilford celebrates his own birthday by giving an excursion to Coney Island each year to seven hundred of them. He gives Christmas festivals to hundreds, and Easter and other holiday festivals are held. At Easter each child is also given a potted plant, which is a source of much interest to the household.

During the past summer 6,335 children were taken on outings. Many ailing and crippled children are kept for weeks at the summer home, Holiday House, Pelham Park, where good food, sunshine, air and proper exercise have done much toward restoring health. Often women of wealth invite to their country places twenty or thirty of these Little Mothers for a visit, and the various Guilds and Fresh Air Funds also help the work.

And the efforts of this Association are not confined solely to the Little Mothers—there are also two clubs designed for the recreation and culture of the parents of the Little Mothers. The afternoon and evening meetings of these clubs are well attended; socially and intellectually they are more than successful, and many are the kindly little deeds done by the parents to show their appreciation of what the Association is doing. So from aged grandparents, of whom quite a number come under the influence of the work, to the infants of the Ex-Little Mothers, of whom many are included, the Aid is a daily blessing and lives up to the motto it teaches the children:

"To do all the good I can,
To all the people I can,
In every way I can."

[The Little Mothers' Association, whose work is described in this article, is fortunate in having as its president one who has led in many other successful endeavors—Mrs. Clarence Burns. Mrs. Burns has been active, among other things, in the women's clubs, in urging the establishment of industrial schools, and is at present organizing a movement to establish a hotel in New York for working girls. As the recently-elected chairman of the Industrial Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Burns represents the combined efforts of eight hundred thousand women to better the conditions for women and children.—The Editor.]

A TRADE UNIONIST'S OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

REASONS FOR ORGANIZED LABOR'S HOSTILITY TO "AN UNTRIED, IRRATIONAL, UNDESIRABLE, IMPOSSIBLE, NON-UNDERSTANDABLE THEORY."

IN the five recent issues of the *Coopers' International Journal*, the official organ of the Coopers' International Union of North America, an interesting discussion has been carried on by the editor and certain members of the union on the subject of socialism. It appears that in this union there are a number of socialists who, following out the policy of "capturing the trade-union movement by boring from within, attempted to use the *Coopers' Journal* for free printing and distribution of socialist propaganda. They proposed an amendment to the constitution of the union "to open the *Journal* to a discussion of socialism, giving its advocates equal space with its opponents," which proposition, by the way, has been overwhelmingly defeated. Pending the final vote on the question by the union, the editor voiced the sentiments of the conservative members in a series of articles from which we quote the following extracts. After the preliminary statement that the editor was, for a brief time, a member and secretary of a socialistic section and that "it is due to an impartial study of the subject that he is not now in the socialist ranks, the editor of the *Journal* says:

"No two understand socialism alike. It is not a science, it is an untried, irrational, undesirable, impossible, non-understandable theory which never has been a reality and never will be. As a political threat it may at some time have an effect for good in broadening and liberalizing the policies of dominant political parties, but as to its hopes of overthrowing the present form of government and substituting itself as a government, that will simply never happen, and the man who bases his hopes on such an absurdity is to be pitied for wasting his life's energy in a cause that is hopelessly lost from the very beginning. The American people want a system which offers reward for and opens opportunity to energy, thrift and talent. Whatever claim may be made by the socialists, their theory when analyzed offers nothing of the kind. It is calculated to discourage the possessors of these sterling qualities.

"If the time, money and energy spent in advocacy of this will-o'-the-wisp was devoted to the cause of trade unionism, which is striving every day of the year for actual reforms and improvements in our day and generation, the defects in government could be overcome, and there would be less oppression and more comforts for those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brows here and now. If a socialistic government were instituted to-morrow, we could not get rid of selfish men. We could not hang the selfish for there would not be rope enough. Since we could not get rid of them under a socialist government, it is safe to conclude that as the greedy and the selfish prey upon the less intellectual now, so would they do under socialism. 'If man's inequality is wrong,' says the *New York Mechanic*, 'then find fault with man's Creator.' Socialism cannot cure imperfections created in God's wisdom, and, moreover, men are being born and will continue to be born into the world with these imperfections every day. There being nothing in socialistic theorizing, therefore, which promises to cure man of inequalities and imperfections to which he is heir by nature, it fails, because it approaches no nearer to the seat of man's imperfections than does our present or any other form of government.

"There never was a time in any country when all the people could unite in one political or religious faith. The working people of America, however, regardless of political or religious leaning, can be united in the belief that the hours of labor are too long and the remuneration too small. It is possible for all of them, or at least a great portion of them, to be united on this issue regardless of political or religious differences.

"If the socialists are granted the right to inject their politics into the union, the Republicans and Democrats must have the right to inject theirs. If politics may be injected, so may religion, and if an effort is to be made to inject all these creeds and theories into the trade-union movement, the end of the labor movement is not far off. Instead of being a nation of united working men and women, this would be a nation of political and religious factions, each seeking to undo what the other is striving to do and neither of them accomplishing any good. The man who would steer labor's ship upon the rock of political and religious disaster is not a safe pilot and those who hope for smooth sailing in the labor movement had better beware of such piloting.

"Socialism analyzed means, if it means anything, governmental control of everything, which carries with it abolition of the individual initiative and individual liberty. The history of all countries and all governments, including our own, demonstrates beyond successful contradiction that governmental power is oppression. We in this country, as well as those in other countries, are suffering now from too much governmental power. What we want, then, is not increased governmental power, but less of it, so that we may exercise and enjoy more liberty and freedom.

"Prior to last year's convention it was the custom with the American Federation of Labor to give the socialists all the time and opportunity needed to expound their doctrine and present their theory. So patient was the Boston convention of that body in 1903, that fourteen hours were spent in debating the question of socialism, about ten of which were taken up by the socialists themselves, and after all this talk their resolutions failed of passage by a large majority. Since that



MR. JAMES A. CABLE.
Editor *Coopers' International Journal*.

time they have been losing strength every year in the A. F. of L. Their oratorical effort, and defeat, at the San Francisco convention in 1904 is accurately described by Luke Kennedy in the following letter to the *New York Mechanic*: 'They put forward their most masterful and brilliant orators, used obstructive and filibustering tactics, in fact resorted to every trick and scheme to accomplish what they had been looking forward to for years—the endorsement of their party by the A. F. of L.—and they were buried beneath an avalanche of "pure and simple votes."

"As to how strong the socialists were at the recent convention of the A. F. of L. held in Pittsburg, Pa., we will take the word of socialists who were there. The *Cap Makers' Journal* (strictly socialistic) describes the action of said convention on a socialist resolution as follows: 'Suffice it to say here that the last American Federation of Labor convention was a very "harmonious" affair—in fact, so "harmonious" that when President Gompers ruled our resolution out of order on the absurd ground that it dealt with "party politics," there was hardly a delegate to contradict him. All other important resolutions, introduced by delegates Berger, Lavin and others (socialists), were snowed under in about the same fashion, without much ado.'

"The relative positions of the trade-union and socialist movements are very correctly summed up by *Progressist*, of Ticonderoga, N. Y., in the following editorial: 'Organized labor is stronger in America than ever before. The cry for the open shop, and the heated denunciations of the "Parryites" of the boycott, the closed shop and the sympathetic strike is met on every hand by examples of the wisdom of collective bargaining on the part of workmen when dealing with their employers and the continuance of union shops by cooler-headed employers. Unionists are also coming to understand more fully every day how impracticable are the dreams of the socialist leaders and how fallacious are their arguments."

In proof of the statement of the hostility of organized labor to the demands of socialism, the editor of the *Journal* cites the resolutions adopted by the last convention of the Massachusetts State Convention of Labor to the effect that "we recognize as the most despicable attack yet made upon the life of our national body, that organization launched in Chicago, June, 1905, known as the Industrial Workers of the World, headed by socialists of international reputation."

We regret that lack of space prevents quoting in full the opinions of the editor of the *Coopers' Journal* as expressed in this series of articles. On three or four of his telling points, however, we summarize as follows his statements:

"Socialism proposes to solve the problem of wealth and poverty by abolishing wealth and reducing the en-

tire race to a condition of poverty. It proposes to solve the question of righteous living by abolishing Christianity and reducing the race to a state of unrighteousness. It proposes to solve the problems of civilization by reducing the race to an uncivilized state. In other words, they hold that since the very inception of humanity, the race has been moving forward on wrong lines, and that every step so far taken must be retraced, so that under the guidance of socialist minds, which cannot err, civilization may again come forward on right lines and make no mistakes.

"Socialists repudiate municipal ownership just as they do every other reform, because it is 'palliative' and serves to reconcile the people to the present order of things, thereby prolonging the coming of the revolution which they hope for and dream about, which they claim will give to the people complete socialism. Municipal ownership is by no means a part of the socialist platform. Prospective socialists are frequently led to believe that it is, but when safely landed in the socialist bailiwick they are carefully taught that municipal ownership is only a palliative which retards instead of advances the progress of socialism.

"There can be no fusion between voters who want reforms in government and socialists who demand the overthrow of the republic, because they are seeking opposite ends. Moreover, the socialist party stands fundamentally pledged against fusion or compromise of any kind. The socialist position is clearly stated by *The Appeal to Reason* of April 28, 1906, when it says: 'There is no such thing as reform. Elimination is the only remedy.'

"The socialists claim that the Church of God having evolved from capitalistic environment, is a capitalistic institution, which with all other institutions of to-day must finally fall when the much-heralded revolution is inaugurated. They contend that the Christian religion is an invention of the masters for the purpose of distracting the minds of the workers from their true conditions so that they will not rebel against the capitalistic system."

The editor of the *Coopers' Journal* points out clearly and truthfully the absolute incompatibility of socialism and religion, by quoting as follows from the writings of recognized authorities on socialism:

"Dr. Averling, a socialist of high rank (who was the 'free love' husband of Karl Marx's daughter) accepted the world over as an authority on socialism, says: 'Whether anything or nothing is done, little that is of lasting value can be done until men and women fairly face the fact that the terrible condition of our poor is due, as are so many other ills, to the two curses of our country and time—Capitalism and Christianity. In Christianity we see not only a supporter of the greatest of social evils, but a system that by its fundamental principles vitiates human thoughts and distracts the attention of mankind from the natural and actual.'

"Bax, who is probably recognized as the highest authority on socialism, in his 'Ethics of Socialism' says: 'According to Christianity and the ethics of religion, of introspection generally, regeneration must come from within, must begin in the heart and mind of the individual. The ethic and religion of modern socialism on the contrary, looks for regeneration from without. From material conditions and a higher social life.'

"*Avanta*, the organ of the Italian socialists, refers to Christianity as the 'dirt heap of modern thought,' and says, 'the civilization of social democracy will never be foul itself with Christianity.'

"*The Comrade*, edited by John Spargo, a socialist periodical published in New York, in its issue of May, 1903, says: 'Christianity is not big enough, not pure enough, nor noble enough to measure our great world-faith. Socialism-Christianity would be socialism destroyed.'

We do not hesitate to say that if these articles were read by every student of the question, there would be a much clearer perception of the distinction between trade-union principles, which uphold American institutions, and the doctrines of socialism, which aim to undermine and destroy them. On this point the editor of the *Coopers' Journal* says:

"One of our correspondents challenges us to show reasons why the trade-union and the socialist movements cannot be harmonized. The reasons are clear. The two movements are seeking opposite ends.

"By reason of its defects, the socialists seek to overthrow the present order.

"By correcting its defects, the trade unions seek to make the present order endurable.

"Now if the trade unions succeed in making the present order endurable, the aim of socialism is thereby defeated; whereas, if the socialists succeed in overthrowing the present order, the aim of the trade unions is defeated. As the success of the one means the failure of the other, the two are diametrically opposed to each other."

ONE OF

WHAT THE CHARITY ORG

GREAT UPLIFTING AGENCIES.

SOCIETY HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN RECENT YEARS AS TOLD GENERAL SECRETARY.

GENERAL SECRETARY, NEW YORK CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

THE society has obtained from private individuals an amount of relief which has enabled three to ten thousand families to found a quarter of a century ago a fair proportion of the population otherwise have become dependent self-respecting persons, and enabled them to support of widows and toward such persons, with strangers when the latter were

The evidence of the work made on behalf of the Society, that it has fully taken care of the families who applied for assistance or whose needs were made known by third parties can be found, of course, for the most part only in its family records. One who has worked year after year on one of the district committees or as a friendly visitor knows that these things have been accomplished: that the sick have been furnished with medical attention, nursing, medicines, special diet and, when necessary, with protracted convalescent care; that pensions have been raised for widows with dependent children and continued until the children were old enough to work; that absconding male heads of families have been brought back to the discharge of their natural responsibilities; that employment has been procured; friendly encouragement and oversight freely given, not for a day but for months or years; that children and mothers have been sent to the country and to the seashore, and that scores of other similar services have been rendered, some of which require substantial financial outlay while others have demanded that personal attention which in busy New York it is far more difficult to secure.

Ten years ago an experienced charitable worker said to one who was just turning into this field, "Study your case-work. Fix your attention on the individual family." That was excellent advice and any charitable society may rightly be judged only by its success with the individual families who come under its care. What the society has accomplished then, first of all, is to give intelligent, sympathetic, and efficient care to the very large number of individuals and families whose needs are brought to its attention.

In the next place it has cleared the streets of New York of professional beggars. Due credit is to be given to the legislature for its strict laws, to the police department, to the city magistrates for convictions and sentences, to the Workhouse for holding its prisoners, and attempting to give them suitable employment, and to citizens generally for individual co-operation. The Charity Organization Society, however, directed the educational campaign against mendicancy and imposture, made the complaints effective, supplied the information necessary to conviction, and prevented premature discharge for a consideration. It has given a helping hand to mendicants desirous of giving up the shameful life of a parasite and entering on that of self-support and self-respect, and finally, while convincing the whole fraternity of yeggman-panhandlers and ordinary mendicants throughout the country that New York is unsafe territory in which to operate, has yet through its publications and correspondence helped to make other communities less "safe" and has therefore not lessened local burdens at their expense. It has done more for these mendicants individually than has ever before been done for any similar class here or abroad. As the foundation of its work for them and for the city, the Society has insisted that there must be such persistent and intelligent police work that it shall be impossible to live by begging whether from passers-by, at the basement door or by ingenious letters of introduction.

Just now there is a relaxation in the police co-operation owing to the abolition of the Mendicancy Detail—as a part of a general policy of doing away with special details, and there is a corresponding increase in the amount of begging. This reaction will, however, surely be promptly met either by the restoration of this particular detail, which unlike some of the others was engaged in distinctly police work, or by some other plan which the Police Commissioner may devise to take its place.

Verging on and often actually constituting imposture and fraud are the activities of many groups organized in the name of charity. The service which the Society rendered for several years in keeping its members informed as to the standing and management of charitable institutions, and the legitimacy of appeals for support especially from new enterprises, led to the recent establishment of the Bureau of Advice and Information. On request advice will be given to prospective donors concerning plans for founding new institutions; to managers of charitable enterprises regarding needed reforms, new buildings, changes of location and other



DR. EDWARD T. DEVINE.

matters of like character. The Burke Foundation, various hospitals and sanatoria for consumptives, the removal of children's institutions to the country, the organization of charity in Havana, and the relief work in San Francisco may be mentioned as illustrations of the wide range of undertakings upon which such advice and assistance has recently been requested.

The most important achievement of the Society in recent years was the inauguration and carrying through to complete success of the movement for a new tenement-house law and for the creation of a distinct municipal department to enforce its provisions. When the need for advanced legislation was unsuccessfully urged upon the local municipal assembly in the summer of 1899 there was little or no popular interest in the subject, and no outer evidences whatever that the time was ripe for the beginning of an agitation which, within two years, would place upon the statute books a radical and sweeping law by the side of which the Society's original suggestions appear insignificant indeed. The credit for this reform belongs very largely to two individuals: Robert W. de Forest, President of the Charity Organization Society, and Lawrence Veiller, who in 1899 was Secretary of the Society's Tenement House Committee. The Society made an energetic campaign through the public press, before the local and state legislatures, in and through trade unions, settlements, churches, and all kinds of philanthropic agencies, and finally, by means of the tenement house exhibition of February, 1900. As a direct result of these efforts a state commission was authorized by the legislature and appointed by Governor Roosevelt. Of this commission Mr. de Forest and Mr. Veiller were respectively chairman and secretary, and its labors were brought to a triumphant conclusion by the enactment of the laws which they recommended. No changes have since been made except at the request or by the consent of the friends of the law, whose views have been presented when occasion required by the Tenement House Committee, which the Society has kept in existence as a means of co-operating with the municipal department, and, whenever necessary, enlightening the public in regard to proposed beneficent or vicious legislation.

The Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis has waged unrelenting war on this preventable disease during four years. Notable as is its publication of the "Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis" and an illustrated "Directory of Institutions" dealing with tuberculosis, the public instruction through the issue of hundreds of thousands of cards printed in several languages with simple directions as to how to protect one's self and others against this disease, has been an even greater service. How to care for the sick and to guard those who surround the patient, and the simple and effective modes of home treatment have been contrasted with the cruel waste and certain detriment from the use of whiskey and other stimulants and of patent medicines. No other class in the community has been more quick to appreciate the import of this work or more prompt and effective in their assistance than the trade unions.

Self help and thrift have been encouraged by the Society through the organization of the Provident Loan Society in 1893, and the Penny Provident Fund in 1889.

The former is an independent stock company formed to enforce fair conditions in the business of pawning personal property. Those under the necessity of temporarily raising funds upon such collateral are given a private and respectable opportunity to obtain loans at reasonable rates. It now transacts a business of seven million dollars a year. The Penny Provident Fund has over three hundred branch offices, largely conducted by volunteers and sanctioned by school authorities, through which savings of from one cent upward are received and credited by means of stamps pasted in card-books furnished free and redeemable at regular hours at face value. Last year 90,746 people saved \$106,100 in this way. Incidentally, many stores and banks have been influenced to extend commercial facilities at a much lower amount than had formerly been thought practicable and an impetus has been given the project for a post-office bank.

Fresh air work has won recognition and approval throughout the country. One of its earliest successful divisions was the Creche started by this Society in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty for the benefit of mothers with babies whom they could not leave or send away and who could not afford to stop work to accept a longer trip than one day. The Edgewater Creche, a separate organization, has succeeded this work, and now conducts it in conjunction with the Society.

The Charities Directory, a fully-indexed, classified and descriptive guide to the philanthropic, religious, and educational resources of the city, has passed through sixteen annual editions and comes to be more and more used and relied upon. While the mention of a particular institution in the book does not imply endorsement of its purposes, management or methods, still care is exercised to exclude all those about which the Society feels it necessary to warn its members.

The most important of the Society's publications is "Charities and The Commons," the weekly journal and magazine of philanthropy and social advance. The outgrowth of the Society's bulletin of information to members, it now combines six independent efforts at public enlightenment and interest in social righteousness. When at this stage of the twentieth century lunatics are chained to logs in one section of our country, caged naked in sheds in another, and beaten for their imbecility in a third; when an entire large city is scourged with fever bred by neglect; when a great state votes down protection of its future citizenry against lucrative exploitation, there is need of spokesmen and of an organ for them that will stand out sturdily as "Charities and The Commons" has done for new opportunities, new plans, and new hopes for those who are drawn down by their unfavorable environment or heredity.

In order to raise both the standard of efficiency and the standard of remuneration in social work the Society in 1899 started the Summer School of Philanthropy mainly for experienced workers who wished to obtain fresh and broader views of their sphere. It was successful from the first. Three years ago an afternoon course was established to be carried on all winter for the benefit of those at the time actually engaged in work in New York and with especial regard for New York conditions. One hundred and fifty-six employees of the local charities, public departments, settlements, and churches were enrolled. But the plan was found to be insufficient and the endowment of the School by Mr. John S. Kennedy in the following year made possible the adoption of the present plan by which the course has been placed on a professional school basis and the entire time and attention of the students for one year is required for successful prosecution of the course. Fifty-eight students were registered for the last academic year.

A feeling of bewilderment is the first thing that comes to the consciousness of the average good citizen on being approached for alms. What is he to do? Kindly but firmly direct the applicant to the Joint Application Bureau maintained jointly with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. It is open from 9 a. m. to midnight every day of the year for the reception of applicants for aid and the care of the homeless. All homeless people referred to either society are assisted sympathetically and constructively through this bureau. Persons applying for aid may be referred here by anyone, whether a member of the Society or not, and an applicant who calls without reference will be equally well received.

The woodyard and laundry maintained by the Society are nearly self-supporting by their revenues. Both are of great importance to the work as furnishing sufficient and satisfactory tests of the sincerity of earnestness of applicants and temporary occupation while employment is being sought. The salutary effect of remuneration for services is in marked contrast with the giving and acceptance of gratuity even under the best circumstances. The laundry also trains unskilled hands

which are capable of earning only one dollar a day at rough cleaning into skilled laundresses for whom there is an unlimited demand at from \$1.50 to \$2.50 a day.

From these tests the fit pass on to work which they are assisted to obtain. And the unfit? Until recently they were borne with more or less grace as a necessary burden on either the public treasury or the more specialized aid of private societies. The Special Employment Bureau of the Charity Organization Society is adjusting the remaining abilities of men who are handicapped either by a physical or social affliction to certain kinds of adapted employment. Whatever the form of affliction, such persons find it almost impossible to secure respectable remunerative occupation for themselves. The commercial employment agencies find it too expensive to make sincere efforts in their behalf. After five months' trial it may be said that this bureau is successful and its continuance will be warranted if friends of the idea will meet the necessary expense.

Matrons in the precinct police stations, female factory inspectors for industries employing women and children, a Municipal Lodging House for wayfarers, extension of legal aid to the poor, the Council of Fresh Air Charities, inception of the National Child Labor Committee, and the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis are examples of results accomplished by this Society, or in co-operation with others, which space does not permit me to enlarge upon.

The result of the movement inaugurated by this Society and carried to completion by the gift of an individual citizen for a Charities Building to house all of the charitable organizations of the city and thus to insure closer co-operation and better understanding exists in handsome and tangible form. Such societies as this building was designed to accommodate are especially encouraged to take space in it rather than in a foreign environment by reduction of 20 per cent on commercial rentals.

Although the Society has sought to subordinate its relief rather than to advertise it, the total amount which it expends as intermediary has constantly increased. The part which it plays in the support of the dependent is indicated by the fact that "for the relief of widows and small children" it now annually expends about twice as much as the Society which bears that name and which for more than a century has devoted its entire energy and resources exclusively to that worthy object. The Provident Relief Fund which was started by friends of this Society to supply relief to families for whom there is no existing special agency has recently become one of its regular departments. The disbursements for relief are at present from three to five thousand dollars a month.

It must not be overlooked, however, that these sums represent but a small part of the total obtained from churches, national societies, and other co-operators for the families under its care.

To summarize the Society's past service and present position in the community it may be said that it has sought to take an appropriate part in every movement for the genuine welfare of the poor of New York City, whenever there was any reason to believe that such participation would be of service. It has endorsed and supported state and national measures for social advance, while standing consistently for the maintenance of that which has already been secured by individual initiative and normal growth.

THE IDLE RICH YOUNG MAN AND "PARLOR SOCIALISM."

Extracts from an Address by Sherburn M. Becker
Mayor of Milwaukee.

I FEEL like warning young men, whether rich or poor, against the dangers of the fantastic and the extreme tenets of Socialism. We have a government that was founded upon good principles largely by young men, and while it has often been threatened with destruction, it has weathered the storms of over a century.

I am not in sympathy with what the press has been pleased to call "Parlor Socialism," nor any other kind of Socialism which contemplates the utter overthrow of our present form of government.

There is great room for reform and we are growing better every day. Let us not be led astray by the more or less attractive pleadings and arguments of theorists who talk of revolutions. These things come to us principally through the agency of men who have made a failure of life in some country other than our own, and who would be dissatisfied, I believe, no matter what the conditions might be.

The idle rich young man, with proper training, has great opportunities in all the honorable professions—the church, medicine, the law, the newspaper office, literature, art. If he will identify himself with any one of these he will be producing something and will be a working man in every sense that the word implies. The man who shovels in the street is not the only producer and he is not the only man who toils. I could tell you, were I not too modest, of at least one mayor who works hard and who is known to have labored far into the night for days and weeks that he might fit himself for the laborious duties of his office.



HON. SHERBURN M. BECKER,
Mayor of Milwaukee.

A few weeks ago there came to Milwaukee a young "Parlor Socialist" who informed his hearers in a public address that he had been idle for years; that he produced nothing, and that he had no object in life except to spend the money earned by labor and which did not rightfully belong to him. When I read his address in a paper I felt like saying to him, "Go to work—you have the ability and you are needed—stop talking and do something. Get out of the parlors of the rich if you think you belong somewhere else." And it struck me that a desk in a bank or a newspaper office would be a good place for him. Now I am informed that he is to take a course in agriculture and raise cabbages and turnips, perhaps.

I believe that this young man, Joseph Medill Patterson, means well—that he is honest and sincere, but that he is not the kind of man who makes a success of farming. He has, I understand, the advantages of a college education and the good breeding that goes with it. He was trained in the school of journalism and is an able correspondent and reporter.

Then why should he go to the farm to milk cows or sow grain?

Why cannot he do good in the world with his pen? He can produce something with that as well as others can produce something with the plow or the corn planter. But he probably imagines that he must do manual labor, and toil with calloused hands. He is mistaken. We need intelligent young men in intellectual pursuits to help guide us in the right direction. We need brains as well as muscle, and we must have them. It is within the power of the rich young man to do his country great service. He is not handicapped with poverty and therefore is not tempted to be a grafter while in office. His ambition is not to make money, but to make a name for himself. There might be exceptions to this, but not many.

I do not mean to say that the rich young man is always honest or pure minded or that the poor young man is usually dishonest. What I am trying to do is to demonstrate that there is a place for the idle rich and educated young man, and to show you the things that recommend him. As a matter of fact more poor young men go to the front, I believe, in public affairs, than any other, because the former is forced to do something and in casting about for a calling he seeks public favor at the polls.

LABOR IN BRITISH POLITICS.

American Delegate to British Trades Congress
Discusses Labor's Political Future in England.

THE fraternal delegates sent this year by the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Congress were Mr. Frank K. Foster, of Boston, and Mr. James Wilson, of New York. During his absence Mr. Foster wrote a series of letters, giving his observations on labor matters in Great Britain. One of the most interesting of these, which appeared in the *Boston Globe* of September 27, relates to the much-discussed status of trade unions in politics in the United Kingdom, and includes also an analysis of the real nature of socialist sentiment among British workingmen. In the course of his letter Mr. Foster says:

"Is the British political labor movement liable to continue in its present form? This question I have asked Englishmen of many classes, trade unionists, shopkeepers, lawyers, and at least one cabinet minister. The journalists are discussing it from all standpoints. The politicians are seeking to find its answer. British conservatism is puzzling over it and society as a whole is in a state of mind.

"It all depends. It appears more than likely that while the main policy of seeking labor representation will be followed, there will be a readjustment of the machinery so far used. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that many of the present labor members were elected by the revolt against the Chamberlain protective policy or by Liberal votes as well as by labor votes, and that the concessions which the present government is undoubtedly prepared to grant will greatly weaken the strength of the independent movement should another general election take place. It is nevertheless conceded that even should a satisfactory trades dispute bill be passed, the independent movement would still continue to possess a good deal of vitality.

"There is every indication that Keir Hardie will be supplanted from the recognized leadership of the labor group of M.P.'s when parliament reassembles, and that the extremist policy which he stands for will be likewise dropped. The place will be filled by D. J. Shackleton, M.P., a man of quite a different type—sane, solid, judicial—whose quality of mind and leadership is far more in accord with the British temperament than those of the fanatical and irreconcilable, though more brilliant, Hardie.

"Shackleton, by the way, is one of the fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor which meets in Minneapolis in November. He is a socialist, but of the genial and untheoretical type, inspired by temperamental altruism rather than by a vindictive and systematically-stimulated class hatred. This distinction, indeed, may be held to apply to by far the larger portion of the so-called socialists of England. A most eminent authority informed me that not five per cent. of those who called themselves socialists either knew or cared anything about the doctrine of 'the collective ownership of the tools and instruments of production and distribution.' Their creed is a purely opportunist one, demanding practicable reforms.

"Now this kind of socialism finds no great difficulty in fusing and obtaining recognition of all sorts from the old-line trade unionists who make up the rank and file of the British movement. But even here there is on all sides to be observed a suspicion that the trade-union funds are being used to carry on socialistic propaganda under the stimulus of the crisis which came in the last general election. It was felt that unity must be had at all cost, and so trade-union funds are now being paid in to support candidates submitted by the independent labor party elected mainly by trade-union votes, some of whom are not even members of organized labor or wage earners. The trade-union leaders recognize this incongruous state of affairs and meditate a change.

"Another force which the labor political movement will have to contend with is the middle class defense association, which is now rapidly organizing all over London and the provinces. The middle class is the great rate-paying class and is undoubtedly alarmed at the progress of municipalization and unionism.

"The ostensible object of the new movement is the protection of the ratepayer against schemes to raise taxation, and it may easily become directly hostile to the political labor movement. Measuring the various forces in opposition, then, I should be inclined to predict that labor representation in its present form has reached its zenith for some time to come.

"It will readjust itself and continue to be a force of profit, of stimulus, to the political parties. The chances are that the pressing legislative demands of organized labor, the rational demands, will be accorded recognition. If not, then more labor members will be sent to parliament."

Mr. Foster's impressions are confirmed, in part at least, by the following press dispatch, dated London, October 3:

"The labor movement in Great Britain is at present passing through an interesting phase, which is tending to decide the future dominance of one of the two sections of the Labor party in the House of Commons, the Liberal section, led by John Burns, and the Socialist section, led by James Keir Hardie. The Federation of Miners, at a meeting held this week at Swansea, took a ballot which, although official figures are not yet available, is understood to have decided against joining the Hardie section. On the other hand, a conference of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, sitting simultaneously at Cardiff, passed a resolution, after a long and bitter debate, in favor of adhesion to the Hardie section in spite of the fact that their leader, Richard Bell, M. P., was strongly opposed to the railway men submitting themselves to Socialist dictation."

The most successful trade unions to-day are those who believe in trade agreements, and who furthermore believe in maintaining a discipline so effective that no member, or group of members, can violate them with impunity.—*Iron Moulders' Journal*.

When a union is conducted on conservative lines it always has the respect and good wishes of the public, but let the men who act too hastily obtain control and their administration will meet the disapproval of the real union men and bring condemnation upon the entire labor movement.—*Journal of Labor*.

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TEN CENTS



THE CHILD LABOR SESSION OF THE FEDERATION'S ANNUAL MEETING

The Sixth Annual Meeting of The National Civic Federation was held at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, the Five Sessions Being Devoted to Discussions of Government by Injunction, Child Labor, Distribution of Immigrants, the Income and Inheritance Taxes, and to a Review at the Annual Dinner of the Work of the Different Departments of The Federation

THE CIVIC FEDERATION'S SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.

TRIBUTES TO ITS SERVICE TO SOCIETY—ELECTION OF OFFICERS—IMPORTANT PROBLEMS DISCUSSED—INVESTIGATING COMMISSIONS CREATED.

EVERY great public gathering for the purpose of discussing pressing questions of the time almost unconsciously develops a thought or idea around which all the proceedings of the meeting are centered. Sometimes this central idea lacks definite expression, but in the case of the remarkable annual meeting of The National Civic Federation held in New York City on December 12 and 13, it was emphasized more than once by different speakers. This central thought, around which all the discussions may be said to have centered and to which was attributed the unbounded enthusiasm which prevailed, was American Democracy. Reference was made to it at the various sessions during the discussion of such widely varying subjects as "Government by Injunction," "Child Labor," and the "Income and Inheritance Tax," as well as by the speakers at the annual dinner held on the evening of December 12.

If the animated discussions of these important subjects left any fear in the minds of the hearers as to the progress of the American Republic amid the whirlpool of dangers which seemed to engulf it on all sides, it is not mere literary effort to say that these fears were set at rest by the speakers at the annual dinner. Conspicuous among these was Archbishop Ireland, who stated that nowhere else in the world was such an organization as The National Civic Federation possible, and claimed that it was one of the powerful institutions at work to conserve and preserve democratic institutions. Referring particularly to the conflict between capital and labor, ex-Mayor Seth Low stated that "the great forces by which we are to settle all these industrial questions is the invisible force of public opinion, which this Federation and other agencies are generating, most fortunately, in all parts of this country." President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, stated his belief that "The National Civic Federation is a common ground upon which we may all meet to discuss the various differences upon which we are divided, and to try to find a middle ground so that the common good of all may be subserved. I believe that this Civic Federation, in its endeavor to work out our common policy and common polity, is the effort to make the principles of the Declaration of Independence the very living factors of our every-day lives. The Civic Federation presents itself as the conservator of peace and progress and of the wealth and belief of our common country." Rabbi Stephen S. Wise stated that he rejoiced in the work of The National Civic Federation, "because the aims of this body imply your faith in the American Democracy, not as an act, not as a process, not as an achievement or consummation, but as a development, as an evolving through education." Other speakers referred in a similar strain to the services which The National Civic Federation was performing in strengthening American institutions in conformity with the progress of American Democracy.

At the annual meeting the following officers were elected:

President—August Belmont, President of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, New York.

Vice-Presidents—Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.; N. J. Bachelder, President of the National Grange, Concord, N. H.; Ellison A. Smyth, President of the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association, Greenville, S. C.; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California.

Treasurer—Isaac N. Seligman, of J. and W. Seligman & Company, New York.

Chairmen of Trade Agreement Department—John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Francis L. Robbins, President of the Monongahela River Consolidated Coal and Coke Company, Pittsburgh.

Chairman of Public Ownership Department—Melville E. Ingalls, of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company.

Chairman of the Conciliation Department—Seth Low, ex-Mayor of New York.

Chairman of the Industrial Economics Department—Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University.

Chairman of the Immigration Department—Franklin MacVeagh, of Franklin MacVeagh & Company, Chicago, Ill.

Chairman of the Welfare Department—Charles A. Moore, of Manning, Maxwell & Moore, New York.

Chairman of the Taxation Department—E. R. A. Seligman, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University.

Chairman of the Executive Council—Ralph M. Easley, of New York.

Secretary—Samuel B. Donnelly, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York.

The Committee on Nominations, of which Marcus M. Marks of New York was Chairman, in submitting its report, stated that Oscar S. Straus had felt it necessary to decline re-election as Vice-President on account of

his appointment by President Roosevelt as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor. In presenting its nomination for a successor to Mr. Straus, the committee offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "That in the retirement of Mr. Straus we desire to express our appreciation and thanks for his very valuable services during the past five years of the Civic Federation." President Belmont stated that Mr. Straus's retirement simply meant that he was practically taking a vacation as "he promises to come back to us as soon as the duties which he is now about to fulfill shall have come to an end."

At the close of the discussion on child labor, a resolution was adopted providing for the appointment of a commission to make a thorough investigation of the whole subject of child labor in the United States, the commission to be composed of representatives of various organizations. Provision was also made for the appointment of a commission to investigate the situation resulting from the operation of the Sherman anti-trust law, one on Government by Injunction, and one on the Income and Inheritance Tax.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION IN ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS.

REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR AND OF CAPITAL DISCUSS THE CONFLICTING ISSUES OF THE DAY.

AUGUST BELMONT, President of The National Civic Federation, called the annual meeting to order on Wednesday morning, December 12, and extended a welcome to those present. "At this momentous period of our great country's history," he said, "when so many important and perplexing social and industrial problems are pressing for a solution, I regard it as fortunate that there exists such an organization as The National Civic Federation to take a vigorous hand in helping that solution."

"It is timely again to remind you of the purposes of the Federation as stated in its by-laws; they are, to organize the best brains of the nation in an educational movement toward the solution of some of the great problems relating to social and industrial progress, to provide for study and discussion of questions of national import, to aid thus in the crystallization of the most enlightened public opinion and, when desirable, to promote legislation in accordance therewith. The Federation's membership is drawn from practical men of affairs, whose acknowledged leadership in thought and action makes them typical representatives of the various elements that voluntarily work together for the general good."

"Farmers, wage-earners, manufacturers, bankers, merchants, ministers, laymen, economists, and other distinct but interacting elements of society have formed themselves into many useful organizations for the discussion of affairs peculiar to their pursuits and callings, but the Civic Federation, in addition to its departments for the accomplishment of specific purposes, provides a forum where representatives of all these elements meet to discuss important problems in which they have a common interest. Six national conferences have thus far been held, one upon Primary Election and Ballot Reform, on Foreign Policy, on Trusts and Combinations, Conciliation and Arbitration, Taxation, Immigration, and one on Public Ownership. These conferences have, in most instances, been attended by delegates officially appointed by Governors of States, Mayors of cities, and by representatives selected by various commercial, industrial, educational, and religious bodies. The present activities of the Federation are being exercised through six active agencies: The Public Ownership Commission, the Immigration Department, the Conciliation Department, the Welfare Department, the Industrial Economics Department, and the Political Reform Department."

In speaking of the subjects for discussion at the annual meeting, President Belmont stated that the problems growing out of the accumulation of great fortunes were to be considered under the title of the Income and Inheritance Tax, and suggested the hope that the discussion was to result in the appointment of a committee to investigate thoroughly the whole subject and, possibly, to propose legislation, if it is found desirable. "No subject," he said, "can bring greater

good to this country, if correctly solved, and greater harm, if, for wise and just taxation, punitive spoliation and the destruction of our boundless spirit of enterprise be substituted through hampering regulations. In contemplating the future of the great and ever-growing needs of our institutions of learning and instruction, our charitable and religious establishments, into whose life and growth have flown a seemingly endless and increasing stream of bequests and donations from great estates and fortunes, such as no other country can boast of, one must pause at the thought of drying up those springs of life. I ask, would popular subscriptions take their place, or, failing that, must a paternal government, to provide them, be the alternative? That is one of the phases of the problem that cannot escape contemplation."

Taking up another subject selected for discussion at the annual meeting—Government by Injunction—President Belmont said: "Seemingly, organized labor and organized employers have come to a deadlock on this question. If I correctly understand it, organized labor does not, as is currently thought, oppose the injunction principle, but it is opposed to what it claims are certain abuses. Organized employers, while largely admitting these abuses, deny that the remedy lies in the direction pointed out by organized labor. When our workmen, however, become imbued with the idea that our courts are used by employers for partisan purposes, so to speak, it is a matter of great moment and worthy of the consideration of this body, and I hope some steps may be taken through the instrumentality of this organization to help solve this apparently insolvable problem."

"Another subject touching our national life, perhaps more closely than any other, because of the sentimental reasons attached to it, in addition to its vast importance as bearing upon our moral and physical development, will be discussed by you at these sessions. I refer to the child-labor problem, up to this time regulated only by the States, but now crystallizing into proposed national legislation. Bills have already been introduced into the United States Senate for its regulation."

"President Roosevelt in his recent message to Congress urges strongly the compulsory investigation of industrial disturbances. I am not sure that such a proposition is advisable in any general sense. In fact, I doubt the wisdom of attempting legislation which will provide governmental interference with every threatened industrial disturbance. If such a policy were to be adopted there would certainly be more justification for its use in the case of quasi public institutions. The public is not vitally affected nor inconvenienced by a strike in a shoe factory or a cotton factory, because there are so many other factories in the same industries that there is no scarcity created by such a strike. In the case of steam railroads, street railroads, electric light and gas plants, the conditions are wholly different. The public,

as a whole, is at once inconvenienced and has a direct interest in the controversy."

President Belmont also referred to that part of President Roosevelt's message having to do with amending the Sherman anti-trust and the Interstate Commerce acts in order to meet a certain fundamental conflict between those two laws at the present time. President Belmont said that the attempt to prevent or destroy all combinations, whether good or bad, is unsound in economics and disastrous in the domain of trade. He quoted with approval President Roosevelt's views on this point. President Belmont then introduced ex-Mayor Seth Low as the chairman of the morning session.

IN assuming the chairmanship of the meeting ex-Mayor Low said that it seemed to him to be one of the bright things in our American life that any question, no matter how strongly people feel about it, can be openly and frankly discussed. Continuing he said:

"It certainly is one of the best phases of The National Civic Federation that it offers a platform upon which men of such diverse points of view can meet to discuss every question of interest in the industrial world. I suppose there are very few, if any, questions upon which opinion is more sharply divided at the present moment in the United States than on this question of 'Government by Injunction' so-called. Very likely the feeling is strong, and the difference of opinion is especially marked because the question is not accurately defined, or at least is defined by some men in one way and by other men in another way. It is very much to be hoped that the result of the discussions here to-day will be to enlighten us all, so that we may determine accurately to what extent differences of opinion are based upon differences of definition, differences of interpretation of fact, and to what extent they really represent a diverse judgment upon the same state of facts and the same conditions."

T. CARL SPELLING, general attorney for the American Federation of Labor, was the first speaker on the question of "Government by Injunction." He represented that organization in the discussion before the committee of Congress. Mr. Spelling stated that what is meant by "Government by Injunction" is "that power which has been superadded by the courts of the country to their constitutional power, by which they rule, or are said to rule, despotically upon certain occasions in the matters brought before them in litigation; that is, they rule in excess of their jurisdiction."

"If there be such a thing in this country", he said, "as 'Government by Injunction,' as we believe there is, then it is a most despotic government; that is, it is a government without limitation, without check or restraint, and government exercised by one man without responsibility or liability to account to any other man or to any other power on earth. In our form of government, there is no way to reach a judge for his misdeeds except by impeachment, and that has long ago been demonstrated to be a worthless remedy against judicial usurpation."

Mr. Spelling reviewed briefly the judicial history of the country as affecting the subject under discussion, claiming in substance that the effect of "Government by Injunction" was special legislation by an authority other than the properly constituted law-making body. He claimed that the fundamental limitation imposed by the long course of judicial history and procedure was that an injunction shall never be granted except to protect property or property rights. He believed this to be the keynote of the whole issue under discussion. He said that authorities do not distinguish between property, that is, visible and tangible property, and property rights, as regards its bearing on this question. He claimed that the representatives of labor have never insisted that in the case of a trade dispute, if men should undertake to inflict any injury to any property or property rights, for instance, such as trespassing on land, attempting to set fire to buildings or wrecking machinery, anything to which any kind of violence could be offered,—he claimed that they never have insisted that in any such case a writ of injunction to prevent it would

not be available. Labor unions, he said, were not trying to abolish the remedy by injunction. "It is not correct to say that never can an injunction issue against strikers or against the working man or in a conflict between capital and labor, because an injunction is always available, and always ought to be used, when anybody, whether workmen or unionists, or men who do not belong to that class, attempt to inflict any kind of irreparable injury upon property or property rights. We are absolutely safe in assuming and adhering to that position."

Referring to an injunction in trade disputes, Mr. Spelling said: "No court in Christendom has any jurisdiction to restrain me or anybody else from advising any man not to work, not to keep a contract, not to obey the law; you cannot enjoin me in any court for going out and advising men to commit even arson, or murder, or anything else. Now, that sounds harsh, and that is where a great deal of our difficulty has arisen. When anybody proposes to check the usurpation and abuse and

except the tendency toward monopolization and combination, the suppression of trade; I think that can be remedied. I think that will work itself out; but, I tell you, if these vicious and far-reaching precedents are to be recognized as the law of the land, and the judges are to be encouraged or permitted to go on building more on top of these, that they will soon constitute and erect outside the regular organizations and branches of government a power as despotic as that which destroyed Rome, as that which was exercised in the days of Caligula, as that which was exercised by the notorious and infamous Star Chamber. The liberties of the people of this country are more endangered by that tendency and by that practice than by any other."

Referring to some of the injunctions issued by the courts, Mr. Spelling stated that "they have enjoined men from preventing, by persuasion, or by any means whatever, men from entering the employ of the complainant, that is, the party who went by his attorney before the judge and got out the writ of injunction."

They have enjoined men from marching on the public highway; they have enjoined them from meeting in places far from the premises of the employer against whom they struck and from having music and making speeches and presenting their cause to the public. They have done what I call most unwarranted and outrageous things. These things have been done by the courts, exercising all the powers and functions of government on one side in a trade dispute. And you don't hear of any strikers ever going to a court to get an injunction, it is always the other side. Now, the court in such a case palpably and flagrantly takes the side of one party in a litigation, and the stronger party at that despite the greater numbers of the other side. So long as this power is recognized as belonging to those judges, they will, on a pretense, on a claim and allegation that men are about to resort to violence, prevent them from doing innocent and legal things, and taking the proper steps for the preservation of their constitutional rights. We simply want these usurpations lopped off. If we had the law as it stood before these usurpations began—before a system of precedents was built up in contravention of the ancient and just rule on this subject—we would not demand any legislation. It is not to change the law; all we want is the recognition of our rights as they stood before these usurpations."

WALTER DREW, Commissioner of the National Iron Erectors' Association, stated as his belief that of all the questions involved under the phrase "Government by Injunction" and growing out of the different legislation proposed in Congress, he considered the most vital and the most important to be the restoration of confidence on the part of the rank-and-file of organized labor in our laws and in our courts. After a brief consideration of the theory in practice connected with the use of the writ of injunction, both temporary and permanent, he claimed that, separate from any question of defect in the law or in its administration, the demand that temporary injunctions should not issue in labor controversies becomes a demand that the practice of our courts shall be changed to grant special immunities and privileges to one particular class only and vitally engaged in warfare with another class. "No

reason other than this," he said, "exists for discontinuing the temporary injunction in labor cases which does not exist in any other case that might arise. Without its use in such cases, as in other cases, the relation of the parties may be placed in a condition where justice could never be done between them. The very subject matter of the controversy might be disputed or injured beyond remedy. Organized labor may be aggressive and meet with our approval. It may fight its war with capital if it will, but in that fight it not only must ask but give fair play and a square deal."

Mr. Drew next took up the Pearre bill, of which he said that either it seeks to do away with great and serious evils that exist in our law and its application to labor combinations, or it seeks special dispensations and privileges for labor combinations as a class for the conduct of their so-called war against capital. In this connection he next took up a discussion of conspiracy



OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION.

excesses of the courts, they say: 'You are advocating violence; you are in favor of disorder.' Now, I admit that it is deplorable that men can be advised to commit crime, to injure people, and to stir up trouble, and put the public to a great amount of inconvenience; but, I tell you, it is more deplorable, it is a thing that will lead to the most disastrous results, if irresponsible men on the bench for life are to be allowed to use their authority above the law and above all the departments of government, to become unrestrained despots, take one side in every trade dispute, become guardians of peace and order and morality in the community, decide ex-parte upon a one-sided showing, that hundreds and thousands of men are about to violate the law, and send forth these special decrees, these enactments of special legislation—for that is what they are—to paralyze and destroy the rights of all these men; I say that is the most dangerous tendency in our government. I do not

under the common law and quoted a number of cases as to the rights of labor in combination. He said: "What would be an unlawful purpose on the part of an individual would likewise be an unlawful purpose on the part of a combination. The converse of this statement, however, is not true and what would be an unlawful purpose on the part of a combination might be entirely lawful for an individual, and it is with this fact that the chief fault is found by those who are proposing to change the law. This difference in the law concerning the purposes of an individual and those of a combination is explained by one word—malice. Ordinarily it is of no moment in the eyes of the law whether an individual acts from motives of malice or not, as long as his conduct is confined within the limits of the law. In other words, a malicious motive on his part would not make unlawful that which would otherwise be lawful. A different rule, however, applies to combinations, and a combination, whether of working men or of any other class of citizens, that inflicts intentional injury upon others from malicious motives, while it may not be liable criminally, still it becomes liable civilly and its action is held to amount to a legal wrong. A combination may not wilfully inflict injury upon third persons without lawful justification or excuse, and if such justification or excuse be lacking, its conduct in the eye of the law is deemed malicious and unlawful." Mr. Drew claimed that every principle in the law of conspiracy is applied equally and impartially to all combinations and that in no particular is there any rule or principle enforced by our courts against combinations of labor which is not equally applied to and enforced against other combinations.

Referring to the Pearre bill, Mr. Drew said: "The effect of this measure would be to make lawful and substantiate every method now employed by organized labor except the commission of actual crime. Not only would combinations for the purpose of establishing monopolies, for the purpose of inflicting malicious injury and for other purposes now declared unlawful be legalized, but a systematic use of coercion and intimidation, which have their only strength and danger when used by many against the one, would be beyond the reach of the law. In providing that such combinations should not constitute a conspiracy, not only are they placed beyond the reach of courts of equity, but civil and criminal remedies also are taken away.

"The mere fact that injunctions have been used to a greater extent in recent years than formerly is no proof whatever, without further showing, that they have been misused, but is simply proof that there has been greater occasion for them. Neither is it to be supposed that courts of equity or of law could be infallible in one class of cases more than in others. Courts make mistakes like the rest of us, for the matters upon which they are called to decide must be determined in the light of the judgment, the knowledge and the limitations of the human mind, and it is human to err. But if the mistakes be honest, and if there be no greater number of them in any one class of cases than in any other, the fact that isolated cases might be presented in which the writ of injunction has been improvidently employed, would furnish no more reason for doing away with it altogether in labor cases than in doing away with the whole body of the law and the jurisdiction of all courts.

"With no case made out of discrimination or inequality, either in the law or its administration as to labor combinations, one conclusion only will remain, and that is that organized labor in proposing this legislation seeks special immunities and privileges before the law not enjoyed by other combinations or other classes of the people.

"I shall not enter into an extensive discussion as to the dangers of class legislation. It is not necessary. Not only the history of nations but the fundamental spirit of our institutions alike condemn it, and any class that persists in demanding it will find the face of the great American public solidly set against its efforts. In this case it would be more than class legislation in its results. It would lead to a state of anarchy in labor controversies, for the employing class, finding no protection in the law in their individual fights against combinations using legalized methods of coercion and intimidation against them, would, from the very instinct of self-preservation, seek their protection outside the law and we would have this whole great contest, this war, as it has been termed, between capital and labor, taken out of the pale of civilized methods and of civilized courts."

JOHN MITCHELL, President of the United Mine Workers of America, was the closing speaker on the subject of "Government by Injunction." Among other things he said:

"Do you know that in labor disputes, when the proposition to arbitrate is made, very often—indeed almost generally—the workingmen will make the reservation that the question to be arbitrated shall not be submitted to a Federal judge? I do not share fully in these apprehensions, but the very fact that workingmen do express a fear of the impartiality of the Federal Judiciary is in itself a matter of grave concern, not alone to those who have suffered from the injunction but to the entire people of this country. Men do not lose confidence without cause or at least without the belief that they

have cause. So many injunctions have been issued, so many laboring men have been incarcerated because of the violation or alleged violation of these injunctions—not because of the commission of crime, not because they have violated any law of the land, but because they have insisted upon doing those things which they have a legal and a constitutional right to do.

"I wish to say for myself—and I yield to no man living in loyalty to this country—that if a judge were to enjoin me from doing something that I had a legal, a constitutional, and a moral right to do, I should violate the injunction. I shall, as one American, preserve my liberty and the liberties of the people even against the usurpation of the Federal Judiciary, and in doing this I shall feel that I am best serving the interests of my country.

"It is indeed unfortunate that within recent years the courts have gone so far in the exercise of their equity power. It is presumed that injunctions shall be issued only in cases where there is no adequate remedy at law. It is presumed that they are issued in cases where

there is danger of the infliction of irreparable injury. In a coal strike in West Virginia, for instance, an injunction is issued; this injunction restrains the men from the commission of crimes and also from the performance of acts which are entirely legal within themselves. The men proceed under direction of their attorneys to do only those things that they have a legal right to do; and they are called into court—they are charged with no crime, they are simply asked, have they violated that injunction? They are permitted to make no defense. They, as truthful men, must plead that they have violated the injunction, that they have walked upon the highway, that they have spoken to the men who wanted to work; the consequence is that they are sentenced to prison, not for violating the law, not for the commission of any illegal act, but because they have done those things which they had a legal right to do; and they are sent to prison without a trial by a jury of their peers. It is to this phase of the injunction that we take exception."

THE EXTENT AND MENACE OF CHILD LABOR.

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES AND STUDENTS OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS SHARPLY DISAGREE AS TO THE FACTS AND FIGURES INVOLVED IN THIS PROBLEM.

AT the afternoon session of the first day's meeting the subject, "The Extent and Menace of Child Labor: Is Everything Possible Being Done to Eliminate It?" was discussed. Daniel J. Keefe, President of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association presided. He stated that as his organization in no way comes into competition with child labor, he had no desire to discuss the subject, but expressed the opinion that many of the public statements with reference to child labor are very much exaggerated.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in referring to the claim that gross exaggeration with respect to the statistical enumeration of child labor in this country had been made, said that he didn't think "there is any one who will deny the fact that there have been exaggerations and erroneous statements about child labor. I have seen all sorts of estimates in the papers and magazines, some of them specifying particularly the number of children in particular occupations, and others making mere guesses as to the total number of children employed. I think most persons who read these newspaper statements and have any knowledge of statistics at all, treat them with the indifference that they deserve. I want to say with respect to the measurement of the extent of child labor that I believe it is impossible to measure child labor statistically with any accuracy or with satisfactory results."

After referring to the United States Census as the official source of information, Dr. Lindsay analyzed its methods of securing the data and then referred to the charge of gross exaggeration which had been brought against those who claimed that "two million children are working in the factories, mines, mills, mercantile establishments, etc., under fourteen years of age." Continuing on this point he said: "I presume that such a claim has been made; I would not like to deny it although I don't know anyone who has made it and I don't recall at the present time having seen exactly that claim made anywhere. The National Child Labor Committee has never made such a statement. In a report made a little over a year ago, we said that a conservative estimate for 1905 showed that there were two million children under sixteen years of age engaged in gainful occupations in the United States. This estimate took account of the probable increase since 1900 and always referred to children ten to fifteen years of age on the same basis of calculation as the census itself. That statement was made upon the authority of the National Child Labor Committee. We have had no occasion, by reason of any argument that has been made on the employers' side anywhere since then, to question the accuracy of the statement. I believe it is as true to-day as it was in 1905. The general policy of the Committee has always been to state its case conservatively, to under-estimate rather than to over-state the facts brought out in its work. In other words, we have secured data from private reports, by investigations of our own field agents, from reports of State officials, factory inspectors, school officials, State committees and educational authorities in several of our States, and applying the usual statistical methods of estimating, based upon a proportion, we have come to the conclusion that that estimate of two million children ten to sixteen years of age, in all occupations in the year 1905, is an under-estimate rather than an over-estimate. We could very well make it a little stronger without any danger of going beyond the records that we have at hand.

"Then as to the kind of child labor that represents.

No one, so far as I know, has undertaken to say that all those children are the victims of abuse; not at all. No one has undertaken to say that all the kinds of labor represented in the employment of those two million children are necessarily harmful. We do say, that as a general principle, any child under sixteen years of age who is required to work for its living, required to contribute materially to the support of itself or its family, is in a perilous and hazardous condition; that such burdens in childhood are contrary to the spirit of our institutions. It is depriving children of opportunities and bringing about class distinctions that we should seek in this country to avoid. We will say that some forms of child labor represented by these two million children are extremely harmful for children under sixteen years of age and that the labor of many of these children under sixteen years of age should be absolutely prohibited, namely, the labor of all children under fourteen years of age—which represents some 180,000 of these in occupations other than agriculture; that the labor of all the others should be protected, restricted by legal enactment, so that at least all children under sixteen years of age would be prohibited from working in physically and morally dangerous occupations, especially in mines, underground and also at night work, which we believe to be particularly hazardous.

"Now, beyond these statements, and I have tried to make them as definite and as clear as possible, there is nothing in the reports of our National Child Labor Committee that will warrant any further assertions; as to the accuracy of those statements we are prepared to defend them, and to show that they are under-statements rather than over-statements.

"As to the question of the further classification of these two million children according to occupations, first of all we find that most of them are in agricultural pursuits. Understand, I am now taking the Census figures and correcting them as of the date 1905, which means, adding a quarter of a million to the 1,750,000, which gives us 2,000,000. Of this two million a large proportion are in agricultural pursuits. Of the 1,750,000 in the year 1900, 790,623 were under fourteen years of age, and of that number 604,265 were engaged in agricultural pursuits, leaving 186,000 under fourteen years of age engaged in the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, trade, transportation, domestic and personal services and professional service.

"The point we have made in the use of these statistics has been chiefly this, that 1900 as compared with 1880 showed an increase in the volume of child labor. The Census itself shows, from these figures, that the proportion of working children of either sex engaged in agricultural pursuits and in domestic and professional services was smaller in 1900 than in 1880, while the proportion in trade, transportation and in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits was larger, the movement being rather more marked for female than for male children. That is the essential fact that has been brought out by the Census figures, examined for whatever they are worth. This fact has attracted our particular attention and merited our notice in the work that we are trying to do for the welfare of the children—that in those trades, in those lines of activity where the danger is greatest, the danger to the health, physical development, moral development and education, the increase has been greatest. The figures show some alarming changes in the increase between 1880 and 1900 in these particular trades and industries where the work of children is hazardous. In the next place, we believe that the increase since 1900 has been steady."

Referring to the remedy that is being applied to cure

the child labor evil, Dr. Lindsay detailed the efforts of the National Child Labor Committee in securing prohibitive legislation, both State and National, and endorsed the Beveridge-Parsons bill in Congress. He expressed the belief that in preventing child labor, "we shall remove a very large cause of all our social discontent and many of the causes of the political disturbances of our present day."

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, spoke on "The Extent of Child Labor in the Anthracite Coal Industry." He quoted from the 1905 report of Chief Roderick of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines in part as follows: "During the latter part of 1905 a man by the name of Lovejoy made a tour of the anthracite counties inquiring into the ages of boys employed at the mines. In blazing headlines, the daily papers published, on Mr. Lovejoy's authority, the statement that ten thousand boys were found at work in and about the breakers who were under the legal employment age of fourteen years." To this Mr. Lovejoy replied in part as follows: "It should first be observed that the statement 'in blazing headlines' was never made by my authority, or the authority of the National Child Labor Committee, that 'ten thousand boys were found at work in and about the breakers who were under the legal employment age of fourteen years.' It was said, discussing the estimate made by Dr. Peter Roberts, 'if the borough we are now studying were taken as a basis for such a generalization, the number of boys under fourteen years of age working in the anthracite coal industry would be 12,800.'"

Mr. Lovejoy referred to other statements as to the number of boys under age employed in the anthracite coal industry, and explained the method of computation by which the representatives of the National Child Labor Committee arrived at their conclusions. The source of much of this information was pointed out as being the public school superintendents. On this point Mr. Lovejoy said: "If the same proportion of child labor prevailed in the entire region which is estimated here by these school superintendents, the total number would be six times 2,460, or 14,760 boys working under age, with falsified certificates, in the mines and breakers of the region. It is not claimed and has never been claimed by this Committee that the number of boys under age in the breakers is six times the 2,460 estimated by the school superintendents of these seven boroughs. The nearest approach to such a claim has been that if the same percentage prevailed throughout the region as found in these boroughs for which estimates were given by the school superintendents, the number in the mines and breakers would be not less than ten or twelve thousand, but estimates of the number have been accompanied always by the contention that 'until some accurate method to determine the age of children has been applied, the exact number will never be known.' The school superintendents, the class of public officials most familiar with the children, complain of the difficulty in determining the age of the children in default of accurate vital statistics."

Mr. Lovejoy argued for the enactment of a law in Pennsylvania which would make sixteen years the minimum age limit for employment in or about any mine, on the ground that coal mining is an occupation dangerous to the life and limb of those employed therein. "If it were true," he said, "that 'if a uniform law, with fourteen years as the minimum, were passed, Pennsylvania would lead all other States and countries in practical and sensible protective legislation on this important question,' then we would be constrained to say that other States and countries where coal mines are operated would be sadly in need of reform. Fortunately, the assertion is erroneous; for Illinois, Montana and Missouri forbid the employment of children under sixteen in mines, while Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Missouri and Utah limit the employment of children in mines to eight hours in the twenty-four. Austria forbids the employment in mines under fifteen years, while both France and Germany, although not

having a higher age limit for employment, require that all children employed shall have completed the common school course of education."

W. J. RICHARDS, Second Vice-President and General Manager of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, in his opening remarks stated that, "the cause of my appearance here to-day may be found in the unwarranted statements that have been appearing in the public press for the past six months regarding the employment of child labor in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania."

"There is in Pennsylvania," he said, "covering the portion of the anthracite fields, a mine law, and in addition special laws have been enacted from time to time limiting the age at which boys can be employed in the breakers and the mines. In the agitation for these laws, the operators have always favored and advocated the highest age suggested. The law now standing on the statute books of Pennsylvania and the age limit fixed

officer is appointed in each school district, whose duty it is to compel the attendance at school of every child under fourteen years of age. This truant officer is a resident of the school district, a man who knows the people and children of his locality. Before the beginning of each school year, he or the district assessor visits from house to house making a complete census of all the children of school age, noting where they are attending school. If any child under the school age has gone to work at any breaker or factory, the truant officer compels the discharge of the child and requires that he be sent to school. Another check is thus provided to prevent the conditions represented by the recent articles of which we have complained.

"Anthracite mining is a large and important industry. We are in every way endeavoring to live up to the laws. We have always led in any effort to improve the advantages and educational opportunities of the boys of the region. There has been no attempt at evasion on the part of the operators. When one of

these laws was declared unconstitutional, the operators still continued to enforce the age limit of the law."

Mr. Richards then presented in detail the report of the Pennsylvania Department of Mines, giving the result of a special investigation made by its inspectors in 1905 as to the extent of child labor in the anthracite mines in reply to Mr. Lovejoy's assertion that "the boys working in the hard coal breakers of that State under fourteen years of age number not less than 12,000." Chief Roderick's letter of instruction to the inspectors requested them to "make a strict inquiry as to the ages of boys working in and about the breakers. See whether Section 1 of the Act of May 2, 1905, has been complied with. Insist upon all boys, wherever found, furnishing proper proof of age according to law. You are authorized to enter legal proceedings against all violators of this law, whether employer or employee. Make a report to this department of the total number of boys over fifteen and under sixteen years of age employed in and about each breaker; also give the names of boys of doubtful age, with the address of their parents or guardians." As a result of this investigation, Mr. Roderick stated that "the total number of boys ranging from fourteen to sixteen years of age, employed in and about the breakers, is 8,124. Of this number the inspectors had some doubt as to 760 of the boys having reached the legal employment age, although each of them had presented the certificate required by law, which was on file, showing that he was over fourteen years of age. The boys of doubtful age number a little over nine per cent of the total number employed. It is very probable, however, that many of the 760 classed as doubtful by the inspectors are over fourteen. The difficult thing is to get at the correct age of these 760 boys, as at least seventy-five per cent of them were born in foreign countries."

Mr. Richards stated in conclusion that the company with whose operations he is connected has had a careful examination and investigation made covering its employees between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and the finding corresponds very closely to that of the State of Pennsylvania. "I am perfectly convinced," he said, "that cases where boys are working under age are very limited."

DR. ROLAND P. FALKNER, a well-known statistician, without attempting to minimize the necessity for eradicating the evil of child labor, at the same time claimed that "the menace to society does not exist unless such child workers are an appreciable factor in the life of the community or of the nation. Society counts with large aggregates; it deals with great masses. To it the question of the extent of the evil is of the utmost importance. It would know whether it has to deal with a sporadic, comparatively infrequent phenomenon, or whether the evil is widespread." He then proceeded to analyze the census results of 1900 in regard to child labor. He said: "They show that between the ages of ten and fifteen years inclusive there were 1,750,178 persons employed in gainful occupation; that they formed 18.2 per cent of the population between



CHAIRMEN OF THE FEDERATION'S SEVEN DEPARTMENTS.

thereby was enacted by the Legislature in 1903. That law fixes the age for the employment of boys in the breakers at fourteen years and the age for employment of boys in the mines at sixteen years. These ages have the full approval of all the operators and mining companies in the anthracite regions. The effort of the companies has always been to rigidly adhere to that law. The instructions to all the superintendents and foremen of collieries have been to give close attention to every boy coming to or at work to learn whether he is of the age he is represented to be in the certificate furnished by his parents or guardians.

"To further protect the child and to prevent the employment of any under the legal age the State of Pennsylvania has a compulsory education law requiring the attendance at school of all children under fourteen years of age. To fully enforce its provisions a truant

the ages of ten and fifteen inclusive, and that they were divided among the groups of occupations recognized by the census as follows: Agriculture, 1,061,971; professional service, 2,945; domestic and personal service, 279,031; trade and transportation, 122,362; manufacturing and mechanical, 283,869.

"Whatever may be our view of child labor, it is clear that not all of this labor would fall equally under condemnation. The labor upon the farm, where the child works generally in assisting the parent or guardian, certainly falls in a different category from that in factory, mine, or sweatshop. So little does public opinion condemn such labor that none of the laws designed to throw a protection around the child include it within their sphere. Some of it may be objectionable, but the great bulk of it is so little objectionable that we can throw it out of the reckoning. We have left, then, 688,207 workers in fields other than agriculture."

Dr. Falkner then presented statistics showing the sub-division in age groups, and of a total of 688,207, 310,825 were fifteen years of age and 191,023, fourteen years of age. As to children of these ages Dr. Falkner said that, "it may be in some cases a hardship for a boy or a girl of fourteen and fifteen years of age to earn his or her living, but it is nothing abnormal or unusual. Nor does legislation seek to restrict such labor except in particularly hazardous industries. At this age legal restriction of child labor is the exception rather than the rule. Eliminate the children of fourteen and fifteen years of age and we have 186,259 children at work in 1900 under the age of fourteen who are the proper objects of restrictive legislation. That the number of child workers is so much less than currently reported should not lessen our sympathy with these unfortunates or diminish our efforts to alleviate their condition."

"In face of the evidence presented, how can it be claimed that child labor is a menace to our civilization, a menace growing more threatening as time advances? We may recognize the evil, whether it exists in particular localities or in particular industries. We may and should put forth every effort to diminish it. We should save as many children as we can from the harm which may arise from their employment at an early age, but why should we malign our democracy with exaggerated pictures of the evil? Why should we condemn our modern industrial system as a whole for an evil which is by no means general? Why should we grow pessimistic over our whole industrial outlook, and looking it in the face see beams in its eyes where there is only a tiny mote?"

CHARLES P. NEILL, United States Commissioner of Labor, stated that there was one very important point that seems to have been entirely overlooked by Dr. Falkner. "If there are 200,000 children this year," he said, "they do not stay fourteen years of age for a lifetime. One-half of these, who are, say, 12½ this year, will be thirteen years old next year. Every year 100,000 go out of the twelve-year-old grade, and another 100,000 children come in; so that, as a matter of fact, it is only a few years before you have got a million citizens who are turned into the body politic with the unfit surroundings of their child labor. I want to submit that the question is not how many are at work this year, but how many children in a reasonable time, within a period of five or ten years, will be at work at the age of twelve or thirteen years. While on the subject, I would like to suggest one further question, that those 200,000 be given two years more of schooling and two years more of childhood, so that if the number is so small in any single year, it will not affect industry to any appreciable extent, but in a given period of ten years it will affect the citizenship of this country to a most material extent."

W. A. MAY, General Manager of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, premised his remarks with the statement that "in order that there may not be a misunderstanding on the part of the public or false conclusions drawn from the magazine articles and newspaper accounts of the conditions existing in the anthracite regions as they relate to the employment of boys in and about the mines," he thought it appropriate "to give facts, figures and arguments which will materially lighten the dark and somber pictures they have drawn. These articles and accounts dwell mainly on single and isolated cases, making them typical when in fact they are not so." Mr. May then told of the efforts made by the employers to get at the ages of the boys seeking employment, so as to comply with the child labor act, referred to the constantly lessening number employed; mentioned instances of money expended for their comfort when employed; discussed the doubtful wisdom of abolishing the boy; and presented several notable examples of what slate pickers, driver boys and car runners have become in after life. "Boys under fourteen," he said, "the age limit fixed by law at which they may be employed at the collieries, are never employed if we know it. We ask for and obtain a certificate, sworn to by their parents or guardian. This was the practice with our companies before the present law, which has for one of its conditions the provision that boys of doubtful age must file a certificate with the employer if given work. What more than this can you ask of us? The boy may be under age,

but having taken every precaution, we cannot be held responsible."

Following a presentation of statistics showing the lessening number of boys employed as slate pickers in the breakers of the Lackawanna and Wyoming valleys, where the larger portion of anthracite coal is produced, Mr. May referred to the improvement in slate picking machinery, which eliminated the boy, and stated that "if we could use machinery and clean the coal as the public demands that it must be cleaned we would do so; we would not use boys." He stated that the change as to the employment of boys as slate pickers was great and added "if the use of boys for this work is an evil, it is not a growing one." He referred to the expenditures of the companies in heating the breakers and removing the dust therefrom. He stated that men could not be employed to pick slate because of the lack of supply and because of the character of the work which permitted boys to do it much better than men.

"Is it wise to entirely abolish the boy from our work?" he continued. "One of the speakers referred to the fatalities in our mines. That is true; we have many of them and we shall have them so long as mining is carried on; but will they not be increased by banishing the boy? To avoid accident you must have experience. We need that which comes from training of the hands, the limbs, the eye and the ear. There is no way to get it but by actual work, and how can you get it more quickly, to the greater advantage of the boy when he becomes a man and to his fellow workers, than by putting him at work? I mean a boy fourteen years old and over, because we do not believe it best to employ boys under that age any more than you do. To set the boy at work is the only way, and if you would go into the mines with me, you would quickly see how a boy will get that agility, that alertness, that brightness, which prevent accident. True, boys are killed; and men also are slain; but many more would be sacrificed on the altar of trade and for the sake of public comforts and welfare if they went into the mines without the knowledge gained by actual practice. In other words, we must have apprentices and they must begin young. This is not a false position and it will appeal to any one of you having had experience in practical affairs and in the handling of labor."

JOHN MITCHELL, President of the United Mine Workers of America, said that he was surprised at the statement that men could not be secured to pick slate, because the companies were unable to secure a sufficient number of men to work in the mines. "I dare say," he said, "that with the close of this month and the close of this year the breakers and collieries in the anthracite region will not have operated two hundred days in the year 1906. There are not more than two years in the past twenty when the anthracite miners have been given opportunity of working more than two hundred days in any one year, and if they are permitted to work only two-thirds of the working days in the year, it isn't likely that men are not employed in the breakers because of the inability of the companies to secure men to work in the mines. I quite agree—and I want to be fair about this matter—that men are not as suitable, they are not as well equipped to pick slate as boys. Boys are employed because they are nimble; a man would not work in a breaker; it is work entirely unsuited to him; a boy will work there; and a very large number of the accidents are due to the fact that the boys do run about, that they won't sit constantly at their employment, that at every opportunity that offers itself they want to play, and why wouldn't they? That is why we want this age limit raised, so that the boys may play before they go to the breaker."

"There has been a decided improvement in the conditions of child labor in the anthracite coal fields. Whether that improvement has come about because of the high motives or humane promptings of the coal companies or not, I am not going to say, but I will make this statement: That prior to the advent of the miners' union, there was no effort made to regulate the employment of children; prior to the year 1900, when the coal miners in the anthracite fields first engaged in a strike, there were no adequate laws regulating the employment of these boys, and the men are legion in Pennsylvania who started to work in the breakers when they were eight years of age. There are hundreds of boys of eighteen and twenty years of age there now, who started to work at ten and twelve. The age limit has gradually been raised; it has raised because of increasing intelligence, because of the Americanization of these non-English speaking people, because of the promptings of humanity, but particularly because of the education and influence of the miners' union."

"In justice to the anthracite coal companies I want to say, and I do it gladly, that when the law enacted in 1903, I believe that was the year, which fixed the age limit at which boys might be employed at fourteen and sixteen, was declared to be unconstitutional, the coal companies through their presidents issued orders that the provisions of the law should be continued in force anyway, and they were in most instances continued in force until a new law was enacted. The new law provided that the boys might not be employed in the breakers at less than fourteen years of age, or down in the mines at less than sixteen years of age, but also

provided that they must have a certificate from the schools showing they had received a certain amount of education. The coal companies contested that feature of the law, however, and the section fixing an educational qualification was declared to be unconstitutional, so that, notwithstanding the high age limit, it seems to me that they might have left uncontested the law which provided for the educational qualification, because after all it is just as necessary to the future of our American citizenship that men shall be strong mentally as well as physically—that they shall have a reasonable education as well as a strong and robust physique."

"The men employed in the anthracite coal mines constitute only one-half of the miners in Pennsylvania. There are about 150,000 bituminous coal miners in that State, and I presume the children of the bituminous coal miners are about as numerous as are the children of the anthracite miners. The boys may enter the bituminous mines when they are twelve years of age. There is no law that prohibits the employment in the bituminous mine of children above the age of twelve. The only requirement, however, is that the boy of twelve must work with his parents or with a guardian, and inasmuch as there is no employment in the bituminous mines for a boy outside, as there is in the anthracite field, it means that all the boys in the bituminous districts must go down in the ground; they must spend their lives in the earth, not on it; and it seems to me that some law should be enacted for the protection of the sons of the bituminous miner."

ELLISON A. SMYTH, President of the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association, who has been engaged in the cotton mill industry in that State for the past twenty-five years, stated that "it has been a matter of surprise to those of us in South Carolina who have been trying for twenty years to better the conditions of the working people there, to be antagonized as we have been by the Child Labor Committee." He said that "the statements that they have made and published are so glaringly incorrect that they have excited ridicule and a feeling of antagonism that otherwise would not have existed." Referring to some of these statements Captain Smyth said:

"For instance, there is a statement published by the Child Labor Committee—a general advertisement—in *The Outlook* of November 17, 1906, which says: 'Sixty thousand little children toil in Southern cotton mills; little girls eight years old work through a twelve-hour night.' Now, there are nine million spindles in all the Southern States. The children work in the spinning room. The spinners are paid so much for each number of sides of a spinning frame they run, and every spinning frame has two sides, and a fair average would be one hundred spindles to the side. If you take these figures you will find that not over 15,000 people could be employed in the spinning rooms as spinners, as a spinner will attend anywhere from six to ten sides, and some as much as twelve sides. What I mean by the 'side' of the spinning frame is attending to the spindles arranged along one side of the spinning frame."

"In the census figures of 1905 the statement is given by the officials that in South Carolina there are employed under sixteen years of age—the advertisement referred to says fourteen years—there were employed 9,769 children in all gainful occupations, including those on farms. We have in South Carolina 3,500,000 spindles, over one-third of what are in the Southern States. If you multiply the 9,700, taking that as a figure, and granting that they are all in Southern cotton mills (whereas these figures include children in all gainful occupations, agricultural and otherwise), but assuming that they are all in the cotton mills, you cannot muster over 30,000 in all the Southern States, and yet here is an advertisement which goes out stating that there are 60,000 children working twelve hours a night."

"Now, I happen to be President of the Association of South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers, and we have 110 mills in that Association, representing 3,250,000 spindles, nearly the whole number of spindles in the State. There are only three mills of that 110 that work at night or have worked at night for years. The weaving mills do not work at night. There are only eight spinning mills in South Carolina, and three of them work at night; but the only rooms that they run are the twisting rooms where adult labor is employed and not children. They only work nine hours at night and receive pay for a full day's work."

"Now, Mr. Lovejoy says, in a statement here that was published in *The Independent*—'Child Labor and Family Disintegration'—he says there are Southern cotton mills in which parents sign contracts to send all their children to work upon reaching a certain age. Now, that happens to apply to me individually. Why wasn't he fair enough to make a further statement and give all the facts? What is the contract? 'I (the parent) agree that all children, members of my family between the ages five and twelve years shall enter the school maintained by the Pelzer Company and shall attend every school day during the school session unless prevented by sickness or other unavoidable causes, but all children, members of my family above twelve years of age shall work in the mill and shall not be excused from service therein without the consent of the superintendent for good cause.' Now, what are the conditions? That contract dates from 1892. South Carolina

to-day has no compulsory school law. South Carolina had no child labor law until 1902. The most of our help that have come into the Southern cotton mills have come from the North Carolina mountains, and the backwoods where they had no school facilities at all. The effect of that contract was to force a compulsory school education upon the children of our mill operatives and to limit the age at which they went to work at twelve years. That was done in 1892, and to-day there is no law in South Carolina affecting compulsory education, and there has been no child labor law until 1902 and which now applies to twelve years of age.

"A committee of South Carolina manufacturers took part in and prepared the labor law that is now in existence in South Carolina and was passed in 1892, and a similar committee of South Carolina manufacturers in 1902 prepared a child labor law that is now in existence in South Carolina and was passed by their advocacy. Now, the National Child Labor Committee took no notice of all those facts, and John Spargo tells us in his book, on the authority of Dr. McKelway, Assistant Secretary of the Child Labor Committee in the South, that Southern mills have adjustable legs or supports to the spinning frames, so that they can be lowered nearer the ground for little children. A more ridiculous and silly mis-statement was never thought of or suggested. The whole cotton mill machinery has to be as rigid as possible. Our floors are four inches thick, with a ceiling of seven-eighths of an inch below and upper floors an inch-and-a-quarter above, the idea being to make as stiff a floor as possible, so that those spinning frames that are running eight to ten thousand revolutions a minute should have a firm foundation and not affect the steadiness of the machinery. It would be absolutely impossible to have an adjustable spinning frame so that legs could be moved up and down; such a thing has never been done, never been seen, never been attempted, and yet that statement was made on the authority of a man who was in the South and is supposed to know and ought to know.

"There has been a great talk and cry about the number of children employed in Southern cotton mills, and when that law went into effect in 1902 in all the cotton mills in South Carolina there were only 53 children that were debarred from working on account of their age. In 1902 our committee of cotton mill manufacturers prepared a very careful statement of statistics as to the schools maintained by the cotton mill corporations. In South Carolina, our public school system does not permit—the money raised does not permit—of schools being maintained more than four months in the year. The reason of that is that the white man there has the black man to carry. There are more colored people in South Carolina than there are white. The taxes are paid by the white people and the school fund is divided equally and fairly in proportion to their attendance on the schools. The white man is educating the negro children and he is paying for it and as a result he is unable to give to his own children the full length of time that he would do if his money all went to educate the white children. Now, the cotton mills have their own schools. Those statistics were gathered in 65 corporations in South Carolina. They show that \$175,000 have been spent by those mills in school buildings and equipments and that there were 7,433 children in attendance on those mill schools. In some villages children are paid money to attend these schools, they get regular pay envelopes just as if they were working in the cotton mills every month if they do not miss a day at school. Those schools run from eight to nine months in the year and the cost of maintaining those schools amounts to between \$25,000 and \$30,000 a year, all paid by the cotton mill corporations in addition to special school tax of over \$40,000.

"We don't want the children in the mills; it is not economical labor; it is not desirable from any standpoint, apart from any humanitarian feeling on the subject, it does not pay. But our conditions down there are peculiar. We work entirely according to what is called the family system, family help. It is not like in New England where the individual is employed, but a man will agree to hire himself and his family, and if you are not willing to employ his family or give them employment, he will go where he can get it; and for the last three or four years labor has been so scarce, the development of the cotton mill industry has been so rapid, that labor has been very scarce, and no one knows that better than the cotton mill operative and that he can go where he can get employment. That very often forces you to employ a child that is twelve years of age, whom otherwise you would not want, because if you do not take the family they will go to another village where they can be employed.

"Now, our association—that is, the South Carolina Cotton Mill Manufacturers' Association—while in our State we had a law of sixty-six hours a week, we voluntarily reduced in the mills of that association—110 mills—last July the hours of labor to sixty-four and fixed the period when they are going to reduce it to sixty-two and then to sixty. We are doing that in the absence of any demand or request of our employees and in response to no supplication or application or notice from labor organizations, because in the cotton mills of South Carolina there are no labor organizations. This movement is being carried on entirely by

the mill managers, because they believe that they will get better results and that it will be better for their people, better for the employees, better for all concerned. It will not come at once, but it was thought it would be better and fairer for both sides that the movement should be gradual and a few months apart instead of being rapidly taken all at once."

J. G. SCHONFARBER, of the Maryland Bureau of Statistics and Information, stated that most of the capital invested in the South in the cotton industry is from the North. "You will remember," he said, "that the Eastern capitalists laid the foundation of great fortunes in the slave trade many years ago, and afterward became Abolitionists. You will also remember that the immense cotton industries of the New England States have been fostered very largely by the employment of cheap child labor. The quickening of the public conscience in the East has abolished the employment of children under fourteen years, and for this and various other reasons the same capitalists have now gone South to exploit that section and avail themselves of the profits to be derived from the employment of children where no laws as strict as those of the East are in existence. We should also remember, in discussing and legislating on this subject, that the South is just now awakening from its industrial inactivity, and that restrictive laws as drastic as those in the Eastern States will retard her progress."

ANNA B. BROWN, Vice-Chairman of the Child Labor Committee of the Tennessee Federation of Women's Clubs, told of her experiences in visiting a number of the cotton mills in the Southern States. From her observation she concluded that: "Unless the States I visited and their churches do more than they have done and are doing for the people in their borders, the educational, industrial and moral redemption of the 'poor whites' and the classes from which mill operatives are drawn will depend for the next twenty-five years, as it depends now, on the Southern cotton mills. Long before we club women, and unions, and labor leagues, and philanthropists plunged into the child labor question, the mill men were already settling it. They are emancipating the children, they are doing it slowly, but they are doing it surely."

D. A. TOMPKINS, formerly a member of the United States Industrial Commission and at present a prominent cotton mill owner, as well as manufacturer of cotton mill machinery, of North Carolina, spoke with special reference to that phase of the child labor subject which relates to the cotton mills of the South. He said in part:

"It is important that some of the antecedent conditions in the South should be understood in order that we may appreciate those in existence to-day. You all know that the end of the Civil War was a calamity for the South, although the most thoughtful Southern people do not believe that the calamity was unalloyed for it ended the institution of slavery, and if the poverty that came were a calamity, the abolition of slavery was in turn a sufficient benefit to balance it; but few realize that the subsequent period of so-called 'reconstruction' was a calamity such as never before was borne by a Christian people. During the twenty years succeeding the war, while the white people sacrificed all else in the fight for Christian civilization, there was absolute poverty for everybody. Every man, woman and child in the South was a veteran of the war.

"The beginning of the cotton mill construction was the end of that desperate poverty, and that beneficent work affected not only the owner, but the operative and the farmer. The cotton mills increased the price of cotton for the farmer and removed the competition of the 'croppers,' who are now operatives in the mills. Through the establishment of this industry came the amelioration of the conditions of all the people of the South. It was not a question of who shall work, but how 'hog and hominy' or 'bacon and greens' might be secured for all to live upon. The effort to help the operatives began at a time when everybody in the South was absolutely on the same level of poverty.

"Immediately after the reconstruction anarchy was ended, and the man on horseback who led, or the one who undertook to build the cotton factory, was simply put forward because he was the right man for the place, and frequently without his consent, to help do the most promising thing for the benefit of the people and the country. The warm ties of friendship generated during the period of reconstruction made every man desirous of doing as much for his operatives as for himself.

"In this work of real reconstruction there came help from unexpected sources. It is to the eternal credit of the New England machinery builders that they gave liberal and long credit to the South which enabled us to make a beginning which has resulted in an industrial development to be brought to a still larger growth for the infinite benefit of the humanity of the South and the Nation. The interest in each other's welfare which was generated during the period of dire distress led the new mill owners among their first undertakings to provide for the education of the operatives by the erection of schools in conjunction with the homes in the mill communities.

"Having established or extended schools, having worked year after year for a compulsory education law, having increased wages fifty to seventy-five per

cent, and having brought what to us in the South is great prosperity out of conditions of deepest poverty, through methods which have secured the black man an equal opportunity, we believe that every Southern cotton mill man is doing his utmost to bring about that condition which will enable the limitation of work for profit only for children to fifteen years of age at least. It is not believed that we should undertake to do it arbitrarily, but by continually building up the educational, social and financial forces.

"As long as there are greedy men we must protect children from overwork, but light work in my opinion is not bad for children. In Germany they take a child of ten years and determine its education with reference to the industrial pursuits to be followed; not at twelve, fourteen, or fifteen, but at ten years, and I believe the Germans are correct in their ideas about the proper way to educate children.

"I am engaged in cotton manufacture and machine business. In the latter I have adopted a system of apprenticeship where we particularly desire to have the boy begin at twelve years, for the purpose of education, not for profitable employment. Our apprenticeship contract requires that the boy shall go to school six months in the year, work in the machine shop four months, and we are considering placing in the contract the requirement that he must spend one month of the year in the country, the expense for his board to be borne by our company where the parents are unable to afford it.

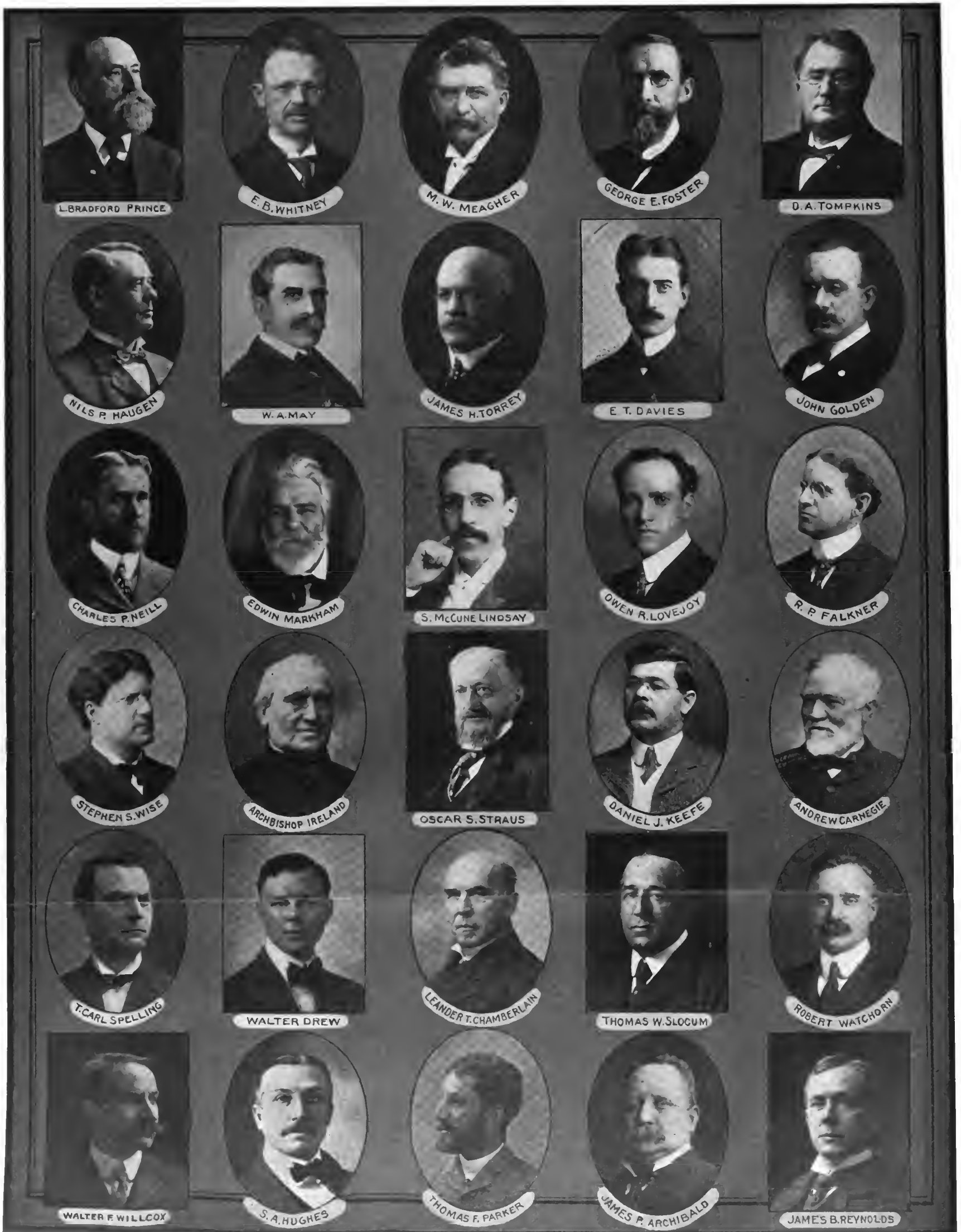
"Whatever we do in the way of legislation against child labor for profit, let us not forget that we have a large duty to see that the child when legislated out of the mill shall not be left wholly idle and untrained, but be mindful to provide enough work in school and in some apprenticeship condition to develop a decently trained and educated man or woman. With these conditions I favor raising the age limit of labor for profit to fifteen or sixteen years, but work in the capacity of apprentice for industrial training should begin earlier. I have thought of a graded schedule of apprenticeship work and school attendance, which might well be authorized and controlled by law, for boys and girls in textile pursuits: From 11 to 12 years, three months work in a textile factory may be allowed, but only after an attendance at school of six months; from 12 to 13 years, four months work in a textile factory may be allowed, but only after an attendance at school of four months; from 13 to 14 years, five months work in a textile factory may be allowed, but only after an attendance at school of four months; from 14 to 15 years, seven months work in a textile factory may be allowed, but only after attendance at school three months; from 15 to 16 years, ten months work in a textile factory, but only after attendance at school for two months. This would include official inspection provided by law.

"Instead of enacting laws which totally expel children from that training so essential to their better development as men and women, let us leave the way open for both teaching and training. It is in the period of childhood, I think, that the faculty of mental and physical development may be made most fruitful of permanent results. Very frequently mothers appeal to me to take their boys into our shop when they are too old to make them of any value to us. It is the contact with the actual working conditions—daily elbow-tough with working humanity, in their early years which is of value in their training. The young apprentice's work in our shop consists in waiting upon the machinists—he gets waste for them, and takes their tools to the blacksmith shop for repair, and does other light work, which secures for him an education through practical contact such as could not otherwise be obtained.

"Weaving is an art and can be carried as high as any of the arts, and it is familiarity with the process of manufacture from very early years which makes the skilled artisan. Why, then, should we legislate in a way which is likely to become too sumptuary and interfere with the higher development of the art? It matters not that a picture has been published recently of a loom showing a bedraggled child operating it, when no child ever did work at a loom, either in this or any other country or period. From time immemorial it has been the custom in the family for the young unmarried women to spin, and the elders to weave—that is where some of you ladies got your name of 'spinster.' To-day, as of yore, the young people do the spinning, and the elders the weaving. The children cannot weave and, therefore, the picture is totally misleading.

"But the Southern cotton mill men want you to realize that we believe that we are doing right and our utmost to raise a totally poverty-stricken country to one of prosperity for all, through constructive efforts, and that we shall continue to work for the greater improvement of conditions in the South."

JOHN GOLDEN, President of the Textile Workers of Fall River, related some of his experiences on a visit to the Southern cotton mills some four years ago, commissioned by his organization and the American Federation of Labor to study conditions there. Speaking of certain portions of the South he said: "I went into the homes of the working people; I lived with them; I went through the mills; I saw their earnings, and when any man tells me that the earnings of the Southern cotton operative are equal to the earnings in



SOME OF THE SPEAKERS AT THE FEDERATION'S SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.

the North, I am not going to believe it, because I know they are not. And the conditions are not equal; if they were, we would have more people going there during depressions; during some of our big stoppages in the East we would have more people going down South to work; we have had a few, but the only ones that stay are those that either cannot get away or are fortunate enough to become officials.

"I want to tell you in regard to this question of child labor, that I am frank enough to admit it isn't confined to the South alone. There is a lot of it down there. I think the question of whether it does exist has gone beyond the debating stage. We have some of it in the North and East. In spite of many of our humane and progressive labor laws, we have it in Massachusetts, my home State, because I have seen it there. That is mostly on account of the lack of efficient factory inspectorship, the appointing of men as factory inspectors who know nothing about mill conditions, and who are very often appointed to pay off some political debt. It is no use whatever in passing any kind of factory laws, no matter of what humane character they may be, if you do not put in men to enforce them after they are passed. Such is not the case, I regret to say, at the present time in many of our States."

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor, spoke briefly on child labor conditions with special reference to the South. He related instances concerning investigations of conditions in that section, stating that one of labor's representatives, who went into one of the towns of Mississippi to investigate conditions of the cotton mill operatives, was informed that unless he left the State summarily he would be escorted out by the police, and in fact, he was accompanied on his way beyond the borders of the State by a representative of the city government.

"I know, too," said Mr. Gompers, "that there was pending in the South Carolina Legislature a bill to limit the hours of labor and also to restrict the age of children in the cotton mills of that State, and I have been informed that the resolution of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of South Carolina to 'voluntarily' limit the hours of labor of children to sixty-six per week was done as an offset to prevent the enactment by the Legislature of that State of a sixty-hour law. The people of Alabama secured the enactment of a law limiting the labor of children to sixty hours per week. In 1895, during a visit to the State, I learned that the Legislature just a day before I arrived in Alabama, repealed the law, and it was plainly stated that it was done for the purpose of inviting the capital of the North, of Massachusetts, to come into Alabama. It seems to me that the very reason given is a condemnation of that repeal. The idea that the State of Alabama, at the instance of its cotton manufacturers, should give them or the Northern capitalists, free play in the labor of the children of Alabama!

"This discussion will do good, and that is after all what we are trying to do. If progress is being made, and I think it is, let us accelerate it and save the children—even save a child—from exploitation and give it the opportunity of going to school and the playground and of becoming a worker, a man or a woman."

DR. J. M. WAINWRIGHT, of the Moses Taylor Hospital at Scranton, Pa., discussed "The Relation of Child Labor to Health," based upon professional experience of six years in the anthracite coal region. He expressed the belief that "our coal fields are just as healthy and happy a community as is any other industrial region in this country, and we very much resent the statement that we are behind any industrial people in the United States in anything that makes for good."

He said: "We have heard a great deal about the boys going into the mines and in a few years developing tuberculosis, dying from the Great White Plague. Now, the facts about that are well stated by Miss Lillian Brandt of the Tuberculosis Society here; she has gotten a table from the last United States Census and classifies fifty-three different occupations, and of these fifty-three, miners and quarrymen were classed together as third from the best in point of mortality from tuberculosis. The only people who have less tuberculosis among them are farmers, planters, and farm laborers, as one class; and bankers, brokers, and officials of companies in the other. There are a lot of such figures available; for instance, in the registration area of the United States, consumption causes 10.6 per cent of all deaths among miners and 16.2 per cent of all deaths among all the occupied males, so that miners are nearly one-third less than all the occupied males in point of view of mortality from consumption. In Scranton for the last ten years consumption caused only 3.37 per cent of all deaths among miners, while among all the occupied males in Scranton it has caused 9.99 per cent, or three times as much.

"Another statement that has been made is that the death rate among the children in the anthracite region is worse than it is in the slums of the cities. Now, I would have felt perfectly free to contradict that statement entirely from my own superficial observation, but the facts in the case as obtained from the United States Census, comparing infant mortality in Scranton

with that in other large cities, show deaths in early infancy for 100,000 to be 78.1 in New York, 94.5 in Boston, 78.94 in Philadelphia and only 56 for Scranton. Take children's diseases, measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough, diphtheria, etc.—in New York the average mortality for these diseases is 37, in Scranton 27. So that, coming down to facts, our anthracite center is not only not worse than the slums of New York, but it is much better than the slums, with Fifth Avenue, the bucolic regions of the Bronx and breezy Staten Island thrown in."

EDWIN MARKHAM, author of "The Man with the Hoe," and who has written many magazine articles of late on the subject of child labor, read extracts from a number of letters which he had received commenting upon his articles. Some of these letters, he said, are from persons who are not always heard from, that is, from the workers themselves. "I have also received a number of letters from manufacturers, from those who are employing children, and I am forced to say that the arguments which I have read in those letters are somewhat similar to the arguments that can be found in the books of record about 1820, and so on, when the great problem of child labor was a vivid fact in England. The arguments are about the same. I am told that children enjoy this work, in fact, one writer tells me that after working hours the children sometimes play leap-frog. One gentleman in Illinois has invited me to come out there and see the boys play leap-frog. Well, I am glad of that, because the boys ought to play leap-frog. That is one of their rights.

"Another point is that hardship is necessary for these boys to develop them; it brings out their best qualities. Well, there is some truth in that, and I have been pointed to the illustrious Lincoln as a type of a man who developed himself through hardship. Well, there is a great deal of truth in this hardship argument, but there is not all truth in it by any means. We need a small quantity of hardship, all of us, although we are all flying from it whenever it happens to confront us in the road. Now, we are not all Lincolns. Lincoln had that hardihood and strength of character that forced him through obstacles, but the ordinary child is not equipped with that fortitude that makes its way through obstacles. What the child needs is a proper equalization between work, play and school. No child should be idle. I have been asked whether I thought a child should be coddled and deprived of work. I think a small quantity of work for a small quantity of humanity is very good.

"I am also told that the use of child labor is necessary on account of the necessity, the hard necessity, of trade; that the competitive struggle demands the child, for without him many important industries would languish and possibly go to pieces. This certainly is a serious problem, and for that reason it seems necessary that there should be a national law established in order not to hinder and hamper our national progress.

"The children are the seed corn of the nation, and it was Jefferson Davis himself who announced to his compeers 'we must not grind the seed corn.' The State has a right in this matter because the interests of the State are concerned. Of course, you know that amongst the Greeks the idea of the State took the very first importance, in fact, among the Spartans that position, that the interests of the State were absolutely supreme, took such a definite and sovereign position that they assumed the right even to destroy defective children. In our democracy we do not take so radical a view, but still the same principle holds. It is the opinion of the best thinkers since the beginning of Government that the State has a right to perpetuate its own life, and in saving the children from undue work—work coming upon them at a time when they are simply developing to become citizens—the State is only taking that right which has been accorded to her by the best thinkers of the race."

JAMES H. TORREY, one of the representatives of the anthracite operators before the Coal Strike Commission of 1902, referred to "some statements with reference to child labor in the anthracite region just made by Mr. Mitchell" as being likely "to convey an erroneous impression." He stated that "Mr. Mitchell's claim that prior to the advent of the miners' union and the strike of 1900 there was no effort to regulate the employment of children, is very wide of the mark." Mr. Torrey then reviewed in some detail the various enactments by the Assembly of Pennsylvania since 1891 regarding the employment of children in the anthracite industry previous to the entrance into the region of the United Mine Workers of America. The act of 1891, known as the Mine Ventilation Act, forbade "the employment of any boy under fourteen years or any woman or girl of any age inside the mines, or of any boy under the age of twelve years, or any woman or girl in or about the outside structures or workings of the colliery."

Mr. Torrey referred to the testimony regarding child labor presented before the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, stating that the gist of the testimony "was to the effect that there was no effort upon the part of the operators to evade the law and that so far as it was

not properly enforced and respected it was mainly due to the fact that parents themselves gave false certificates as to the ages of their children for the purpose of securing the benefit of their wages. The cases of the employment of children in the anthracite region which presented the greatest hardship and appealed most strongly to the commission were those where they were employed in silk mills, knitting mills, and other industries which have located in great numbers in the anthracite region for the purpose of securing the benefit of the abundant and cheap labor there to be found." As showing the attitude of the anthracite operators with reference to this matter Mr. Torrey made the following statement by their authority during the sitting of the commission in Philadelphia in January, 1903: "There has been some agitation of this child labor question. It has been up a good many times. There has been some consultation among the attorneys for the operators, and I am authorized to state for all the operators, so far as they could be consulted, and I think it includes them all, that we will heartily recommend and co-operate in any effort to have a law passed forbidding the employment of any children under sixteen years in the bituminous or anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania." He stated further that through the efforts of the operators there was introduced in the legislature of 1903 a measure which carried out the spirit of this proposition.

"This act," he said, "was attacked in the bituminous regions, and was held to be unconstitutional because two acts of Assembly were amended by one enactment. Nevertheless, the anthracite operators continued, so far as was in their power, to enforce the act according to its letter and spirit."

The act of 1905 relating to child labor, which applied solely to the anthracite region, increased the age at which boys might be employed in the anthracite mines to sixteen years for those inside and fourteen for those outside. "Probably by an inadvertence," said Mr. Torrey, "this act required that every minor employed in or about the mines should be required to furnish an employment certificate and in order to secure an employment certificate certain educational qualifications were required. The effect of this provision, if it had been enforced, would have been to require the operators, under severe penalties, to turn out of their employ all boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who had no education, and thereafter refuse to employ any such. The constitutionality of the act was successfully attacked in the anthracite regions because it required different degrees of educational qualifications for different classes of miners who were practically in the same position."

Replying to Mr. Mitchell's denial of the scarcity of labor in the anthracite region, and his allegation that the record of 1906 will show not more than two hundred days' work, Mr. Torrey stated it to be of such common knowledge and universal complaint, that it is practically impossible to secure men enough to fully operate the mines, that it would appear very strange to any one familiar with the situation that it should be seriously questioned. "There was a six weeks' suspension," he said, "decreed by the union in the spring, covering the period required for it to consent to a continuance of the conditions imposed by the strike commission's award, and the usual number of holidays have been observed by them; otherwise, work has been as continuous and uninterrupted as the conditions and transportation facilities would permit."

EDGAR T. DAVIES, Chief of the Illinois Department of Factory Inspectors, in a letter, stated that "there is very little child labor in the industrial field in Illinois at the present time; there was considerable under the old child labor law. We have in Illinois what is considered an excellent law. It is quite different from the laws of other States, and applies not only to manufacturing institutions but also to stores, offices, laundries, mercantile establishments, coal mines, concert halls, bowling alleys, theaters and places of amusement. The policy of prosecuting defendants under the law, which has succeeded one of moral suasion, has resulted in a wonderfully increased school attendance and has reduced child labor eighty per cent in three years."

J. C. DELANEY, Chief of the Pennsylvania Department of Factory Inspection, in a letter, stated that "so far as Pennsylvania is concerned, the evils of child labor are not now and I doubt if they ever were so bad as they have been painted." He presented statistics for Philadelphia and Berks counties, comparing 1906 with 1905 as regards minor employees under sixteen years of age, Philadelphia showing a decrease of 6,394, or 34 per cent, and Berks county a decrease of 906, or 30 per cent. "This decrease," he said, "is not to be charged against or credited to industrial decline, for such has not been the fact. It is a direct result of several things working together to the same good end. They are the raising of the minimum age from thirteen to fourteen years by the Legislature of 1905; the vigorous enforcement of the law by the Department of Factory Inspection, and the passing out of the class of 'under sixteen' to 'over sixteen' of a large percentage of minor employees."

VIEWS OF EXPERTS ON DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS.

SOME CLAIM THE PROBLEM IS BEING SOLVED THROUGH ECONOMIC LAWS, WHILE OTHERS SUGGEST REMEDIES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS.

FOLLOWING the afternoon session and preceding the dinner on December 12 a special meeting of the Executive Committee of the Immigration Department was held at the Park Avenue Hotel. The special topic for discussion was "Distribution of Immigrants," which many students, lecturers, writers, and practical men of affairs have been emphasizing the past several years as being the crucial question in a proper solution of the immigration problem. Dr. Leander T. Chamberlain, First Vice-President of the Department, presided.

THOMAS W. SLOCUM, Chairman of the Department's Committee on Supply and Demand, was the first speaker. Among other things, he stated that if by any possible way we can direct our immigrants into those sections of the country where they are most needed and away from the congested centers, it would be a step in the right direction. Continuing, he said:

"Within the last year 1,025,000 immigrants came to this country. Of that number, I think 788,000, or practically eight-tenths, came into the port of New York. The best way to settle the matter of having so many immigrants in New York is to do it in the Irish way; the best way to get immigrants out of New York City is not to bring them in; but how are you going to attract immigrants to some other port when eight-tenths of the immigrants last year came into this port because it was to their advantage to come here? The steamship lines made opportunities for them that no other port provided. So long as the immigrants can come here cheaper than they can go anywhere else, they are going to come here, and we have got the problem of distributing them down through the South and out through the West. When it comes to the Italian, who comes in here and can get \$2 or \$2.50 a day working in New York, there is not very much to tempt him to go down South or out West for less money, although the purchasing value of that money may be greater there than it is here.

"It has seemed to me that we might perhaps make some practical headway if we, representing the Civic Federation, or the Immigration branch of it, could have communication with the steamship lines with the idea of opening up ports through the South, perhaps New Orleans, Charleston, or Savannah, where we could get the immigrants into agricultural pursuits and in manufacturing towns throughout the South."

COMMISSIONER WATCHORN referred to the distribution of immigrants as being like Banquo's ghost, in that it would not down, and said that those who have discussed it in his hearing or whose writings he had read, have invariably taken the view that by delivering immigrants at a certain place and leaving them there, they have solved this problem. He did not agree with such a view. Continuing, he said:

"The thing that will distribute the immigrants on a sound and healthy basis is to establish sound and healthy industrial conditions over very much more widely extended areas. There is no use telling a man who can get \$2.50 a day in a crowded city that it would be very much better for him—and perhaps insure his peace of mind, health of body and enrichment of pocket, and all that sort of thing—if he would only go West or go down South where he would get perhaps only \$1.15 a day and live under his own vine and fig tree. The thing to do in the distant States in order to attract immigrants, is to offer them as good wages as they can get in New York and until that is done immigrants will continue to avoid such sections of our country. The evils must be corrected where they exist, and then the stream will naturally flow where it belongs. It is useless trying to correct an evil by indirect treatment. The evil of congestion is due to the fact that the immigrants settle where they are best off, as they think, and you will have to show them where they will be actually better off by distributing themselves, before you can induce them to seek pastures new.

"A delegation came from the South to Ellis Island a short time ago, and they told me that they wanted at least 50,000 men and women to go there; that all the industries were languishing for want of help. I said: 'Very well, there are 700 or 1,000 immigrants here now; turn yourselves loose among them and take as many as you can divert from their chosen destinations.' They spent the afternoon trying to coax them to go there, and they could not get one. Why? Because these men knew well enough from the letters they had received from their friends and relatives what they could expect to get when they arrived there. If the report can be truthfully made and duly circulated that conditions in North Carolina are as favorable as they are in Massachusetts, you will have no difficulty in getting immigrants to go to North Carolina;

and until conditions are as satisfactory it is no use asking them to go there, and the suggestion that by sending them to any specially selected port as a means of distributing them I think is purely artificial."

PROF. WALTER F. WILLCOX, of Cornell University, said that during the last fifteen years statements have been made frequently and with increasing emphasis that the immigrants are not properly distributed over the country. "My conclusion," he said, "is that the distribution of immigrants is not a serious problem calling for federal intervention and aid. On the contrary, the immigrants, according to the best statistical evidence, are distributing themselves adequately and satisfactorily. They are following the allurements of economic advantage presented to them and going where those advantages are greatest. If this distribution is to be changed, I agree thoroughly with Commissioner Watchorn that it should be changed by changing the conditions, and that there is no evidence that the immigrants are in serious need of additional information regarding the conditions which now exist.

"To these arguments, when presented at a recent meeting of this Department, the answer was made that there was little difference between a tendency to stagnate in cities and a tendency to be found there. To my thinking the difference is radical. If our tenement house quarters of New York and other cities are crowded with foreign born, who linger there indefinitely in a state of hopeless contentment with conditions as they are, the problem might well be deemed a serious one, but if it be true, as I contend, that the population of these sections is in a state of rapid change, the older arrivals passing on to something different, and in the majority of cases, we believe, to something better, almost or quite as fast as new arrivals crowd in, then the whole mental attitude and temper of the population is one of hope, of confidence, of courage. The difference between a stagnant slime-covered pool, the picture usually raised in one's mind by the word 'slum,' is totally unlike the picture of a lake fed at one end by a great stream but kept at the same level and sweet and fresh by the outflow of countless streams of various sizes and in various directions all around its borders. The latter, rather than the former, I believe, is the true picture of our tenement house sections."

S. A. HUGHES, of the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, speaking for his section of the country and for a solution of the distribution problem, said that in his opinion the agricultural districts offer the solution. He suggested that land propositions be placed before the immigrants before they embark, so that they may be distributed properly on the land to their best advantage and to the best interest of the community. He said further:

"I believe that the immigrants who are coming to this country, allowing you a fair quota for labor in the cities and in the industrial sections, should be attracted to the farm upon this side, and for that reason I had the pleasure of introducing last December in this convention a resolution providing that the Immigration Commissioners' hands should be so strengthened that they would increase the facilities at the South Atlantic and Gulf ports for diverting the business from Ellis Island to the unoccupied and undeveloped lands of the South and the Southwest. But this cannot be done until you have placed your representatives in foreign countries with suitable land propositions, and the question then will arise, Are we not stimulating immigration to this country? I believe that the doors of our country should be thrown open to any able-bodied man, no matter from whence he comes, so long as he is willing to live under our flag and under our constitution. Although he may be illiterate, we will educate him, barring of course Chinese coolie labor as against our American labor."

CHARLES P. NEILL, United States Commissioner of Labor, agreed with the views expressed by Commissioner Watchorn and Professor Willcox. He stated that he had recently been looking into the matter of the distribution of immigrants and that the results of his investigation thus far appeared to confirm Prof. Willcox's statements. Continuing Commissioner Neill said:

"Some good can undoubtedly be accomplished by bringing the resources and advantages of different sections of the country more directly to the attention of our immigrants who have settled on the Eastern seaboard, but we must not lose sight of the fact that the only law that can in any way influence the distribution of immigrants throughout the various parts of the

United States is a fundamental economic law and not a legislative enactment. The immigrants who have come to the United States have torn themselves away from their home surroundings and life-long associations, and many of them have crossed the whole continent of Europe in addition to the Atlantic Ocean. Their purpose is largely to better their economic condition, and they are going to settle on the Eastern seaboard or in the South or the West, according as these respective sections offer them the greatest economic advantage. On the whole, they are going where they earn the largest wages. There is, of course, a certain friction that retards their perfectly free movement, but, generally speaking, any considerable difference in wages will bring immigrants from the East to the South and the West. I think what is most needed is to prevent such a large percentage of the immigrants going into the industrial pursuits instead of going on the land and developing our agricultural possibilities. What prevents this, it seems to me, is that such a large percentage of our present immigrants is without the means necessary to take up land. They cannot maintain themselves until their farms are able to support them.

"In a word, I would like to suggest that it is useless to talk about any plan to distribute immigrants, other than the single plan of offering higher wages in the places that want them than they are getting in the places that they are now, or in offering them opportunities to take up land that make the opportunities actual and really within their reach."

REFERENCE was made by Thomas F. Parker, of the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association, to the practical solution recently attempted in the State of South Carolina with regard to the distribution of immigrants by the establishment of a new line of immigrant steamers to Charleston. Mr. Parker spoke in part as follows:

"In South Carolina our wage scale is just reaching a point where we can commence to bid successfully in the world's labor market. In the last five years the wages in our State, including our mills, have advanced fully 50 per cent. The immigrants to our State for cotton mills in the past have mostly come from the population of neighboring States. The question of immigration from abroad is very new to us.

"South Carolina is one of the first Southern States to have a Commissioner of Agriculture, Commerce and Immigration, with an appropriation from the Legislature, and his visit abroad and his return on board of the first immigration steamer, the Wittekind, to Charleston, S. C., with 475 immigrants, carefully selected abroad, has attracted considerable attention in the South. We are informed that the results so far have been thoroughly satisfactory to the North German Lloyd Line, and that the indications are that it will permanently establish a line of steamers between Hamburg and Charleston, which would be an important step, as we see it, towards the proper distribution of immigrants.

"We realize that immigrants after arriving in America will eventually drift to where wages and conditions of living are most inviting, but our State prefers selecting the immigrants abroad, and first showing them what inducements the State of South Carolina has to offer, before others talk to them, and we want to save the per capita expense of transportation charges from New York to South Carolina of from \$15 to \$20. Our idea is that South Carolina has a better chance of keeping permanently people landed in Charleston, than if they were landed in New York or other ports.

"There is no question in my mind that the future development of the South is dependent on immigration from abroad, and that it is time we learn how best to handle this question. Perhaps one of the principal inducements which we can offer is cheap and desirable land. Each family of foreigners that we settle and satisfy is a nucleus around which other foreigners will collect."

JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS, as Chairman of the Department's Committee on Oriental Immigration, brought before the conference a resolution passed by his Committee authorizing an investigation regarding the economic, social and political conditions of the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans in this country. He said: "We desire to inquire what occupations the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans in this country are engaged in, what compensation they receive and what their hours of labor are. We desire in the second place to investigate their social and political relations where they are found, as is the rule, in communities by themselves. As we are probably all aware, comparatively few of them speak our language fluently, so that the laborers and trades-people of these races are limited to association with their own people. We desire to inquire into their condition under these circumstances and determine what are their actual relations to our own people. We have already inquired regarding the information now possessed on the subject, and find that little exact information is possessed by any one."

JAMES P. ARCHIBALD, Assistant Commissioner of Licenses of New York City, said that to his mind the question of distribution was the most complex phase of the entire immigration problem, and stated his belief that until some elucidation is afforded by

those most interested—the farmer, the manufacturer and the contractor—chaos will still prevail and but unsatisfactory results remain. He gave a number of cases of enforced labor in certain sections of the South, and called for measures to prevent a continuance of such conditions. Continuing he said in part:

"The cases I have here cited are absolutely true and are a fair sample of the treatment which not only illiterates receive in certain parts of the South, but men of more than ordinary intelligence are inveigled into taking these chances, and to them the suffering must be keen indeed. This state of affairs does not apply, as a rule if at all, to agricultural laborers, but does in all its baseness, brutality and deceit, to contractors in particular, to quite a number of unscrupulous manufacturers, who think that this kind of treatment is never heard of outside of the one State where it happens, and presuming upon this, in which they are grievously mistaken, they keep up those vicious practices until it not only gets into the local courts but to the Federal courts. Even President Roosevelt himself has taken notice and has appointed special com-

missions to stop this practice of peonage in the very localities referred to, many convictions for which have been recently obtained and salutary punishment of both imprisonment and fines has been justly inflicted.

"Thus it is necessary, if those who love the South would develop its great resources, to be satisfied for the time being with less profit on their commercial enterprises, and devise ways and means of bringing the alien closer to the land—the land at present out of use—to give the immigrants a reasonable chance to establish homes and enable them to look into the future and see something in it for them and their offspring. No man will pay from \$8.00 to \$15.00 for transportation to the sunny South, undergo estrangement from family and friends and be subjected to almost inhuman treatment for \$1.25 per diem while there are \$2.00 per day and over right here in New York City, where at present there is being spent over four hundred millions of dollars in enterprises of public and private utilities, and where a greater demand for unskilled labor than can be supplied has existed for the past two years."

A REVIEW OF THE CIVIC FEDERATION'S ACTIVITIES.

THE WORK OF THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS SUMMARIZED AND ITS SERVICES COMMENDED BY DISTINGUISHED MEN AT THE ANNUAL DINNER.

VICE-PRESIDENT OSCAR STRAUS presided at the dinner held at the Park Avenue Hotel on the evening of December 12. He referred to the efforts preceding the organization of the Federation in New York City in November, 1901, explaining that the lines of work were undefined and the whole plan tentative when those invited met in the rooms of the Board of Trade, so much so that it was problematical whether there would be a meeting over which to preside. The event brought forth, however, the largest representation of important labor leaders and of capital that had ever assembled in the city. Continuing Mr. Straus said:

"I think that I am not claiming too much for this organization when I say that, since the beginning of its work, a better relationship from that existing hitherto has developed between the labor leaders and the important employers of labor throughout the country. I personally feel a great indebtedness to the Federation. It has been an education to me, and whatever qualifications I may possess for the position to which I have been summoned, I owe (so far as that branch of the department's work relating to labor is concerned) to having come in closer contact with the great leaders of the industrial forces of this country.

"This evening I had one of the most prominent labor leaders of this country say to me—and I repeat his remarks in order to give you an idea of what results the work of the Federation is producing—'When you occupy your position, we feel we can come before you because we have met often before, and that you understand us and that we understand you.' This is no compliment to me; it is a compliment and it is a tribute to the work of this organization.

"Nine-tenths of the troubles between capital and labor result from misunderstanding. I heard a gentleman say this evening: 'It is unfortunate that The National Civic Federation has not been able to prevent two or three of the important strikes that have taken place during the five years of its existence.' Yes, it is unfortunate, but it has been a most fortunate thing, by reason of the existence of this Civic Federation, that many misunderstandings and strikes have been prevented of which there is no public record, but of which the Conciliation Department of the Civic Federation has knowledge and information that would surprise and gratify the community. We have learned how to assemble about the council table and to thrash out differences, and to prepare the common ground to which each side can repair for the purpose of doing everything in its power to avoid a disagreement or a rupture.

"I was told the other day: 'Why, you never can satisfy labor; if you give them eight hours to-day, next year they will want seven; if you give them five dollars a day wages this year, pretty soon they will want seven dollars.' I said: 'Perfectly true, for, after all, a healthy dissatisfaction, as distinguished from envious discontent, is a stimulus to our civilization. Whenever the desire for improvement is dead, our civilization is dead. For five years I lived in a country where medieval conditions prevailed and there the people were satisfied; there was a stupor of satisfaction, and there was a paralysis of energy. The government had directed to itself every power and every influence, it controlled every business, it controlled every enterprise, and instead of individual energy accomplishing anything, it was through favoritism and fawning that rights were obtained. Yes, healthy dissatisfaction, as distinguished from covetousness, is the very basis of our progress.

"How important is the promotion of industrial peace has only yesterday been illustrated. The great dynamite inventor, Nobel, who died a few years ago and who appreciated peace as perhaps no other man could, for he knew what the destruction of war meant, left an annual prize of \$40,000, among a series of prizes, to be distributed to the foremost promoter of international peace; and recently that prize has been given, to the honor and credit of this country, to its chief magistrate, Theodore Roosevelt. The surest foundation for international peace is internal industrial peace, and I am sure that the example he has set in this respect, such as the examples he has set in the 'world's peace,' will have its influence in every civilized country, because in every civilized country they have the same question at issue, namely, the promotion of the good relations between the great industrial forces. And in this connection I can imagine no more important work in which any man could be engaged than the work that is embraced in the scope of The National Civic Federation."

CHARLES A. MOORE, Chairman of the Welfare Department, presented a report of the work done the past year. The Department is now composed of over two hundred and fifty employers in different industries throughout the United States. He explained that opportunities for presenting the subject of welfare work to employers and the public generally through different types of meetings have been taken advantage of the past year. One result of the plan for holding conferences of employers in the different sections of the country for the interchange of experiences to stimulate interest has been the formation in New York and Boston of local committees to promote the work in these places. The Workshop Improvement Committee of the New England Civic Federation has for its object the promotion of practical interest in the improvement of such working conditions as affect the health, comfort and convenience of employes in factories, stores and other places where labor is performed.

He said: "No coercive work will be undertaken by these local committees. The same methods as those adopted by the national Welfare Department are used. When the average employer learns of the improvements which are pertinent to his industry, he is ready to adopt such measures as will afford health and comfort to his employes. This is accomplished again through conferences and literature. Such local work will be promoted in Philadelphia, Cleveland, Pittsburg and Chicago as early as feasible."

Referring to the numerous conferences held the past year Mr. Moore said: "It is interesting to note the effect of the conferences upon our own members. I, for one, after a meeting in New York last February immediately installed proper ventilating devices for metal polishers, and I would defy anyone to-day to claim that our metal polishers are not protected from the dust attendant upon the trade. Mr. Underwood, after the conference with the Chinese Commissioners, at which conveniences for railroad men were displayed by use of the stereopticon, immediately consulted with our Department in reference to rest houses for the trainmen on his road, and he is erecting rest houses which will be far superior to any which have yet been constructed. And, again, Mr. Belmont and Mr. Vreeland, through association with us in the work, have just announced their intention of vestibuling the street-cars of New York City."

Mr. Moore referred to the special investigations carried on the past year by representatives of the Welfare

Department, including the charity institutions of New York City, the conditions in Panama, cotton mill operatives in the South, the tunnel workers in New York City, etc. He stated that at the request of labor leaders and others the Department was soon to take up investigations of the tobacco, glass, and paper industries. The methods of the Department in distributing literature, plans, photographs, and architectural designs concerning welfare work were described.

In concluding his report Chairman Moore said: "Questions of such great importance, affecting wage-earners and their families, are before the country to-day that I feel the necessity of recommending the appointment of special committees to investigate and recommend what should be done to meet the needs of workers along the following specific lines: Industrial training; industrial insurance, which includes savings banks, life and accident insurance, building and loan associations, and old-age pensions; public service employes; employers' liability; deleterious trades; eating and ventilation; architecture, and sanitation of work places.

DR. LEANDER T. CHAMBERLAIN, First Vice-Chairman of the Immigration Department, presented a report of its activities the past year. As this department was organized as recently as June 29, 1906, much of the report dealt with the events leading up to its organization, an announcement of its officers, and an analysis of the purposes of its seven investigating committees. Continuing, Dr. Chamberlain said: "One important feature of the work of the Immigration Department to which attention is called was the conference held on September 24. The discussion was participated in by prominent experts whose views and presentation of facts served, partly through the wide publicity given by the press, as an educational force of importance.

"Through the efforts of the Committee on Agencies for Advancing the Welfare of Immigrants, action has been taken resulting in greater protection being thrown around the newly landed immigrant at New York City. It is believed that an effective check has been put upon the increasing number of cases where immigrants have been defrauded. We also have to report that this committee has in preparation a hand-book for immigrants, and that it has also planned to secure from the New York legislature a bill authorizing the licensing of ticket sellers and bankers who have to do with steamship transportation and in the forwarding of immigrants' money.

"The Committee on Basal Statistics has in view the drawing up of a general scheme of statistical investigation.

"The Committee on Legislation and Its Enforcement has in prospect the preparation of a digest of existing laws, departmental regulations, court decisions and department rulings concerning immigration in the United States and foreign countries.

"The Committee on Oriental Immigration has received the sanction of the Department to undertake an investigation of the economic and politico-social conditions surrounding the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans in this country, including their actual employments, wages received, hours of labor, and their industrial and social condition generally. It is also desired to ascertain their communal relations to people of their own race, or our race, and to public officials in this country. Inquiries also are to be made regarding the effect of civic disfranchisement and ignorance of our language, customs, and laws on their social and moral condition."

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, in his opening remarks, referred to the pleasure it had given him to be identified with the work of the Civic Federation from its earliest days, and stated that each time he assisted at one of its annual meetings he had found occasion to rejoice at its growth and at its constantly increasing influence and usefulness.

"But never before as this evening," he said, "have I realized what a great institution it is. It is really a wonderful institution. As to the great and good work of the Federation, the reports of the chairmen of committees which you have just heard have given ample evidence. Think of it! Think of how much has been done by the Welfare Department, and think not only of the physical good but of the moral good done thereby. And again our work in the Immigration Department has gone all over the world. A few months ago I was in Europe, and throughout several countries I was asked: 'Tell us something of that great immigration meeting that you had in New York; do you know anything about it?' Well, I was quite proud to be able to say I knew a great deal about it, for I was one of those who took part in that great meeting.

"I believe it is only in America such an institution is possible. And because of the fact of the Civic Federation, I am proud of my country. This fact was told to me in England and France—it is all due to our American democracy, that you can find men of every social position, employers and employes, the rich and the comparatively poor, sitting together around the same table and feeling that we are all equal before the Almighty, all children of the same God, all brothers together.

"Another reason why the Civic Federation is truly an American institution is the fact that we are ac-

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Activities of the National Civic Federation. This issue is appropriately given up to a bird's-eye view of the manifold activities of The National Civic Federation.

In it is presented a detailed account of the sixth annual meeting of the organization; a brief report of the second annual gathering of the New England Civic Federation; an account of the Federation's remarkable conference between representatives of capital and labor and the general public held in Chicago at the residence of Mrs. Potter Palmer; and reports of addresses and lectures by officials of the different departments of the Federation before a large number of organizations in various sections of the country.

The sixth annual meeting of the Federation, held in New York City December 12 and 13, was a most remarkable and stimulating gathering. All five of the sessions, as well as the dinner held on the evening of December 12, were largely attended by representative men and women, and marked interest was manifested in the subjects discussed by well-known speakers. These subjects comprised Government by Injunction, Child Labor, Distribution of Immigrants, The Work of The National Civic Federation, and The Income and Inheritance Taxes. In addition to the educational value of these discussions, one of the most conspicuous results was the provision for the appointment of four investigating commissions—one on Child Labor, one on Government by Injunction, one on Income and Inheritance Taxes, and one on the Anti-Trust Laws. The details as to the personnel of these commissions and the plans for their investigations are now being worked out.

The importance of a Commission to inquire into the operations of the Anti-Trust laws is indicated in the fact that those engaged in various governmental relations in enforcing the statutes against combinations in restraint of trade have repeatedly emphasized the need of certain changes of law and policy. The prosecutions and verdicts and judicial decisions of the past ten years, both State and Federal, have completely established the supremacy of law over such combinations and yet, notwithstanding, there is at present a very unsatisfactory situation resulting from a strict enforcement of these laws. This condition is stated by President Roosevelt in his last message to Congress, as follows: "The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combinations, good or bad, is noxious where it is not effective. * * * It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations, instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil. * * * It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement because judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country."

No one who reads the conflicting statements and different interpretations of conditions as regards the extent and menace of child labor in the United States, presented in this issue of THE REVIEW, will question for a moment the necessity of an impartial and thorough investigation of the actual situation. This is what the Commission on Child Labor has for its object.

Statements as to the advisability of adopting the Income and Inheritance Taxes differ almost as widely as do those regarding the status of child labor. The speakers at the Federation's annual meeting who discussed this subject, and who have justified the public attaching importance to their statements, disagreed so radically as to the desirability of enacting such laws that an impartial study of conditions by experts specially chosen for that purpose because of their qualifications was provided for.

Another pressing problem of the present day upon which there are widely-varying views is that of Government by Injunction, and the necessity for discovering the exact situation in this connection is as important as in that of the other questions referred to. The close relation of this issue to the conflict between capital and labor makes its study of particular importance.

A comprehensive view of the work of The National Civic Federation the past year was secured for the first time by members and invited guests at the annual dinner in New York City on the evening of December 12. This was presented through brief reports by of-

ficials of the different departments, showing what had been accomplished and indicating some of the plans for the coming year. The work of the Conciliation Department, as reported by Ex-Mayor Seth Low, Chairman of that Department, was particularly surprising if not startling in the impression it left on the hearers as to the great value and importance of the efforts of the Federation in preventing what promised at their beginning to be widespread strikes and industrial disturbances. Mr. Low described some of the methods of the Conciliation Department and called attention to a few of the more important cases which had been settled. As the operation of this Department precludes any public announcement of the cases brought to its attention, the greater part of its work is unknown to the public. Attention was called to the other activities of the Federation, through the reports of its Commission on Public Ownership by Chairman Ingalls; of the Department of Immigration by Vice-Chairman Chamberlain, and of the Welfare Department by Chairman Moore. The broader aspects of the Federation's work in the direction of strengthening and preserving American institutions, and in its relation to the progress of American Democracy, were touched upon by many of the speakers, including Oscar S. Straus, now Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor; Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul; and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York City.

Two recent events may be referred to here as emphasizing the broader aspects of the Federation's service. One is the increasing success of the Civic Federation of New England, an account of whose annual meeting is presented elsewhere in this issue. The second event is the remarkable "capital and labor" meeting at the home of Mrs. Potter Palmer in Chicago under the auspices of the Federation. In view of the fact that Chicago has been the center of long-waged industrial conflicts between capital and labor the past decade and more, this gathering of representatives of both organized employers and organized employes in that section promises well for the future.

Another view of the Federation's activities, to which attention is called in this issue, comprises lectures and addresses given in various parts of the country by officials of the organization. These lectures have proven beyond question to be a strong educational force—they supplement much of the other work of the organization and are successful in spreading its principles throughout the country.

It is not without its appropriateness at this time and in this place to call attention to the publicity feature of the Federation's activities as represented in THE REVIEW itself. Through its columns great public questions are elucidated by recognized leaders of thought and action and by the publication of reports of special investigations carried on by experts through its various departments. In these and other ways the Federation has made for itself in American national life a place of power and influence.

A new feature of these activities is emphasized in the recent organization of the Public Lecture Bureau of The National Civic Federation. Its purpose is to present to the public different views on important national questions by the best writers and speakers available, including prominent employers, financiers, University presidents, publicists, economists, representatives of the church, bar, labor organizations, etc. Addresses on a number of social and industrial topics have already been given under the auspices of this Bureau in a number of the large cities, including, among others, New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, Providence, Cleveland, and leading cities of the South; and at the present time arrangements are being made to increase the scope of the work by having prominent speakers deliver addresses on live questions in practically every large city. With the co-operation of the press of the country, which has given considerable space to the lectures delivered so far, a most important educational work is being accomplished. Among the prominent speakers so far engaged by the Bureau is Mr. W. H. Mallock of England, who recently delivered a series of lectures at the leading universities of the country on "Socialism." The speakers who are to follow Mr. Mallock will appear before commercial, religious, labor and educational organizations and institutions.

CIVIC FEDERATION'S ACTIVITIES.

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customed to listen to one another and to hear men come and state different opinions. Why, if this meeting that we have witnessed to-day had taken place in any country of Europe, there would have been riot before the meeting closed. And when one man would stand up and contradict another, the other would have at once challenged him to a duel. This comes from the fact that in America we are thrown together and that we recognize the manhood of one another. Is it not worthy of America and worthy of religion to hear us all to-day asking, 'What good can we do to the little boy that is away down in some mine of Pennsylvania?' and to hear fellow laborers of that little boy and employers of that little boy say, 'We shall do the best we can for him, for we recognize in him a little brother, a future citizen of this great country.' Is it not beautiful to hear that so wide and grand are the opportunities offered to us all that one who did work as a little boy in those mines died a millionaire?

"Let us not complain that some among us become rich and millionaires. Let us not complain that there are great fortunes. Why, it is all due to America. It is America that has given such opportunities, and if some among us have minds more far-seeing and wills better controlled and more steady to grasp that opportunity, it is to his credit, as it is to the credit of the country that afforded him that opportunity. I always feel proud when I hear that in America there are great fortunes, because the men who have these great fortunes were at one time poor as the poorest among us, and it is because they live in such a great country, the country of opportunity as no other country is, that they have been able to grasp the things that make up these great fortunes. Not that I would have fortunes exercise their power to despoil others of opportunity; not that I would have them absorb the life and liberty of the nation so as to be able to play unjustly with the things in their hands; no, fair play for ever, justice always. But then, if from time to time, out of the shrubs and trees of the forest some do lift themselves higher up in the skies, let us rejoice in the fertility of the soil that gave them the sap that produced these high branches and that rich foliage and let us all see what we may do for our own good; let us not have among us a spirit of jealousy; let us all feel that we are citizens of the same nation; let the rich remember that whatever has come from the opportunities of the country and their own energy, that they are trustees before heaven for what has been placed in their hands to make the best use of it. And let those who have less remember that in a country where all would be comparatively poor, no one could ever hope to lift himself above the small position into which he was born.

"Our workmen are ambitious, hopeful of better things, and consequently are somewhat dissatisfied. It's all the result of America. In other countries they say nothing about the weary, dreary work of every day, and they are satisfied; but every American, poor and hard working as he is, to-day looks up and sees the sun shining for him as for others. He sees, in the flag held ever before him, an invitation to come forward and claim the best. It is only in America that we see workingmen proud of their dignity. But what is best of all, as some become employers and richer than others, they still remember, when they sit side by side with the employees, that they are sitting with fellow citizens and with brothers.

SETH LOW, Chairman of the Conciliation Department, stated that the Civic Federation assumed that the employers of labor and the employees both wish to do what is honorable, and that each asks for himself only what he thinks is right. "Having that belief," he said, "we believe that we can secure conciliation almost always if we can only get the parties to the dispute together in time. That is really the simple method of the Conciliation Department.

"Scarcely a month ago we were fortunate enough to be the means of bringing together two parties to a dispute which affected the welfare of an entire section of this country. It was after the strike had actually taken place, and it is a matter for congratulation on the part of the Federation that its agency was availed of to bring together both sides, neither of whom quite knew how to get together or to make the first advance. When that had been done, the dispute was settled by the parties in interest. I was told, during my recent visit to the South, that the settlement of that dispute was of literally inestimable value to that whole section of the country.

"The Conciliation Department does not do its work through the newspapers. It settles a great many strikes that are never heard of. It prevents more strikes from taking place than it settles, and altogether it is constantly working to bring about a better state of feeling in industrial circles.

"Perhaps the settlement of one strike that was prevented last spring, the manner of it and the method of it, would interest you and will illustrate, as perfectly as possible, the character of the times in which we live, and the character of the country of which we are proud to be citizens. I was at my farm forty miles north of New York, in Westchester county, when the telephone bell

rang. I found myself talking to a banker in Philadelphia, who said that his firm were the representatives of a street railroad system, I think in Illinois, close to the Mississippi River; that a strike was threatened; that they were afraid the men would go out before any opportunity could be had to bring about an agreement. Could I, as chairman of the Civic Federation's Conciliation Committee, prevent that disaster? They wanted me to telegraph to the national president, who happened to live in Detroit. I said: 'What can I say? Can I say that you are ready to arbitrate?' 'Well,' he said, 'I don't know that I am quite prepared to say as much as that.' 'Well,' I said, 'may I say that I think I can bring about arbitration?' 'Yes,' he said, 'you may say that.' I called up immediately the office of the Civic Federation in New York City, and in fifteen minutes a telegram was on its way to Detroit to this national officer representing the street railway employees, somewhat to this effect: 'I learn that a strike is probable in such and such a place; I hope that it will not take place until the Civic Federation has had the chance to see whether it cannot bring about a settlement; I think arbitration will be accepted.' Instantly a dispatch in reply came back: 'You may be sure that no strike will take place until the Civic Federation has had a chance to see what it can do. If arbitration is offered on fair terms, it will be accepted.' I ask you to notice how frank, how straightforward, and how explicit, that reply was. Next morning I got my Philadelphia friend in New York City by telephone and told him of this dispatch, and I said: 'What shall I say now?' After a little discussion it was agreed that I should telegraph, as I did, that the parties in interest here would telegraph to their local representatives to meet the men and settle if possible; that, failing a settlement, they would accept arbitration; and I asked the international officer, in case of need, to communicate with me again. In three or four days the matter was settled by mutual agreement, without any reference to the Civic Federation. I never heard of it again until Mr. Easley received a letter from both sides expressing their gratitude to the Civic Federation for its good offices.

"I never saw a man in connection with the whole business. I talked to a hole in the wall in Bedford, N. Y. The electric current carried the message to Detroit, to the place where the strike was threatened, and the whole thing was actually settled by that method, simply because The National Civic Federation existed, and uses, as the previous speakers have said, such means of getting together both employers and employees. I think that was a splendid illustration of the sort of service this institution is doing all the time; also, as I said, of the character of the times in which we live."

MELVILLE E. INGALLS, Chairman of The Federation's Public Ownership Commission, reported on the work of that body. He said in part: "As chairman of the Municipal Ownership Commission I have been spending three or four months on its work, and the remarkable thing about it is that I got interested in the work. On the committee are twenty other people, the most delightful people, busy men, men of ability, who knew what they were about. They would not postpone the results that they found on a subject, but they would settle it all up before they went to bed, and start next day on something else.

"We have examined the cities in England; we have examined gas plants, street car systems, and electric plants. We have looked into the plants in this country in the same way; and I have to say to you that those twenty gentlemen on that committee have worked harder than you could get them to work for any salary. The only trouble I have had with them was that they worked so hard and they have gone into so many details, that God alone knows when they will be ready to report. But when they do, you will get the whole history of municipal ownership in the kingdom of Great Britain and in this country and will get some facts that will be invaluable, because they have employed experts on both sides; they have had the people in favor of municipal ownership pick their experts and the people against it have selected theirs, and we have prepared questions and tried the case with those experts. We have got the true situation, I think, of the different plants throughout the country, and then we are going to boil that down into the different reports.

"We have divided off the various subjects, so that each member of the committee can do his work, and when they get through, I promise you that they will have a report that will give you valuable information, that will repay the Civic Federation for the large sum of money that they raised for the expenses of this work, for it has been very expensive. We have had to employ the highest talent in the land and it has taken a great deal of money, but the money was put up by friends, as it would not be raised in any other way, a combination of capital which has furnished the money for us, and these gentlemen on this committee have furnished the brains and done the work. All I did was to keep them good-natured and see that they did not quarrel with each other in their anxiety to get ahead, because we have had people in favor of municipal ownership and people against it. It has been a bitter fight after facts, and I believe in the end when we get through, we are going to give you practically a unanimous report upon the general principles of municipal ownership, and when we do, I believe and I hope that

it will be a standard for the guidance of the municipalities of this country."

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor, referring to his membership in The National Civic Federation, claimed to be one of its earliest members, long before it was known as The National Civic Federation. He said:

"I had faith in the idea; I believed it was capable of accomplishing a great deal of good. It seemed to me that the Civic Federation, endeavoring to bring together men of divergent interests, could discuss the questions affecting them and the questions affecting those they represented. I would not take one laurel wreath, one bloom, one leaf from all the grandeur of the results of our united effort, but I would not have one believe that we can solve all problems of our economic life by our Civic Federation. I think that no man surrenders one jot of his opinions or of his rights in becoming attached to the Civic Federation that he holds without membership. I know of a large number of contests contemplated that the Civic Federation has avoided. I believe, though, that the greatest strength of our concerted movement lies in the fact that we strongly hold to the principles and convictions that we held before we became associated with the Civic Federation, and that our best and common interests are conserved by meeting in our Conciliation Department and by our endeavors to bring about a common understanding upon contested points.

"In my endeavor to understand the conditions of labor in the past as well as of to-day, I have come to this conclusion, that the best interests of the working people of America are subserved by their organization, and that through it they are best prepared to defend, protect, and promote the interests of the working people, recognizing at the same time the modern development of organizations of employers in their particular interests as well as in their general class interests. And further, that an organization such as this Civic Federation, composed of the militant representatives of those classes, as well as the representatives of those who are considered in that larger citizen class—those who are not interested in either the one or the other—in bringing them together has demonstrated, as the history of the Civic Federation has proven beyond cavil, that when we have met to discuss the very essence of the interests and the vital points at issue, we have usually been capable of arriving at a common ground.

"These efforts have redounded to the common welfare of all the men and women and children of labor. The industrial workers of our country make constantly increasing demands upon modern society for improved conditions, and these must be considered in the development of our economic and social life. The working people—the wage-earners of our country—are your fellow citizens and mine. They bear the responsibility of sovereignty with you and me. Upon us, as a whole, depends the future of the whole Republic. It is because of this, not only because of our desire to help the children of labor, to protect and promote the interests of the women who toil and of the men who labor, but also because of the common polity upon which the future of our Republic depends, that the organized labor movement of America bases its proposition to benefit all.

"I have an abiding faith in the people of our country and in the institutions of the United States. The Declaration of Independence and all its glowing words are not to me glittering generalities. They imbue me with all the hope I have for the future of my fellow men. They give me an impetus to all that I do and try to do. I believe that this Civic Federation, representing the great captains of industry and of commerce and of learning and of labor—and I do not mention labor last because of its least significance, but because it is the culmination of all—in its endeavor to work out our common policy and common polity is the effort to make the principles of the Declaration of Independence the very living factors of our everyday lives. And it is that hope, it is that desire founded upon experience, that has encouraged the men and women who have toiled long and hard in this work.

"I believe that as there are in the institutions of our country the great powers of energy and of initiative to conserve the common good, so the Civic Federation presents itself as the conservator of peace and progress and of the wealth and belief of our common country."

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE expressed the hope that The National Civic Federation may become more truly national in its scope and outreaching from year to year. He argued for a standardization throughout the United States of such laws as make for the amelioration of the lot of the worker. Continuing, he said: "I rejoice in the work of The National Civic Federation because the aims of this body imply your faith in the American democracy, not as an act, not as a process, not as an achievement or consummation, but as a development, as an evolving through education.

"You, gentlemen of The National Civic Federation, are doing a great work insofar as you proclaim anew through the gospel of the Federation the message of an American prophet: 'Thy money perish, if it brutalize thy soul.' Alas! it is not the money of the land that will perish if the soul of America be brutalized; it is America itself that will perish. That money may per-

ish, that prosperity and material greatness may disappear were not the worst of events, but greatly to be feared is the passing of the spirit of Americanism. You, gentlemen of The National Civic Federation, appear to understand, and you are seeking to bring to the American people, the essential truth that bigness is not greatness, that 'size is not grandeur, that territory does not make a nation.' Judea was only a little land, not bigger than the Hudson or Connecticut Valley. Greece was a little land, not very much bigger than are some counties in Montana or Texas. But Judea gave us Moses, and Isaiah, and Jesus, and Hillel, and Amos, and Nathan, and Elijah. And Greece gave us Homer, and

Socrates, and Sophocles, and Plato, and a mighty multitude of such heroes of the spirit.

"May it be given to you further to develop and to confirm the teaching that the greatest thing in America is not its wealth, not its power, but the American spirit, the spirit of democracy, the spirit of brotherhood—that spirit of democracy which Henry Demarest Lloyd has pithily summed up in the saying: 'The development of all the resources of the land by all the faculties of man for the use of all the people.' May The National Civic Federation ever be privileged to carry this high message to every part of our land. This is a high hope, a noble mission, a great opportunity. May you be equal to it."

INCOME AND INHERITANCE TAXES DISCUSSED.

DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS ADVOCATE AND OPPOSE THESE METHODS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

IN opening the second day's session of the annual meeting for the discussion of the "Income and Inheritance Tax," President Belmont stated that these forms of taxation have been frequently alluded to as calculated to cure some of our existing and growing evils. "That we should have evils occurring with our national growth is natural," he said, "but it is highly important that we should not attempt to cure them with an improperly considered or wrong remedy. It must also be remembered that our people have been accustomed to and have grown up under a totally different form of taxation. The income tax and inheritance tax are both direct taxes. We are all of us accustomed to pay an unconscious tribute through the form of indirect taxation—our tariff. It is not a question as to whether the tariff is for revenue or for protection. The question is: What is our habit of thought on the subject? For that reason the sentiment with regard to direct taxation is governed frequently by a man's own feelings and habits, and not from the point of view of an economic question.

"As the short remarks I made on the subject seemed this morning in the newspaper to be more or less misinterpreted, I am saying this to you now in partial explanation of what I there intended to convey.

"No one likes the direct tax in this country, and, therefore, in speaking of it, one always refers to it as a form of taxation that for one reason or another is obnoxious. No one likes to have his private affairs made the subject of publication or discussion or inspection. The income tax naturally involves that, and must necessarily involve it, provided there is any difference of opinion as to whether the return is proper or not. We have experienced it. We had the income tax just after the war. We had an income tax within a few years and thought that one was declared unconstitutional, many returns were made prior to that, and I personally did make my return at the time, and felt it to be a wise and perfectly proper method of taxation and one which I would be only too glad to advocate and submit to. But since that the other form, which is also in existence in various States—the inheritance tax—has been discussed by many as a method of checking the growth of large fortunes, which threaten, in the minds of some, our institutions and our general economic condition. And when I said that a wise and just method of taxation, and the solution of that in a proper manner, would be of great good to this country, I meant that punitive spoliation must not be resorted to. In other words, that those who accumulate large fortunes cannot do it dishonestly and improperly; it cannot be done; a man will finally meet his fall if such be his method; there may be isolated cases, but that is not the way the accumulation of fortunes in this great country comes about. The existing laws are complete and searching enough; the methods of reaching wrong-doers are sufficient. But that these fortunes, which it is alleged are accumulated in an improper manner all over this country, must be reduced in a punitive spirit, was what I meant should not be done. I did not mean that a tax on inheritance should not be passed, but that it should be done from the point of view of just and wise taxation and on sound economic grounds. That was all I meant to convey."

MELVILLE E. INGALLS, Chairman of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, referred to three prolific sources of multi-millionaires which are open to criticism. These, he said, were (1) the tariff, (2) illegal favors and contracts given to shippers by the railways, and (3) the production and the securing by questionable means of contracts at nominal prices for the use of the streets of various cities for the purpose of transportation and lighting, and Mr. Ingalls discussed briefly each of these sources.

Mr. Ingalls expressed his belief that the income tax "is the best and fairest tax that can be levied—a tax not for the purpose of destroying property—that would be socialistic—but for the purpose of making property pay its fair share of the burdens of the people. They

will tell you that it is a tax difficult to collect, but no more than taxes on hidden or unseen property. I don't believe in a graduated income tax, for I think that would be putting a tax on thrift and energy, but each man should pay upon his income the same proportion—pay it as a tax for the protection of his property. I would tax all incomes of one thousand dollars or over and have a fixed percentage. Under a thousand dollars the income from the tax would not be enough to pay for the cost of collection.

"The inheritance tax has already been taken up by the different States, some of them with a graded tax and others with a straight tax. I am not in favor of a graded inheritance tax any more than I am of the graded income tax, but I am in favor of the inheritance tax as a tax for paying the expenses of the State like other taxes. The question is whether this is not more of a matter for each State to take up by itself and go on as they are now starting. If it cannot be managed in that way, then the national Government should take it up, and the money that is obtained from these sources will enable it to reduce the burden of taxation in places where it is advisable to do so, and will produce income which may be lost from the modification of the tariff.

"I would also enact legislation—or, if it cannot be done under the present constitution, I would get an amendment—that no man should have the right to dispose of his property by will, and that when he dies it shall be divided equally among heirs. I would take away from any citizen the right to tie up any property in trust for one life or two or more. It is simply a continuance of the old law of entail under another form and holds these immense fortunes together, when, if they were divided equally among the heirs, they would soon scatter and be harmless.

"I know that this will be criticised and people will say that if a man has children and some are weak and incompetent to handle the fortune coming to him or her, that the parents should have the right to put them in trust, but that is the very thing that perpetuates some of these large fortunes. Let them be distributed. If some of the heirs waste their inheritance, the public will gain. The property is not lost by distribution, and nothing, in my judgment, will so protect our future against large accumulations of wealth as this. It seems to be a craze with some men to perpetuate after their death the immense fortunes that they have built up, but it is not a thing that the State ought to allow.

"There is danger in the present condition of public opinion that we will drift into a hysteria that will enact legislation that will seriously hurt our business and produce disaster. Especially is this true in reference to the railways, and you must keep in mind that the railways constitute the largest business force in the country. One-fifth of all the population depends upon them for their existence, either as employees or in the business of manufacturing, or supplies, etc. And while we set our face like a stone wall against any of the illegal conditions of the past being continued, we should give them a fair chance to carry on their business in the future and thus prevent disaster to the community.

"The real menace to my mind is the Sherman anti-trust law, so-called. I happen to know that the distinguished author of this law, when it was passed, did not think it applied to the railways in their conduct of their business. In 1895 the joint traffic agreement among the trunk lines was made. I had the honor to prepare that, and it never occurred to me that there was any danger of violating the Sherman anti-trust law, and we drew the agreement so it would aid and maintain the interstate commerce law. But the Supreme Court thought otherwise, and when in 1897 they made their decision that that agreement was a conspiracy and violated the Sherman law, there was then left no power or right among the railways to contract among themselves—to agree upon rates—to sue and be sued. In other words, that decision had the effect of turning them into a sort of Pariah, with every man's hand against them, and no right to conduct their busi-

ness legitimately among themselves. To-day it is necessary that there should be stable and fixed rates between points—say, between New York and Chicago—and it is necessary that they should be able to enforce those rates among themselves, and they should be allowed to meet and agree what those rates shall be, and which under the present law should be published and maintained. And yet under the construction of the courts if they should so meet and agree, it would be a conspiracy in restraint of trade and subject to fine and imprisonment under the Sherman law.

"I don't believe it is the intention of the people that this situation should exist; I don't believe it is their idea that the greatest industry in the country, employing more than a million of men, could be conducted without regard to law or in defiance of it. There should be co-operation and agreement allowed, but no unfair competition, nor any conspiracy.

"The same reasoning in many cases applies to other classes of business. Almost everything now is construed to be a trust. A trust is nothing but a combination of people for doing business more cheaply and largely. It is the evolution of the corporation; just as the corporation was the evolution of the partnership; and partnership was the evolution of the days of the shepherd when each man tended his own flock. The trust properly conducted is not the enemy of the people, and in the fanaticism of the hour it should not be condemned if properly managed. The law should be taken up and amended to suit business conditions of the twentieth century."

W. D. GUTHRIE, for whom is claimed the credit of defeating the last income tax proposition before the United States Supreme Court, referred to the recent activities for securing graduated or progressive taxation of income and inheritance successions to the property of decedents. He said: "In discussing these principal measures, it should be appreciated that if they become laws, the result, by reason of existing conditions and the general distribution of property throughout the country, will be to exempt the majority of owners of property and the great bulk of property from this form of taxation and to cast the burden upon those who constitute a very small minority of the population. It should likewise be realized that this proposed legislation, particularly as to inheritance, is conceded only a first step, and that increase in the scale is intended and is certain to follow. Indeed the President declares that 'at first a permanent national inheritance tax need not approximate, either in amount or in the extent of the increase by graduation, to what such a taxation should ultimately be.' As the States also have full power to levy similar taxes on inheritances and incomes, it must be manifest that if the scale of graduation adopted by Congress be high, the resources of the States will be correspondingly curtailed and crippled, that they may be embarrassed in securing the necessary revenue for maintaining their governments and performing their functions, and that within a very short time the national Government could appropriate a great part of the property now owned by the residents of the several States.

"The practical questions which are before us as a nation, then, are the following: Is it wise or prudent in a Republic based on universal suffrage to introduce progressive or graduated taxes as a permanent basis for taxation by Congress? Is it a legitimate function of the national Government, or within the scope of any power delegated to Congress, to regulate inheritances or fortunes or to endeavor to force a redistribution of wealth, as a means of solving social problems or lessening supposed moral evils? Ought unapportioned income taxes be levied by Congress in view of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the income tax cases without first obtaining an amendment to the constitution authorizing such a tax?

"A graduated or progressive tax is necessarily arbitrary, for there is no definite rule or principle to apply. The rate may be reasonable at first, but will ultimately become little short of confiscation. The appetite will grow. One act of spoliation will lead to another. If twenty-five per cent of large fortunes is but a beginning, where will it stop, and who is to determine what is or is not reasonable and the limit beyond which a temporary majority shall not go? There is no limit, no power to check abuses, and we are at the mercy of the irresponsible majority if we once depart from the only safe and consistent rule, that of approximate equality."

Mr. Guthrie held as fundamentally wrong and misleading the claim that the power of our legislatures over inheritances or successions is unlimited; that the right to inherit or to dispose of property on death is not a property right, and that our lawmakers may grant or withhold the privilege at their will and discretion—the grounds upon which progressive and unequal taxation on inheritance are sometimes sought to be upheld. He claimed that the regulation of a succession to the property of decedents, and of the amount of property which any one individual or partnership or corporation may hold, are matters solely within the jurisdiction of the State and not to be interfered with or encroached upon by Congress. He did not believe that the people will ever conscientiously approve and sanction a policy which might deprive the

States of their present source of revenue and the control of the property belonging to their own residents.

As to an income tax, Mr. Guthrie said there was no doubt that any State may levy an income tax. Nor is there any doubt that Congress may levy an income tax provided it be apportioned to population.

Mr. Guthrie did not believe that the cure for existing evils was to be found in any scheme of compulsory redistribution, but rather in the effective and impartial enforcement of the penal laws, in making it dangerous to be dishonest, in severely punishing corporate and individual breach of trust and unlawful discrimination in enacting new laws whenever necessary, in amending the constitution so as to increase the powers of the national Government, but not in assault upon accumulated property or in fomenting hatred, envy and distrust of the rich. In conclusion he said:

"Our malady is not wealth but morals, want of business honesty, brutality in the fierce strife of competition, breach of trust, proneness to corruption, non-enforcement of laws, abuse of office, lack of the sense of civic duty. The breaking up of fortunes will be no cure for these evils. What we want is a re-awakening of the moral sense and a steadfast and consistent determination to enforce the laws and root out dishonesty and criminality. We need incorruptible legislators and public officials. With wealth and honest public opinion permeating the whole fabric of our civilization and demanding constant and vigorous enforcement of laws against individual and corporate dishonesty, all our schemes of legislation will be futile. We cannot make men honest by statute. In the phrase of the Roman, What are laws without morals: *quid leges sine moribus?*"

ANDREW CARNEGIE began his remarks on "The Income and Inheritance Tax" with stating his belief in the saying of Mr. Gladstone that the income tax "made a nation of liars." "There is no tax so pernicious," he said, "not only from an economic but from a moral point of view, as a tax that requires the struggling young business man, doubtful whether the bank directors will pass his note for a thousand dollars to-morrow, to explain his private affairs to some man in the community who may himself be a bank director or who is or may soon be connected with banks. It penetrates business to the core. The nation will never regret anything so much as attempting to collect a tax upon men engaged in business—bees making money for the national hive—and trying to penetrate into all the minutia of their affairs, rendering them liable to have competitors and bank directors and all other classes made cognizant of their position."

"I have always opposed the income tax. I differ with the President strongly upon that, but I am in a very different position in regard to the inheritance tax and to graduated taxation." Mr. Carnegie referred to his position on these questions as stated in his "Gospel of Wealth," written seventeen years ago, in which he advocates graduated taxation and inheritance tax as the best means of getting a better redistribution of wealth than we can by any other means.

"The term 'equality' which my friend Mr. Guthrie uses—he wants equality in everything—is not equality. If a man, a struggling workingman, struggling along at a thousand or two thousand dollars a year, and another man has one hundred thousand dollars a year, and another one million, it is a wrong use of the word 'equality' to say that they should be taxed the same. Adam Smith, an authority which I commend to you, gives us the right solution: 'It should be the object of law makers to derive from every citizen taxation for the support of government in proportion to his ability to pay.' That is the true equality."

After stating that the subject of wealth distribution will not down, and that it is obviously unequal, strangely so, Mr. Carnegie gave some detailed illustrations as to how wealth arises. In one of these wealth came to the possessor of land near New York City through the increase of population, not through ability, foresight, industry, labor. Said Mr. Carnegie: "It grew while the man slept, and probably the best thing in the world that the man could have done about it was to forget he had it; it would have grown just the same, but he might have sold it too soon if he had been thinking of it." Mr. Carnegie answered his own question, Who made that wealth? as follows: "The community, the population, the people. Then you tell me that wealth is sacred. I say that the community was the leading partner who made that wealth. It was hundreds of people, thousands of people settling around there, and we see millions who have toiled not, neither have they spun, spring forth without effort, live idle lives, and die. I am not in favor of touching the bee when he is making honey. Let the bee work, but when he passes away, then I say the silent partner, the community that made the wealth, should receive its dividend—a large proportion."

Mr. Carnegie's comment upon another illustration was to the effect that society makes a huge mistake if it ever interferes with an organizing man in his lifetime. "Such men," he said, "get very little. As a rule, a millionaire is not extravagant. A man who has made money can usually be trusted to keep it. It is more difficult to keep sometimes than to acquire, but his children are not so constituted. They have never

known what it was to figure means to ends, to lead frugal lives, or to do any useful work. They are spenders, not producers of wealth."

Referring to the increase in wealth by means of the steel industry, Mr. Carnegie, mentioning one of his former partners, Mr. John Walker, who was in the audience, said: "Now, it was as plain as A, B, C that Pittsburg was the place where a ton of steel could be made cheaper than anywhere else in the world, and that young man and other young fellows—bright, intelligent fellows—took trips to Europe and saw what Britain was doing. Britain was always ahead, you know, in steel manufacture. And they copied her. They found a supply of raw materials essential. They bought up ore mines on Lake Superior. They bought up coke till they could not rest, all around them, forty thousand acres or more; gas territory by the thousand acres; everything conducive to the making of steel. This country's demands for steel increased. Well, now, who made that wealth? The growth of the American people; that's where that wealth came from, and the people are the partners in every enterprise where money is made honorably."

"And I say when these millionaires, as the time comes, lie down with their fathers, the community fails in its duty and our legislators fail in their duty if they do not exact a tremendous share, a progressive share—if he leaves little, little taken. There is no idea of ever making his children poor, nor interfering with an ordinary testamentary apportionment of his property, but these enormous sums of millions and hundreds of millions really should have a different name from what we used to call 'property.' When a man was a 'man of property,' it meant he had enough for himself and his family to live respectably upon, but now we are under changed conditions, and changed conditions require not radically different laws, but that we proceed to change our present laws to these conditions."

"It isn't the millionaire alone who creates wealth. A man who had mines in Montana and made an enormous fortune did not make the ore from which his fortune came. Who made it valuable? The community wished to use that ore, then it became worth while to take it out of the ground and he made a profit. Gentlemen, wealth is based upon the community. Where a nation does not increase in population and is not prosperous, where wealth does not accumulate you will find no millionaires, but where a nation is prosperous, as we are—a new nation, beyond precedent prosperous—there the millionaire and there only they develop."

After explaining the difference in conditions in the United States and England as to enforcing the income tax system, Mr. Carnegie concluded that in this country an income tax is impracticable and would be intensely unpopular.

"I am with the President," he continued, "in regard to a graduated tax, and a heavy graduated inheritance tax, for many reasons. One is that it belongs to the community that made most of the money, and it should come in and get its dues. The second is that excessive wealth left to children is, as a rule, injurious to the child. We don't want to grow up in this community a class whose members are not compelled to render some service to the community to justify that community in giving them all their privileges and their pleasures. There are exceptions every now and then, and here let me say that the millionaire's son who does spurn the coarse pleasures that we see so many of them indulge in and devote himself to the service of the community in any form is entitled to double honor. But we must legislate not for the exceptions, but for the general."

In concluding his remarks Mr. Carnegie said: "I stand opposed to an income tax as the most pernicious tax that a nation could enact, but I do stand, on the other hand, believing this, that the problem of wealth will never down. The people are becoming intelligent. They see what I tell you is true, that the community makes most of the wealth, and I hope they will persist and tax heavily, by graduated taxation, every man who dies leaving behind him his millions which it was his duty to administer for the public good in his lifetime, and that they will cease to honor any man who does not regard his surplus wealth only as a sacred trust to be administered for the good of the community from which it has arisen."

E. B. WHITNEY, who represented the United States Government before the Supreme Court when the last income tax law was in litigation, followed Mr. Carnegie. He reviewed the attempts by the Federal Government to levy an income tax, and summarized the decisions of the Supreme Court in two cases. Referring to the principle of the graduated tax at the time of our Civil War, Mr. Whitney said that they did not graduate it because they wanted to cut down the large incomes, but because they thought that that made the tax more equal and more uniform. In other words, instead of levying the tax on an absolute rule of so much percentage all the way up from the bottom to the top, they tried to levy it so that the burden as actually felt by the taxpayers should be the same in either case, and that they thought it required to be graduated. When the question of its constitutionality

came before the United States Supreme Court, being argued in as many as five different cases, it was decided unanimously that an income tax was constitutional, and that it should be laid on the principle of uniformity over the whole United States. But in 1894 a law, drawn exactly like that of the Civil War period, came before the Supreme Court, which held, by a majority of one, that the law that had been laid down in the first decision was bad constitutional law and that the tax was unconstitutional.

In view of the circumstances surrounding the earlier decisions of the Supreme Court on the income tax, Mr. Whitney stated that the decision in 1894 came as a surprise to the Government. He said: "Now the question is, what is the law? What will the law be if Congress shall pass an income tax statute in the future? That, of course, is going to be a very difficult question, one of the most difficult questions which the Supreme Court ever had to decide. Here are precedents in point, that were unanimous decisions of the Supreme Court, unanimous decisions under the income tax at the time of our Civil War. On the other hand there is a decision which, while not unanimous—a decision on a vote of five to four—is a more recent one. And there are circumstances connected with each that will require special consideration. There was undoubtedly an abler array of counsel in the more recent case. On the other hand, the more recent case was argued with the least opportunity for preparation, and under conditions that were the least conducive to getting the best law, and the best results. It is immensely important that the Supreme Court of the United States should not change its position on questions of constitutional law, because if it changes its position from time to time, then it is the Supreme Court that legislates and not Congress, and we no longer have the distinction between the legislative and the judicial branches of the Government."

In referring to the constitutional amendment as a remedy, Mr. Whitney said: "Do not pass a constitutional amendment like the one that has been proposed, just saying that the income tax shall be levied on the rule of uniformity or anything of that sort. The whole beauty and advantage of the United States constitution is that it deals with great principles and generalizations, and does not go into specific cases." He suggested the right way to amend the constitution is to provide that all taxes shall be uniform throughout the United States; that the present provision should be repealed, and that if there are any taxes to be levied by the States alone, and which the United States Government is not to compete in levying, those taxes should be specified.

PROFESSOR E. R. A. SELIGMAN, of Columbia University, spoke of the general position of income and inheritance taxes in a system of modern finance, and referred more particularly to some of the problems with which any creators of such a system must inevitably deal. Following the statement that "we notice everywhere in modern times, and more especially in democratic countries, an unmistakable tendency toward the adoption or further elaboration of both income and inheritance taxes," Professor Seligman referred to the experience of this and foreign countries in this direction. He believed the question with us is one of special moment because of the universal breakdown of our system of personal property tax.

He said it would be a serious mistake, in considering any question of either income or inheritance taxes, to base the argument on the proposition solely and simply that large fortunes are a menace to society. He conceived this great movement as being an attempt rather to make large wealth pay its equal share of taxation and to reach the fortunes which now virtually escape all taxation. "The only legitimate argument," he said, "on which you can base either income or inheritance taxation is that you are thereby pressing into the service of the treasury aggregations of capital which would otherwise entirely escape. From this point of view, some of the interesting questions which we must all face are these: First, ought an income or an inheritance tax be a federal tax, or should it be reserved to the States? And secondly, what are the particular dangers to be avoided in administration of each system?"

As to the income tax, Professor Seligman did not think it should be a local tax, like our general property tax, and that as far as possible it should apply to the whole country and thus render impossible much of the evasion which takes place under our local tax systems. The income tax might at least be a State tax, and preferably a national tax.

Claiming that the inheritance tax is not needed for national purposes, while in the case of the States it is needed, and needed very badly, he thought the retention by the State governments of the inheritance tax is a matter of very vital importance, and ought to be discussed in detail by any commission that might be appointed.

In referring briefly to some of the problems to be considered in connection with the income and the inheritance tax, Professor Seligman stated that if we ever have an income tax, we ought to frame it in the light of the income tax legislation in other Anglo-Saxon countries. If we are to have inheritance taxes,

he said, one of the important problems that confronts the legislature is as to whether the tax ought to be assessed upon the inheritance as a whole, upon the property as such, or whether it ought to be levied upon the recipient of the particular share. Another point, he said, in which the inheritance tax does not stand alone, is the general question of graduation or progression. He said: "The problem here is, does a progressive or graduated rate in the inheritance tax imply a derogation from equality, or is it really the very sum and substance of equal taxation? It will be found, I think, that when we come down into the details of this proposition, there are very interesting arguments and much interesting experience in all countries of the world, which will tend to throw a light upon this proposition and which will lead us sooner or later to the conclusion that graduation, if carefully devised and carefully limited, is not in opposition to the principle of equality, but is rather an embodiment of that principle." These are only a few, he said, of the multiplicity of subtle points of the large number of different problems, on each one of which there is an abundant literature and a manifold experience.

THE system and methods by which the revenues are raised in the Dominion of Canada with reference to the federal power and to the provincial powers, and the place occupied in them by the income and inheritance tax, were described by Hon. George E. Foster, Ex-Minister of Finance of Canada. He explained that the income tax has been tried by only two of the provinces, and these the smaller ones, and that the amount of money received through it is very small compared with the total revenues raised. "With reference, however, to the inheritance and succession taxes," he said, "that has been adopted gradually by all the provinces, so that each province now has a succession or inheritance tax, graded and graduated in a more or less scientific or common-sense way, the exemptions varying from three thousand to ten or twenty-five thousand dollars, and the rate of tax running from one and one-fourth per cent up to ten per cent. Out of these inheritance taxes a very considerable and constantly increasing part of the revenues of the different provinces has been derived. For instance, the Province of Ontario, the premier province in the Dominion of Canada, this year will get \$1,000,000 and a little more from this inheritance tax, which is a little more than one-fifth of all the revenues raised by that province outside of the Dominion's contribution."

Mr. Foster indicated the future probable course of development in Canada as regards securing revenue for the State. On this point he said in part: "There is in Canada to-day a live and growing interest in the matter of ownership, control and distribution of what we call public franchises. This has taken a more or less practical shape for the purpose of securing revenue in most of the provinces, and of late in a somewhat striking way. In Nova Scotia, for instance, with its large collieries, every ton of coal that comes to the surface pays a royalty into the provincial treasury. In British Columbia, where there are large mining areas of gold, silver, lead and copper, on the gross output of every mine there is a royalty or a tax which goes to the provincial legislature. In the Yukon district, a royalty is charged upon the output and goes to enrich the federal treasury. In the Cobalt district, the present Government of Ontario has reversed the policy of the preceding Government, which opened the whole district to the prospector and gave the claim to the individual or corporation who staked it, taxing him or it merely a nominal sum for the license and confirmation of title, and then let the possessor have all that he could make from it. The present Government has adopted the principle of reserving certain areas for competition, so that the man who wants to get it has to say to the Government in his offer what he will pay outright for the area or how much bonus he will give for it, and what royalty he will pay besides upon all that is taken out of the mine. Now, that is a radical change in policy, but a change generally approved, and it remains to be seen how it will work out. And then also, they have gone farther, and withdrawn from prospecting a certain amount of territory in which they will grant no individual license, which they are prospecting and propose to work for the benefit of the provincial treasury, either by the Government or under the control of the Government, the profits of which go to the Government."

"Now these are developments along the line of the distribution of franchises and taxation of franchises which set people thinking upon methods and possibilities still open to the State."

THE work of the State Tax Commission of Wisconsin was described by Nils P. Haugen, one of the members of that body. Among other things he said: "As a result of the recommendations of the Tax Commission, we have an inheritance tax law in Wisconsin, and we derive from it considerable revenue. It is not of very long standing, and it is impossible to say as yet what that revenue will average in the long run. We have been successful in securing for the State revenue enough to support the State government entirely independent of local taxation, which is something that has been recommended by economists as generally desirable. The revenues of the State are

derived from railroad taxes, which we collect, insurance company taxes, and taxes of other public service corporations of a general character and from the present inheritance tax. I believe that there will be opposition in the States—I am pretty sure there would be in Wisconsin—to the abolition of the inheritance tax for State purposes if the imposition of a federal inheritance tax means that the States will have to abandon it. I say that because I notice the speakers on the question of an inheritance tax have confined themselves largely to a federal inheritance tax."

"Now this inheritance tax question in Wisconsin has been before our Supreme Court. A law was enacted in 1899 which imposed a tax on the inheritance as a whole. Our constitution provides that the rate of taxation shall be uniform, and that taxes shall be levied upon State property as the legislature shall prescribe. The Supreme Court held that first act unconstitutional. It levied the tax upon the inheritance as an entirety. The court said that it was a discrimination between different recipients, although they might be in the same class. It was not uniform within the class. Later, another bill was introduced which is now upon the statute books, which imposed the tax, not upon the inheritance as a whole but upon the share of each recipient. That law has been before the Supreme Court and has been sustained, although it is a graduated tax. Long before this legislation was enacted, our Supreme Court had been somewhat liberal in construing this requirement that the rate of taxation shall be uniform. It had said that it was not necessary that all property in the State should be on a uniform basis, but that all property within a certain class must be taxed on a uniform basis, and it held in the later case of the inheritance tax law that the classification, although it was a graduated tax, was reasonable. The question before the court was whether the classification was reasonable, and the courts sustained the law. So that we now have permanently on our statute books this inheritance tax law."

In speaking briefly of the income tax, Mr. Haugen said he did not know that the income tax would be any more inquisitorial if it is to be enforced than is the personal property tax. "Of course if you shut your eyes to it and do not seek to enforce it, then any system is as bad as any other, but if you try to enforce it you have to be inquisitorial even as to the personal property tax. We have before the legislature this winter, on its second passage, a constitutional amendment authorizing the enactment of a graduated income tax; that is, an income tax law is authorized and the amendment says that it may be graduated. There was some question under our constitution whether such a law would stand the test of constitutionality without some direct provision authorizing it."

A PAPER on the English income tax and its operations prepared by Alfred Mosely was read by Guy Edward Snider of the College of the City of New York. He said in part: "It is intended to tax income derived from every source in the United Kingdom as well as income from abroad received by persons residing in the United Kingdom. It can be said to be, not a single tax but a system of taxes composed of two elements, (1) a tax on income from property, and (2) a tax on income from personal service. The principal strength of the system from a fiscal point of view is found in the stoppage of the revenue at its source, and in the elasticity of the amount of revenue through adjustment of the rate. The tax forms one of the most important sources of revenue for the United Kingdom. In 1903 its total yield was thirty-eight million pounds, or twenty-nine per cent of the total revenue from taxation."

After describing its administrative machinery, the process of assessment, and the operation of the law, Mr. Snider said that the statement that the English tax is not a graduated law, that a man pays on his income from each source, and that consequently his total income is unknown, needs modification on account of the exemptions and abatements. The tax is graduated but to the point where the abatement ceases, and when a man claims exemption or abatement, he must declare a total of his income from all sources. The paper concluded as follows: "The tax on the income of the individual as distinguished from the tax based on an income producing property forms a minor part in the so-called income tax in England. Even in the case of a tax on salaries and profits the tax is aimed at a source of income rather than at the ability of the individual. Only in the case of exemptions and abatements is there an attempt to regulate the contribution of the individual tax payer with reference to his ability to pay as indicated by the size of his income. The English income tax is based upon the sources of income; it levies on the results of industry at the source. The tax may or may not, according to the circumstances of the case, rest on the individual taxpayer. In effect it is not a tax on the income of the individual, as such; it does not select the individual as a source of revenue, measuring his burden by his ability."

M. W. MEAGHER expressed the belief that a system of graduated income and legacy tax should be adopted primarily for the purpose of preventing a few men from controlling all the wealth of the United States, and not so much for the purpose of deriving

revenue. He said that the graduated income tax has been opposed by the preceding speakers on two grounds: That it would induce to lie in order to escape it, and that it would be inquisitorial. "As to the first objection," he said, "it should be borne in mind that lying under oath—which it would be in making false returns on one's income—is perjury; and that as a result of such perjury, the whole community would be defrauded by the perjurer. Imprisonment and confiscation of the perjurer's property on which he made no return, or to the extent of concealment thereof by him, would effectually restrain his lying propensity." As to the second objection, that is, that the graduated income tax would be inquisitorial, Mr. Meagher said that is true of every system of taxation except the poll tax. As to the objection that the graduated income tax would remove the incentive to accumulate, Mr. Meagher said that not only should the incentive to such accumulation as is dangerous to our institutions be destroyed, but the power to do so as well. He proposed as a remedy for present conditions a maximum or limitation of wealth, fixed, established and enforced by law, coupled with a graduated income and legacy tax.

EX-GOVERNOR E. BRADFORD PRINCE of New Mexico referred briefly to the claim that the inquisitorial feature of an income tax was an almost insuperable objection. He said that the ability to aid in supporting the Government was the proper criterion for the amount of taxation and that this ability is better shown by the income which a man is receiving than in any other way. "He may have enormous quantities of property," he said, "which produce nothing and which give no present ability. It is the income which gives that immediate financial ability. And yet, while laying that down as a principle, Mr. Carnegie went on to denounce an income tax in general, on account of what he called the inquisitorial character of the information that had to be obtained in order to make an income tax effective." He said that at the present time the listing system for taxation, whereby every man has to produce a perfect list of all his personal property exists in at least thirty-five States, and that in some of the States a list of the man's real estate as well is required as a basis of his taxation.

The claim that it exposes a man's business to the risk of the community and thereby does him a sort of irreparable injury is one, Mr. Prince thought, the contemplation of which in the greater part of the United States, where they have a list system, would be found to be absolutely ridiculous and preposterous. He did not believe there was anything in the objection. He said that the inquisitorial feature was not found to be an insuperable object at the time of the old income tax in the days of the War of the Rebellion, and that no one ever heard of there being any difficulty with regard to a man's having his private matters betrayed to the general public when we really did have an income tax. He characterized this inquisitorial objection as not a practical matter, as entirely theoretical and chimerical; that it is simply a bugaboo, gives no rise to any such objection in the greater part of our country where more than half of the population lives and in seven-eighths of the area where we find that development under existing laws.

FACTS ON IMMIGRATION.

INTERESTING and valuable material on both "sides" of the much discussed question of immigration is contained in "Facts on Immigration," being a report of the proceedings of two conferences on various phases of the problem held in New York City under the auspices of The National Civic Federation.

The introduction is by Frank Julian Warne, who writes of the need for impartially investigated facts, and explains the objects and purposes of the Immigration Department of the Federation. Prescott F. Hall, Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, discusses various phases of the legislation now pending in Congress. Nathan Bijur criticises many statistics usually accepted as representing the facts as regards immigration. Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, analyses immigration statistics and states conclusions as regards our net gain in population through immigration which are strikingly different from those commonly accepted. John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America, presents a startling view as to the effects of immigration upon coal mine workers, and President O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, as vigorously outlines some of the effects among mechanics. Thomas F. Parker, President of the Monaghan Cotton Mills in South Carolina, gives a brief account of the recent experiment in that State in bringing immigrants direct to Charleston from Europe. Charles P. Neill, United States Commissioner of Labor, summarizes briefly some of the results of a recent Government investigation, and Robert Watchorn, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, gives a clear explanation of what he believes to be the best means for distributing immigrants. There are also other prominent contributors who speak authoritatively on the particular issues they discuss.

NEW ENGLAND CIVIC FEDERATION'S ANNUAL DINNER.

WORKINGMEN'S INSURANCE THE TOPIC DISCUSSED—REPORTS OF OFFICERS REVIEWING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PAST YEAR.

OF the three general meetings held by the New England Civic Federation since its organization two years ago, that of January 10, marking its second anniversary, held at the Ford Building in Boston, was much the largest and in several respects the most significant. The spirit manifested throughout the proceedings, in which men representing all the different elements included in the Federation took an active part, led one of the guests to remark that if enthusiasm and good feeling mean more after two years of experience with a novel and peculiarly difficult experiment than at the beginning, as we all believe it does, then it is demonstrated that this movement has become a recognized and necessary factor in the industrial welfare of this section.

About three hundred members and guests were in attendance as compared with one hundred and seventy one year ago, and about one hundred and thirty-five at the opening meeting in April, 1905. Opportunity was afforded during the reception hour of meeting President Tuttle and the other officers and speakers of the evening, as well as Governor Curtis Guild, Jr., and Mayor Fitzgerald, who were the guests of honor.

PRESIDENT LUCIUS TUTTLE, in opening the regular program at eight o'clock in Ford Hall, said:

"The Civic Federation of New England appropriately marks by this large assemblage its second anniversary. Of its six hundred members, nearly two-thirds reside elsewhere than in Boston, and while the core of the movement and its main work are in Boston, this widely distributed membership gives satisfactory evidence that it has already become distinctly a New England organization with a constantly widening sphere of influence in that larger field.

"In passing, it may be of interest to note that next Saturday evening a Chicago Branch of the Civic Federation is to be organized under most favorable auspices to carry on in that city and section a work similar in character to that which you are carrying on here.

"In its every act your association has closely adhered to the principles upon which it was founded, by keeping aloof from everything in the nature of partisanship and by never attempting to interfere with the conduct of the business of any interest, whether individual or corporate; and, above all things, it has consistently and persistently refrained from attempting the arbitration of anybody's differences or contentions.

"Its work, which is always quiet and unostentatiously performed, most largely consists in bringing together the representatives of those who labor with their brains and of those who add to the work of their brains that of their hands, and thereby substituting for those wasteful and barbarous methods that are always incidents of the lockout and the strike, the more economical and humane practices of temperate discussion and peaceful negotiation.

"It proceeds upon the assumption that there is no such thing anywhere as an 'irrepressible conflict' between capital and labor, but that the differences and discords that sometimes arise between these two necessary adjuncts of the world's business and progress are nothing more or less than the upspringing of that desire, implanted from the earliest dawn of civilization in every human breast, for a betterment of his or her social and physical condition and environment; and that without this constant and unrelenting struggle for individual improvement, which pervades every class of humanity, human progress would cease and civilization lose its virility and become stagnant and senile.

"It does not, however, indulge in any Utopian dreams or theories upon this phase of the world's many-sided social and humanistic problems but, on the contrary, attempts to apply to its solution only the plainest and most common-sense idea that in every disagreement arising between two parties to a common interest, neither may be wholly right or wholly wrong, and that, if the opposing interests may somehow be induced to come together for dispassionate discussion of all the questions at issue between them, each will most likely be brought to a better understanding of the whole subject, and an adjustment become possible that shall make for harmonious action and mutual trustfulness instead of discord and friction, with the well-known troubles that always follow in their train.

"With these guiding theories, the Civic Federation began and has continued its work, and if its custom permitted, our painstaking and able secretary could give us a long list of many important instances in which his intervention for the Federation, at the crucial moment, has been potential in maintaining industrial peace, and has prevented the outbreak of contentions that would have disturbed, for periods of incalculable length, not only the dominant business of great indus-

trial communities, but would have disastrously interfered with the personal comfort of that great host of outsiders who, under such conditions, are powerless to aid in the adjustment either of the troubles or their causes, and whose only lot seems to be that of irreparable suffering.

"With what has been done in this way during the year I have had but little personal connection, but I know of the many splendid results accomplished by our



LUCIUS TUTTLE,
President New England Civic Federation

secretary, and by the members of our committees, particularly those from the side of labor. And I want to impress upon you the work done by the labor men. They have had the laboring oar, and the efforts in behalf of industrial peace have proved many times more effective than could possibly have been the case without their assistance. I know of these things, and out of the fullness of that knowledge I offer you one and all most hearty and sincere congratulations upon the rounding out of the second year of the Federation's useful existence."

JOHN MASON LITTLE, Treasurer of the Civic Federation of New England, followed President Tuttle. Mr. Little said:

"I suppose the reason that President Tuttle introduces me as the only officer to speak is that he wants you all to know me. I will tell you why I think so a little later on.

"With regard to our finances, the fiscal year ends in February, therefore all our funds are not in, possibly, but it is a great pleasure for me to say that our bills are paid to date and there is sufficient money in sight to run the association until the end of the year. The treasurer of an organization like this has to be a gentle beggar, and, while I have gone about hat in hand, I have not been unmindful of certain features connected with the work. While the work has been going steadily on, and increasing, the nature of it is so quiet and unobtrusive in many respects, there is not at present an entire understanding in the community, except among you gentlemen, members of the association, and a few others, as to what it is that is accomplished. But it is an interesting feature to call attention to, that while a year ago the former treasurer collected all the money that was collected from thirty-eight individuals, your present treasurer has collected this year's funds, no larger in total amount, from more than one hundred individuals; which is a very important showing because it indicates that our money is coming in smaller quantities from a larger number, and that proves, I apprehend, that we are beginning to be better known.

"Now, gentlemen, we want all the money we can get within reason, because, while it is necessary to meet the expenses of this association, still the work can be very much enlarged if there is more money in the treasury, enough so that we shall feel perfectly comfortable. I have felt perfectly comfortable in one sense because I believed we should raise enough money, but we shall need more money and I think it will come

in increasing quantities from more and more individuals as time goes on. That is the reason, perhaps, why the President introduced me—so that you will know me, and when you meet me in the street you will hand me a dollar, or five dollars, as the spirit moves. Because, as you remember, Dr. Holmes said: 'I only want a little more than I can spend.'

"I cannot sit down without saying that although the President declares this is a thankless job, I do not so regard it. I consider it a great honor and privilege to do my share toward what I look upon as one of the great works of the beginning of the century."

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS spoke on "Wage-Earners' Savings, Life Insurance and Old Age Annuities," a subject of growing importance among trade unions. Mr. Brandeis said:

"The cost of living, properly considered, involves not merely the expense of supplying adequate food, shelter, clothing, education and recreation, but also such pro rata daily contribution as may be essential to provide against the contingency in the future of diminished earnings or unavoidably increased expenses. The contingency that the future may bring in the wage-earner's family extraordinary expenses or to himself non-employment, sickness or accident, premature death or ultimate superannuation, are ever present facts which must be considered, if the amount of wages to be paid and the disposition of them shall be properly determined. The expense of making such a provision should be recognized by the employer, the employee, and the public, as a fixed charge in reckoning the workingman's cost of living, just as repair and depreciation accounts of machinery are now recognized as fixed charges in the cost of manufacturing.

"In Germany, where this principle is accepted, the workingmen's future is largely provided for through paternal and socialistic measures for compulsory insurance. Compulsory thrift is not in harmony with the American ideas of individual liberty. The American spirit demands that such a provision for the future of the workingman and his family be made voluntarily and be made primarily through his own efforts. Those efforts must be directed, first, to securing wages sufficiently high to leave applicable to such purpose a surplus over the day's obvious needs, and, second, to developing the intelligent self-denial which shall induce the workingmen so to apply that surplus.

"Temporary needs in case of sickness and accident of the wage-earner are now supplied to a considerable extent through the trade unions and other voluntary associations of employees; and in such efforts individual employers have shown a readiness to aid. But adequate provision for the future demands in addition: First, the setting apart of funds which shall be immediately available to meet the proverbial 'rainy day' as in the case of non-employment or extraordinary family expense; second, insurance on the life of the wage-earner to protect the family in case of his premature death; third, an old age annuity or like provision against superannuation.

"Trade unions and other voluntary associations, whether managed wholly by employees or jointly by employers and employees, are admirably adapted for supplying temporary relief in case of sickness or accident, but they cannot be safely used as institutions for savings or to provide life insurance or old age annuities. Their management and membership is necessarily shifting; their officers are generally without the business experience requisite for the safe investment of large amounts; and they are properly without governmental supervision. Institutions which shall receive and invest workingmen's savings and provide life insurance and old age annuities demand necessarily stability of organization, continuity in management, business experience on the part of the managers, publicity of accounts, and governmental supervision.

"The need of proper institutions for workingmen's savings, is now adequately supplied in New England, in New York, and in some other States by their system of incorporated savings banks, in which there are no stockholders, and which are managed wholly for the benefit of the depositors by trustees who serve without pay. The record of these savings banks, which are benevolent, quasi-public corporations, has been almost uniformly high. Huge aggregates of the small savings of millions are managed at an extraordinarily small cost. In Massachusetts, the \$707,728,733 of assets of 189 savings banks are managed at a yearly cost of 23/100 of one per cent. In New York, \$1,405,800,004 of assets are managed at a yearly cost of 28/100 of one per cent. The rate of interest earned on their investments has been such as to enable these banks to pay to depositors dividends of about 4 per cent per annum.

"The second need, proper institutions for providing workingmen with life insurance, does not exist. Prac-



HENRY ABRAHAMS, Vice-President



HAYES ROBBINS, Secretary



JOHN MASON LITTLE, Treasurer

tically the only means of obtaining life insurance open to workingmen are the industrial insurance companies, notably the Metropolitan, the Prudential, and the John Hancock companies, which issue policies in small amounts on which the premiums are collected weekly at the homes of the insured. A vast amount of such insurance has been placed. There were outstanding on January 1, 1906, 16,872,583 such policies, constituting nearly three-fourths of the level premium life insurance policies then outstanding in the United States.

"The result of this industrial insurance has been disastrous to the wage-earner. He is obliged to pay for his insurance at a rate at least double that charged to the holders of ordinary life insurance. For the early periods of the industrial policy, the rate rises to eight times that paid by the insured on ordinary life policies; since in most industrial policies, a provision is inserted that if death occurs within the first six months only one-fourth of the face of the policy will be paid, and if within the second six months after the date of the policy, only one-half of its face.

"The result to the policyholder of this system of life insurance may be illustrated from the following data, based upon the Massachusetts official reports:

"In the fifteen years ending December 31, 1905, the workingmen of Massachusetts paid to the so-called industrial life insurance companies an aggregate of \$61,294,887 in premiums, and received back an aggregate of only \$21,819,606. The insurance reserve arising from these premiums still held by the insurance companies does not exceed \$9,838,000. It thus appears that, in addition to all the interest on invested funds, about one-half of the principal paid by the workingmen in premiums has been absorbed in the expense of conducting the business, and in dividends to the insurance companies' stockholders.

"If this \$61,294,887, instead of being paid to the insurance companies, had been paid in to Massachusetts savings banks, and these depositors had withdrawn from the banks the \$21,819,606 which they received from the insurance companies during the fifteen years, the balance remaining in the savings banks December 31, 1905, with the accumulated interest, would have amounted to \$49,931,548.35; and this, although the savings banks would have been obliged to pay upon these increased deposits in taxes to the Commonwealth more than four times the amount which was actually paid by the insurance companies on account of this insurance.

"Perhaps the appalling sacrifice of workingmen's savings through this system of insurance can be made more clear by the following illustration:

"The average expectancy of life in the United States of a man 21 years old is, according to Meech's table of mortality, 40.25 years. In other words, take any large number of men who are 21 years old, and the average age which they will reach is 61¼ years.

"If a man, beginning with his twenty-first birthday, pays throughout life fifty cents a week into Massachusetts savings banks, and allows these deposits to accumulate for his family, the survivors will, in case of his death at this average age of 61¼ years, inherit \$2,265.90, if an interest rate of 3½ per cent a year is maintained.

"If this same man should, beginning at age 21, pay throughout his life the fifty cents a week to the Prudential Insurance Company as premiums on a so-called 'industrial' life policy for the benefit of his family, the survivors will be legally entitled to receive, upon his death at the age of 61¼ years, only \$820.

"If this same man, having made his weekly deposits in a savings bank for twenty years, should then conclude to discontinue his weekly payments and withdraw the money for his own benefit, he would receive \$746.20. If, on the other hand, having made for twenty years such weekly payments to the Prudential Insurance Company, he should then conclude to discontinue payments and surrender his policy, he would then be legally entitled to receive only \$165.

"So widely different is the probable result to the workingman if he selects the one or the other of the two classes of savings investment which are open to him.

"Obviously the present industrial insurance companies are not a proper medium through which the workingmen's need of life insurance can be provided.

"No institution whatsoever exists at present which undertakes to supply the third need of the wage-earners, to wit:—old age annuities, and yet a proper superannuation fund is being recognized as one of the greatest of his needs.

"Life insurance is but a form of saving, and life annuities but a form of insurance. The savings banks manage the aggregate funds made up of many small deposits, until such time as they shall be demanded by the depositor—the insurance company, ordinarily, until the depositor's death. The savings bank pays back to the depositor his deposit with interest, less the necessary expense of management. The insurance company in theory does the same, the difference being merely that the savings bank undertakes to repay to each individual depositor the whole of his deposit with interest; while the insurance company undertakes to pay to each member of a class the average amount (regarding the chances of life and death), so that those who do not reach the average age get more than they have deposited (including interest), and those who exceed the average age less than they have deposited (including interest).

"Savings banks, under the system prevailing in New England and New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, are admirably adapted for taking care, not only of savings subject to withdrawal, but for providing life insurance and old age annuities. By extending the functions of the savings banks to these new spheres of usefulness, a remedy will be supplied for the greatest of life insurance wrongs—the present system of industrial life insurance—and a solution will be found for the greatest of workingmen's problems, to wit:—the provision for old age.

"With most wage-earners, the need of life insurance ends at the time that the need for an annuity begins; workingmen require life insurance mainly when their children are young. When the children have become self-supporting, the need of life insurance ceases; and, soon after, the need of superannuation funds frequently arises.

"The savings banks have a goodwill which, if only the opportunity were afforded, would without the intervention of expensive and self-seeking solicitors quickly lead millions of their depositors to become policyholders and prospective annuitants. On the other hand, many of those seeking only insurance or annuities would be led on in the road of thrift, and open savings accounts also.

"If life insurance and old age annuities are furnished under the favorable conditions of low expense rate under which these savings banks operate, small

regular payments commenced early and persisted in would suffice to provide the workingman with life insurance during middle age and a reasonable annuity when old age overtakes him. For instance, payments of a little more than \$1 a month commenced at the age of eighteen, would be sufficient to provide life insurance to the amount of \$500 up to the age of sixty and an annuity of \$100 a year after the age of sixty is reached.

"Through no other means can life insurance and old age annuities be so advantageously supplied to the workingman as through savings banks. Neither any other corporations now existing or newly organized, nor the State could supply them advantageously.

"Any other corporation would lack the extensive goodwill which in the savings banks has been developed by nearly a century of noble service; would lack the established traditions of economy which pervade their organizations; and would necessarily be subject to the heavy expense entailed in organizing and establishing a new and independent business. A generation, at least, of efficient service would be required before any new Life Insurance and Annuity Corporation could develop the goodwill which is essential to securing the patronage of the working people and which the savings banks now possess and can utilize without expense.

"Nor could the functions of providing life insurance and annuities be advantageously committed to the Federal Government, the State, or to Municipalities, among many other reasons, because the insurance and annuities reserve could not be invested by any government on a basis higher than the interest it pays on its loans—perhaps 2 or 3 per cent; while the savings banks earn over 4 per cent on their investments.

"The demand for a better system of providing workingmen's life insurance and the demand for a proper system of old age annuities are imperative. These demands will be met by extending the functions of the savings banks to these new spheres of usefulness."

IN commenting upon Mr. Brandeis's address, Henry Abrahams told of the work which the Cigar Makers' Union had carried on in the way of industrial insurance, strike and sick benefits. To this he attributes largely the success of the Union, and endorsed Mr. Brandeis's plan as an extension of this work. Mr. Abrahams told of the rise and growth of the International Cigar Makers' Union, which was organized after the Civil war and which was regarded as the finest trades union in the United States. It was in 1877 that the union began to develop strength, when the various benefit funds were first instituted that have later made the union a tower of strength. In case of sickness the members of the union got \$5 a week; in case of death a sum varying from \$50 to \$500; when out of work \$3 a week; when on strike \$5 a week; when serving on committees \$5 a week; in case of the death of wife \$40; and the death of a widowed mother \$40. A man out of work and wishing to go to another city got his railroad fare and fifty cents. In twenty-six years and two months there had been paid out under this last head, \$991,777; for strike benefits, \$1,092,104; for sick benefits, \$2,201,266.43; for death benefits, \$1,514,525.99, and for out of work benefits, \$1,045,866.11, a total of \$6,845,540.66. In 1880 at the Chicago convention the questions of coolie labor, prison labor and tenement house work came up for consideration and were solved by the adoption of a union label, the first

union label ever adopted by a trade union body. Since then the eight-hour day had been established and a Saturday half-holiday, and the cigar makers were better paid and happier and there was less intoxication than when they worked twelve and fourteen hours a day under the old system. All the reforms in the trade, he said, had been brought about by the trade union movement.

PROFESSOR F. W. TAUSSIG of Harvard University qualified what had been said of the remarkable system of protection for the wage-earner in Germany. "It is true," he said, "that a lower rate of wages has made it necessary, but it is also true that it has accomplished wonders. It provides for the possibilities of injury, sickness and death, and if there were no other way of doing that except by the suggestion of compulsion which it carries, I should not shrink from something like a German system."

"It is also true that in this matter we must admit we Americans are singularly backward. We are a reckless race; we are a heedless race. Perhaps it goes with the optimism of the industrial strides of the country. The carelessness, both of employers and employees, is a disgrace. Furthermore, the position of ours which places the responsibility on the individual and not on the trade in general is, I think, unsound. We have done an immense amount of insurance in the classes of the well-to-do. We have done singularly little for the workingman, who must bear some fault himself in this matter. We may hope to reach a better solution than that which is given by compulsion in the older countries. Large companies should continue to increase their efforts to provide against old age and injury. The same thing is true of labor unions."

AN interesting contribution to the subject was contained in a letter from Stephen H. Rhodes, President of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company. He said: "The subject suggested as the topic of the evening is not one for controversy, since any practical movement for the protection and benefit of the wage-earner would meet with earnest sympathy from me and my associates. Any system understandingly inaugurated which would supplement my work of the last twenty-five years, which, with devotion to the interests of a purely mutual insurance company and with a previous intimate knowledge of the underlying principles of insurance, have been spent in the practical service of the wage-earner, would strongly appeal to me."

EDWARD A. MOFFETT, Secretary of the Public Ownership Commission of The National Civic Federation, stated that to his mind the subject under discussion, with the possible exception of the matter of wages and hours, was the most closely related to the welfare of the workingman. "How good, how useful it is to provide insurance upon a universal scale, as Mr. Brandeis's plan necessarily proposes, is indicated," he said, "by the great success which has attended the adoption of such ideas upon the other side of the Atlantic."

"But, as Mr. Brandeis has shown you, the plan of industrial insurance which obtains in this country today has invented itself, has proved itself unsatisfactory and unworthy; for insurance, after all, is nothing less than a social necessity. We must not only provide the means whereby we shall live, but by the same token and with the added scriptural injunction, we should always have in mind, we are also under obligation one to the other to bury our dead. In fact, I feel it would not be too much to say that in a civilized community there should be no poorhouse and no potter's field. But the plan of industrial insurance that prevails now is very much like the Indian's gun, it costs more than it

comes to. Until the late insurance developments in New York, the wage-earners were very glad to have the insurance agent come to the door. Now they regard him, although he personally may be an honest fellow, with something of suspicion and distrust."

"I have been asked to state what is the sentiment—the probable sentiment—of workmen towards this idea of life insurance by the savings banks or through them. For that part of the working class which is unorganized, certainly it would be pretty hard to speak. They hold no conventions, and mouthpiece they have not; but so far as it is my privilege to speak for organized labor, I need say no more than this: That at the Pittsburg convention of the American Federation of Labor a year ago a resolution was adopted to the effect that the United States government should provide insurance—some plan should be adopted whereby insurance should be furnished by the government and no longer by the private companies. This resolution bore no special significance, because at the time of its adoption the people of the country were at a white heat of indignation. Now, whether or not the organized workmen of the country would prefer to drop that idea and take hold of the one so lucidly and engagingly proposed to us here to-night, would depend, in my judgment, upon what merit Mr. Brandeis's plan would show upon further development."

"Another word in conclusion. I ought to say something about the old age pensions or annuity idea. In no country is there such crying need of relief of that particular kind. In other words, in no other country does a man so quickly reach the limit of the period of his usefulness. This fact is due to several causes, chief among which is, in this country, the fact that machinery has more than in any other way displaced the delicateness and finesse of hand labor. The great demand is rather for agility and youth than for mature age and its correlative skill. People will say: 'Oh, such things have the effect of placing a discouragement on thrift. It teaches men to lean too much on that for the support which in their heyday they should lay up for themselves.'"

"I will answer that in a very few words by saying to you that under our present system, in the absence of anything like an old age pension or old age annuity, workmen fear to grow old. Stating it as mildly as I can, the average workingman who does not lose sight of his social duty, who raises a family, is not in a position to lay up for what has been poetically called 'the winter of life.' I can only hope, as I draw to a close, that the very interesting exposition which you have listened to to-night from Mr. Brandeis, and the added words of the succeeding speakers, will result in giving to the masses of this country a form of insurance—let it include an old age pension if that is possible; I should rather insist on it—whereby the accumulated premiums and usufruct of the same on the part of the working class will find a more economical and beneficial repository than these funds have heretofore found."

HAYES ROBBINS, Secretary of the Civic Federation of New England, in his report of the work accomplished the past year, said:

"It is unnecessary to repeat the detailed statement, offered in last year's report, of the objects, methods and scope of the work; all of which may be summarized to-day as accurately as when the movement was started two years ago, under the head of 'promoting better relations between employers and employees.'"

"We have steadily endeavored to keep to that object, without intruding on the field of other worthy organizations or scattering our efforts and resources. We have continued in the belief that any association which be-

gins to fulfil its possibilities of useful service in this particular field can have no lack of work to do, or occasion to make many excursions outside."

"This is not to imply that the movement is a narrow one; to treat it as such would be to defeat its very purposes. On the contrary, one of the most important factors in bringing about this better relation between employers and employees is the promoting throughout the community of a broader understanding of the many-sided industrial problem, with special reference to labor conditions; anything but a narrow task. To this end we bring into one common association men of many diverse interests and view-points—employer, labor, professional, educational, religious, civic, governmental. The object in view is definite and specific, but the methods employed must be broad and co-operative."

"This unique idea of a widely-inclusive membership rests upon an express recognition of the personal equation, as a factor of tremendous importance, far too little appreciated. Personal acquaintance among men representing so many diverse elements in the community means freer interchange of ideas and experiences, larger respect for the 'other man's' position, and a readier disposition to act from motives of reason and fairness than of narrow exclusiveness or mistaken estimates of self-interest."

"During the year we have rendered service, in one way or another, in connection with about thirty trade disputes, many of them of considerable importance. The two most significant were the teamsters' controversy in March, and the longshoremen's in September, both of which involved unusually difficult and complicated negotiations, but thanks to the co-operation of several members of the Federation resulted in satisfactory settlements. Only those closely connected with these matters realized how near this city was, in both cases, to an experience like that of four years ago; and judging from that experience it is safe to say that these two settlements alone represented a very great saving to the commercial and to the labor interests of Boston."

"The other cases with which we had something to do were in connection with street railway service, textile manufacture, electrical work, carpenters, stationary engineers, newspaper mailing, bleachery and dye works, telephone men, carpet weaving, lathing, woodworking, lithographing, paper and pulp making, hat manufacture and metal workers. In the case of longshoremen, and certain other trades named, matters arose in which we were consulted or called upon several times."

"Our second general meeting (first annual) was held January 11, 1906, at the Revere House, taking the form of a reception and smoker, with discussion on the hours of labor. It was attended by about 170 members and guests, and was apparently regarded by those present as entirely successful. In the absence of President Tuttle, the First Vice-President, Frank H. McCarthy, former President of the Boston Central Labor Union, presided; Mr. Tuttle arriving late in the evening in time to make a few closing remarks. Governor Curtis Guild, Jr., extended the greetings of the Commonwealth, and ex-Governor William L. Douglas delivered an address on Fidelity to Agreements. The question of Hours of Labor was discussed by Mr. Alfred Mosely, of London, England; Mr. James P. Archibald, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, New York; Mr. Marcus M. Marks, President National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, New York; Mr. James Duncan, First Vice-President American Federation of Labor, Quincy, Mass., and Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston."

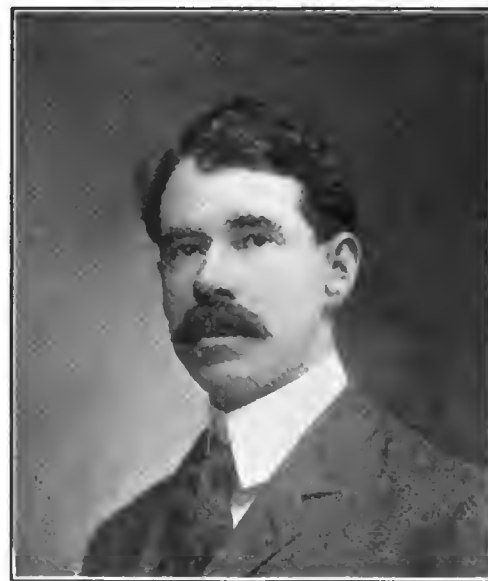
"There have been a number of evidences since, that this gathering had a good effect, not only in the educational value of the discussion, but in promoting more general personal acquaintance among men from widely



PROF. F. W. TAUSSIG



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS



EDWARD A. MOFFETT

different walks of life, who, without such acquaintance, often misjudge and misinterpret each other's objects, motives and methods. The indirect influence of these meetings is probably greater from the fact that they are not held often enough to become tiresome.

"The attitude of the Boston press has been cordially friendly to the movement throughout the past two years, and it need hardly be said that this is an important factor in helping the industrial results we have in view.

"The new members enrolled during the year, including those connected with the Workshop Improvement Committee only, number 210; the total now being a little under 600. Names of the new members, up to October 1, appear in Bulletin No. 6. About 225 of our members are in Boston, approximately the same number in Massachusetts outside of Boston, and the remaining 150 are divided among Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine and Vermont, in the order named.

"The Committee on Workshop Improvement, which was just being organized a year ago, has now fifty-one members. The chairman is Mr. Frederick P. Fish, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company; first vice-chairman, Mr. George W. Brown, treasurer United Shoe Machinery Company, Boston; second vice-chairman, Hon. Charles G. Washburn, Slater Mills, Worcester. Bulletin No. 6 contains the names of the other members, except two, who have been added since October—Mr. Horace S. Sears, of Wellington, Scars & Co., Boston, and Mr. Harry W. Smith, president Wachusett Mills, Worcester.

"Bulletin No. 5 (May), on Better Workshops, was devoted expressly to the work of this Committee, and is known to have exerted a considerable influence, direct and indirect, towards the introduction of improvements in sanitary and other working conditions such as affect the health, comfort, and convenience of employees.

"More specifically the services of the committee have been given, sometimes directly and sometimes in co-operation with the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, in a number of cases where employers have desired consultation as to the workings and practical value of various improvements of this character, needed or desirable in their own plants.

"Several of these instances are mentioned in Bulletin No. 6 (October), which also contains an account of

the work under way for prevention of tuberculosis in workshops. An illustrated pamphlet has been prepared under the auspices of the committee, and approved by five medical experts, on Sanitary Cuspidors for Factory Use, giving descriptions of types approved, care and cleaning, first cost and expense of maintenance, etc. This has been published, for general distribution, by the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation. The card notices, described in the pamphlet, warning against the practice of spitting on the floor, and calling attention to the fact that cuspidors are provided, is being called for by manufacturers to an increasing extent. The Workshop Improvement Committee supplies these cards, for posting in workrooms, free of charge in limited quantities and at cost of printing in large quantities. Thus far about 1,500 of the cards have been furnished to forty-five employing establishments in New England, the number required ranging from 2 to 100, in one case 500. The list includes manufactories of shoes, cotton cloth, machinery, electrical apparatus, blank books, rubber hose, furnaces, silverware, thread, clothing, paper, chairs, and even ships; showing the wide range of industries in which this important sanitary feature is found necessary. Bearing upon the practical importance of this effort, it is significant that one of the largest shoe manufacturers in Massachusetts has learned, from a recent investigation, that one-third of all the deaths among employees in his factories during the last few years were due to tuberculosis. One large establishment, near Boston, has just arranged for the supplying of destructible paper cuspidors on a scale which will probably call for the use of more than 60,000 a year.

"We have a good Committee on Organization and Education, its forty-eight members being scattered all over New England. It would be well if the Secretary could visit some or all of the members of this committee and personally consult with them on ways and means of extending our ideas and methods in the various sections represented, but it has proved very difficult to get away from the immediate local demands except at considerable intervals. However, new names for membership are secured through this committee from time to time, and occasional information on local conditions, by correspondence.

"Three Bulletins have been issued this season: No. 4, reporting the annual meeting of last January; No.

5, already referred to, outlining details of the Workshop Improvement program; and No. 6, containing more or less detail information about several features of the work, including a history of the longshoremen's strike and settlement, in September; list of new members, etc.

"The State and national bureau reports, and current periodicals of twenty-five or thirty industrial crafts and commercial bodies, kept on file and indexed for quick reference, have been consulted more freely this year than last by people in search of special information. On six occasions speakers for meetings of other organizations have been suggested or arranged for.

"Mr. Frank K. Foster attended the State convention of the Maine Federation of Labor, in June, on our behalf, and addressed the delegates on the aims and work of the Civic Federation. The convention passed resolutions of endorsement, similar to those adopted in 1905 by the Boston Central Labor Union, and the State convention of the Massachusetts Branch, American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, a similar attitude on the part of leading commercial bodies is indicated by the fact that our membership includes the president and secretaries of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, Boston Merchants' Association, National Cotton Manufacturers, and one or more officers of several other trade associations, wool manufacturers, clothiers, hardware, etc.

"Recognition should here be given to a fact upon which a very large part of the success of this improvement rests, namely; that many who cannot give money to its support do give time, thought and personal attention. The relatively small amount required to run the machinery of the Federation gives no proper idea of the scope of its efforts or influence, much being done voluntarily by men of prominence and large responsibilities, in all three of the groups represented in the Federation. An active, efficient organization is necessary, both to propagate our distinctive ideas and to furnish a definite means whereby this co-operation and voluntary service of practical men of affairs can be enlisted and made available promptly at the times needed. But it is a significant and optimistic fact that the personal services so rendered multiply by many times the effectiveness of the funds expended for running expenses and general educational propaganda."

CAPITAL AND LABOR MEET IN CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION A REMARKABLY SUCCESSFUL MEETING IS HELD AT THE RESIDENCE OF MRS. POTTER PALMER.

THE National Civic Federation held a meeting in Chicago January 12, at the residence of Mrs. Potter Palmer, for the purpose of presenting its work to employers, employees and publicists. It was distinctly an educational meeting, with the view of forming later a branch of the Federation in the central States, having headquarters at Chicago.

The National Civic Federation, which was organized by Ralph M. Easley, Chairman of the Executive Council, was an outgrowth of the Civic Federation of Chicago, of which he was the first Secretary. The Honorable Lyman J. Gage was the first President of the Civic Federation of Chicago, whose object was the promotion of municipal reform, and Mrs. Potter Palmer was the first Vice-President. She was interested in the organization of the National Civic Federation, and it was but natural that she should encourage the establishment of a branch of the organization by holding the initial meeting at her home.

Mrs. Palmer has been long identified with the interests of labor. She was chairman of the Board of Women Managers of the Chicago World's Fair, and through that position secured diplomas for the wage earners contributing toward the manufacture of products whose excellence was recognized by awarding medals to the manufacturers.

There were present over seven hundred prominent citizens, including members of great industrial establishments, financiers, professional men, labor leaders and representatives of philanthropic agencies.

FRANKLIN MACVEAGH, of Chicago, presided, and in his opening address referred to the fact that this meeting of The National Civic Federation was held under most charming surroundings in the most beautiful environments and under most delightful auspices. "That is due," he said, "to the interest which Mrs. Palmer has ever felt in the purposes and objects of the Federation, and to her well known broad and gracious public spirit.

"The object of this meeting is to explain to the people of Chicago the work and spirit of The National Civic Federation. It is necessary for me to say just a word in description of that organization. It is a central body with its offices in New York. It originated in Chicago, but like most things upon which New York prides itself it originated here as a matter of course.

But it went to New York when it grew suddenly prosperous; and while you can keep here our people who grow gradually rich, those who grow suddenly rich all go down to New York. In addition to being a general organization, The National Civic Federation is an organization with departments. It has also branches—one in Boston for New England, and it has in New York a local branch dealing with the local situation.

"You may understand it to be an organization dealing purely with labor questions, but that is only one branch of its work. It has an Industrial Department, and that is perhaps its most important single department. It has a Conciliation Department presided over by Mr. Seth Low, who is happily here this evening. The Welfare Department has as its western head our admirable citizen, Cyrus H. McCormick. It is impossible to give you a detailed impression of The National Civic Federation, therefore it was necessary to select some department which would be fairly well represented and they have chosen the Welfare Department, because it is well developed, and of great and general interest. Also because Miss Gertrude Becks is here, and she has learned, as the executive chief of that department, exactly how to present it to you so that you may understand it."

EX-MAYOR SETH LOW, of New York, Chairman of the Conciliation Department of the Federation, in referring to its work said:

"The Conciliation Department of The National Civic Federation, of which I am chairman, is composed in about equal number of large employers of labor, representative leaders of labor unions, and of citizens who, like myself, are neither one nor the other. So that in all the problems that it has to consider it gets the point of view of the employer, and of the workingman, and of the general public. The object of the Conciliation Department is to bring employers and employees together in such a state of friendship and mutual understanding as to make labor troubles and strikes infrequent; and, wherever possible, to avoid them. You will observe that it is not called the 'arbitration department.' That is not its object. Its object is to conciliate, to bring about good feeling, and to obviate both strikes and the necessity for arbitration.

"The Federation does all of its work in the profound belief that the American men, whether em-

ployer or workingman, want to do the fair thing. We know that each one emphasizes his point of view. That is natural. But, after all, we believe that if we can get fair-minded men together and discuss a definite question of disagreement, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred both sides, with the light that the other can throw upon it, will find the middle path between the two extremes, which all will consider fair. If you really want conciliation it is wonderful to see how often it can be brought about, even when conditions seem to be pretty hopeless.

"Let me give you an illustration of this. Last spring I was called up by telephone at my farm in Westchester County, about forty miles from New York, by a banker in Philadelphia, who told me that he represented a street railway system in one of the southern towns which was threatened with a strike and asked me if I could not communicate with Mr. Mahon, in Detroit, the representative of the street railway employees, and see if, as the head of the Conciliation Department, I could not have this strike put off.

"He said, in answer to my question as to whether I might say that he was willing to arbitrate, that he did not wish to commit himself to that, but that I might say I thought I could bring about conciliation. I called up the office of the Civic Federation in New York by telephone, and in fifteen minutes a dispatch was on its way to Detroit, reading: 'Sorry to learn there is a strike threatened in such a city. I hope it won't be permitted to occur until the Civic Federation has an opportunity to see what it can do. I think we can bring about arbitration.' The reply we received was a model. It said: 'You may be sure no strike will take place until the Civic Federation has had a chance to show what it can do. If arbitration is offered on fair terms it will be accepted.' The result of that was that the trouble was settled without a strike, and both sides wrote to the Civic Federation thanking it for its action. I think that is particularly interesting from the fact that I never saw anybody.

"It is the policy of the Conciliation Department to do its work privately. People often never know the Federation has had a hand in settling disputes that are settled. In the case I am about to tell you of, however, the parties interested gave it to the papers. A strike was in progress on the Southern Railway. Neither side wanted to make the first approach to settlement,

because that would have been a sign of weakness. When the situation was brought to my attention I asked for a conference, which was granted. In the course of a conference lasting two days the question was settled honorably, and, I think, satisfactorily to both sides.

"Not so long before that the Department had been called upon by a large paper manufacturer to settle a jurisdictional dispute between two unions, which between them did all the work in his factory. It threatened to hang up the entire business. Through the agency of the Conciliation Department the two unions were brought together. They talked the thing over in good humor and the thing was settled and all trouble averted.

"In another instance a jurisdictional dispute affecting a railway not far from New York was involved. The two unions concerned were invited by the Federation to come to New York. They came to New York, to different hotels, and that was as close as we could get them together. They went home, and after a little while we got them to come back again, this time to the same hotel, and that was the end. When they met they settled the dispute.

"Now, these are illustrations of the sort of things the Conciliation Department is doing all the time. I hope you feel as we do, that it is the kind of work well worth doing. We think that the more widely it is known that there is such an agency, the more industrial disputes can be settled. And if, after hearing of it to-night, you will be led to avail yourselves of this agency, or of the local one here, which will do the same thing, I am sure you will have no cause to regret it.

"It gives me great pleasure to have had the opportunity to tell you this simple story, and to thank your hostess on behalf of the Conciliation Department for giving me this opportunity."

MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS, Secretary of the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation, illustrated an address on the subject of its work with stereopticon views. She spoke of the scope of The National Civic Federation and referred briefly to the work of its various departments. Portraits of members of the Executive Committee were thrown upon the screen, among whom were August Belmont of New York, Henry Phipps of the United States Steel corporation, Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, Andrew Carnegie, and former Secretary of the Interior Cornelius N. Bliss.

She stated that the Welfare Department is devoted to interesting employers in improving the conditions under which employes in all industries work and live, and that its activities cover the questions of sanitary work places, recreation, educational opportunities, homes, and provident funds.

After giving consideration to the first essentials to the welfare of the employes—steady work, an equitable wage, and reasonable hours, the employer's attention should be directed toward meeting the pressing necessities for their physical well-being in the work places.

In taking up the question of ventilation, she spoke especially of the conditions under which the stationary firemen work, and said: "Do we realize that these men, especially in our great buildings in the large cities, sometimes, and I am sorry to say, often work without any ventilation? These men," referring to a picture, "are in the second sub-basement in a large building in New York City, where there is no outlet whatever for the foul air except the door which leads into the next sub-basement, where the condition is exactly the same. The temperature reaches as high as 110 degrees in the summer, and it is almost—I might say it is quite—criminal. It is a simple matter, indeed, to provide ventilation for these firemen. Mr. Belmont heard Mr. Timothy Healy, of the International Stationary Firemen's Union, explain at one of our meetings these conditions. He had just finished a large building in New York City, and asked Mr. Healy to meet him the next day to determine whether or not the arrangements were satisfactory for the stationary firemen. Mr. Healy was amazed to find the system of ventilation so perfect in that great building and how well the stationary firemen were provided for by this busy man, who has something else to think about

besides the individual employes. When a man who is so busy can do this there is no excuse for any other man forgetting his employes.

"The glass factories also have, many of them, good arrangements for bringing cool air into the faces of the blowers. The metal polishers are also in many instances protected against accident from the breaking of the emery wheel, as well as from the injurious effects of the dust. But the death-rate from tuberculosis among metal polishers, where there is no contrivance for exhausting the dust, is tremendous, and greater attention should be given to the protection of those workers. Fans sometimes are provided for driving out the fumes of the acid used by the dippers in the silver trade and the brass trade, which otherwise would permeate the entire plant and cause a great percentage of illness.

"I have recently been through many of the mines in the anthracite coal fields, and visited the most remote recesses of some in order to find whether the miners get air where they are working, and in a remote corner of this particular mine shown in the picture I found

come so acute that its work in conciliation gave the impression that that was its only office.

"Its object, expressed in general terms, is to promote industrial peace, and there is not one of its departments, as you have been told, but assists in that work. The Conciliation Department finds its work where difficulty in securing an agreement exists. The other departments tend to educate both employer and employe that they may avoid differences.

"A year ago the Municipal Ownership League of New York polled a vote so large that it was apparent that the subject must be studied. The Civic Federation called together about 150 men, representing dissimilar opinions on municipal ownership—those who advocated it and those who opposed; those who had been writing upon the subject and also those interested in transportation and conversant with the operation of public utilities. Their deliberations resulted in the appointment of a committee of twenty-one, charged with the purpose of studying the operations of public utilities both in this country and in Great Britain. They conferred upon a

committee of five the preparation of a report on their findings. The Civic Federation did nothing but use its best effort to supply the means to carry out what this committee undertook. It exercised no influence as to the selection, and on that committee were some of the most ardent advocates of municipal ownership of public utilities that we have in this country. They have visited England and have studied the subject in this country. They engaged their own engineers, their own experts, and did their work just as they chose and in whatever manner they thought best, and I am given to understand that within a short time their report will be ready. I understand that it will cover something like 11,000 pages, so you will perceive that a pretty thorough piece of work has been done, and that the Civic Federation folks will furnish teachers and those who are to discuss this subject a proper and thoroughly non-partisan and unbiased text-book. That is only illustrative of how the Civic Federation works.

"I have seen it suggested that a branch of the Civic Federation was to be established here. Of course that must come entirely in a spontaneous manner from you here in Chicago, if you deem such a step wise. In Massachusetts a Civic Federation of New England was organized some two years ago and now is an active and successful organization. They do their work independently of us, but in harmony with us. They have a conference on Thursday to consider this welfare work which has been put before you and the question of old age pensions and insurance of wage-earners. We have taken up that subject in New York.

"I only hope that the suggestion that an active co-operation be started here in Chicago will take form and I am sure with the enormous interests you would have to care for in the Middle West you would soon gain an importance which you can hardly realize and which would tend greatly to solve this subject, so important to our peace and welfare."

WARREN S. STONE, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, stated that it was his belief that the question of wages and the labor conditions of our country are the prominent

questions of the day. Continuing, he said in part: "The Civic Federation has enabled capital and labor to sit down and discuss in a friendly way their differences. I am a firm believer in the face to face conference.

"Leaving all question of sentiment out of it, boiling it all down to the basis of dollars and cents—and that is the basis we figure on to-day largely—the Civic Federation has enabled the Board of Locomotive Engineers to make two or three of the best settlements it ever made, and in doing so it has been the means of making settlements that perhaps have brought to our individual members over \$300,000. The Civic Federation has done that for us, and I cannot speak in terms too high for the good work that it is doing. It is an educational work all the way through, and when you bring the laboring men together you find that all labor leaders are not demagogues, and that all capitalists are not what they are represented by some.



(Reproduced by courtesy of the "Chicago Examiner.")

RESIDENCE OF MRS. POTTER PALMER IN WHICH THE CHICAGO MEETING WAS HELD.

the air better. I am thankful to say, than in many factories of the United States."

Examples of improvements which have been introduced by employers along different lines were contrasted with bad conditions. The many modern conveniences which have been supplied for the benefit of employes were a surprise to all, and as one labor man put it, "Any employer who saw the splendid arrangements which have been introduced by other practical employers would thus be induced to install such improvements, for he would be ashamed not to do so."

PRESIDENT AUGUST BELMONT, of The National Civic Federation, followed Miss Beeks' address. He said in part:

"In 1900, when the Civic Federation was definitely founded, it embraced in the scope of its work a number of subjects of national interest, but the Industrial Department became practically the conspicuous one, because at that time the industrial situation had be-

"I do not believe the time is ever coming when there will be no differences to settle between those who have labor to sell and those who have to buy labor, but I do believe this movement of the Civic Federation will bring us closer together and will enable us to do away with that last resort of the labor organization, the strike. It is a pleasure to me to stand before you to-night and testify to the work the Civic Federation has done."

WILLIAM MAHON, International President of the Amalgamated Street Railway Employees of America, referred to the opposition of certain Chicago labor unions to meeting representatives of capital at Mrs. Palmer's as corresponding to the radicals of the Harriman type in the capitalist class who refuse to go half-way or meet with their opponents. Referring to the trade union movement, Mr. Mahon said that it was here to stay. He said:

"There never has been such opposition against any institution or against any movement, yet the trade union, in spite of all this opposition, has lived. You could not crush it. The whole forces of capital turned against it could not crush it. It is a movement that will not be crushed. You might as well make up your mind to the fact that the trade union is going to live on and on. And to the capitalist and to the man upon the other side I say, you might as well make up your minds sooner or later, as did that distinguished man under whose roof we meet to-night, Potter Palmer, when he told of his struggles against the trade unions by concluding, 'I have changed my mind.' And he came to recognize and deal with the unions, and he found benefit in doing so, and he fearlessly told it to the world in the declarations he made before he died."

"The American workman, schooled in the free schools and taught the rights of American citizenship, realizes that some of the titles to your wealth are as spurious, if you please, as the titles of kings and lords. We recognize that we have the same right to the same conditions, and that as men we are going to have them. We all aspire to have homes like this one if we can."

"The unions have made their mistakes, yes, lots of them, just as you capitalists have made yours, lots of them, but we are going on. We might as well make up our minds to come together to deal with one another and work in harmony and to meet the conditions that are before us. For what is it? The battle of life, after all. What have we gained when we get through by the policy of hoarding and grasping all the wealth there may be? Let us be men, let us realize the battle of life, let us recognize the conditions. You will find the men representing trade unions ready to meet you around the conference board and to take a fair position with you, and they will go more than half-way every time to adjust and settle these disputes upon a broad and fair basis. Meet with them, and by the recognition of them meet the battle of life as it confronts us. Let us deal with it. Let us form our civic federations and our organizations of all kinds that will bring men together."

"When I see the good that the Civic Federation has done, the strikes that it has prevented, the men that it has brought together, and brought peace, I must give it credit for what it has done to assist us in a number of great questions. We have settled a number of strikes that would have been great strikes, that would have involved great cities, and those things no one knew anything about because through the different officers of the Civic Federation those matters have been brought about and settled unknown to the public. And so, when we look at the good it has done, my friends, we are proud of the record it has made along that line."

"Some people say the labor unions want to wipe out

the wealth of the world. We want to do nothing of the kind. We want to dynamite the hovels out of existence, if you please. We have no desire to rob you of your wealth. Give us the opportunity with our labor and we will duplicate all the wealth of the world in the next twenty years with our own efforts. I would sooner go down to my grave as poor old Bill Mahon without one dollar to leave my children, and leave a legacy behind of the improved conditions of the street railway men of the country, than to have all the wealth of the Rockefellers, all the wealth of the Morgans, all the wealth of my friend Belmont, rolled up in one pile and doubled ten thousand times."

AN interesting event of the meeting was the action of George A. Schilling, a member of the Coopers' International Union, in calling attention to the remarkable address delivered by Mrs. Potter Palmer at the Columbian Exposition at Chicago. Mr. Schilling stated that the late Governor Altgeld had found the address of so much interest to him that he had re-read it three times. So much of this address was applicable to present day conditions that Mr. Schilling said he was justified in making liberal extracts from it. Some of the quotations were as follows:

"Experience has brought many surprises, not the least of which is an impressive realization of the unity of human interests, notwithstanding differences of race, government, language, temperaments, and external conditions. The people of all civilized lands are studying the same problems. Each success and each failure in testing and developing new theories is valuable to the whole world. Social and industrial questions are paramount, and are receiving the thoughtful consideration of statesmen, students, political economists, humanitarians, employers and employed."

"The few forward steps which have been taken during our boasted nineteenth century—the so-called age of invention—have promoted the general use of machinery and economic motive powers with the result of cheapening manufactured articles, but have not afforded the relief to the masses which was expected. The struggle for bread is as fierce as of old. We find everywhere the same picture presented—overcrowded industrial centers, factories surrounded by dense populations of operatives, keen competition, many individuals forced to use such strenuous effort that vitality is drained in the struggle to maintain life under conditions so uninviting and discouraging that it scarcely seems worth living. It is a grave reproach to modern enlightenment that we seem no nearer the solution of many of these problems than during feudal days."

"It is not our province, however, to discuss these weighty questions, except insofar as they affect the compensation paid to wage-earners, and more especially that paid to women and children. Of all existing forms of injustice, there is none so cruel and inconsistent as is the position in which women are placed with regard to self-maintenance—the calm ignoring of their rights and responsibilities, which has gone on for centuries. If the economic conditions are hard for men to meet, subjected as they are to the constant weeding out of the less expert and steady hands, it is evident that women, thrown upon their own resources, have a frightful struggle to endure, especially as they have always to contend against a public sentiment which discounts their seeking industrial employment as a means of livelihood. The theory which exists among the conservative people, that the sphere of woman is her home—that it is unfeminine, even monstrous, for her to wish to take a place beside or to compete with men in the various lucrative industries—tells heavily against her,

for manufacturers and producers take advantage of it to disparage her work and obtain her services for a nominal price, thus profiting largely by the necessities and helplessness of their victims. That so many should cling to respectable occupations while starving in following them, and should refuse to yield to discouragement and despair, shows a high quality of steadfastness and principle."

"If we now look at the question from the economic standpoint and decide for good and logical reasons that women should be kept out of industrial fields in order that they may leave the harvest for men, whose duty it is to maintain women and children, then, by all the laws of justice and equity, these latter should be provided for by their natural protectors, and, if deprived of them, should become wards of the State, and be maintained in honor and comfort. The acceptance of even this doctrine of tardy justice would not, however, I feel sure, be welcomed by the woman of to-day who, having had a taste of independence, will never willingly relinquish it. They have no desire to be helpless and dependent. Having the full use of their faculties, they rejoice in exercising them. This is entirely in conformity with the trend of modern thought, which is in the direction of establishing proper respect for human individuality and the right of self-development."

"Our highest aim now is to train each individual to find happiness in the full and healthy exercise of the gifts bestowed by generous nature. Ignorance is too expensive and wasteful to be tolerated. We cannot afford to lose the reserve power of any individual. We advocate, therefore, the thorough education and training of women to fit her to meet whatever fate life may bring; not only to prepare her for the factory and workshop, for the professions and arts, but, more important than all else, to prepare her for presiding over the home. It is for this, the highest field of woman's effort, that the broadest training and greatest preparation are required."

MANY letters were received from those who were unable to attend the meeting, some of which are abstracted as follows:

James Duncan, International Secretary-Treasurer of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America—"It is a happy sign of the times that such meetings are being held in our great industrial centers, and the people from the different walks and positions of life and business are meeting on a common level to discuss subjects which make for national business and progress."

Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, special representative of the United States Department of Justice—"I regard The National Civic Federation as a noble exponent of the best thoughts of modern industrialism. I congratulate the representatives of the Federation in the West that so royal a woman as Mrs. Potter Palmer will be its hostess at the beginning of this year."

Homer D. Call, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America—"I assure you that my hearty sympathy is with you in the movement, as I firmly believe that The National Civic Federation is accomplishing a great work in harmonizing labor and capital and the uplifting of humanity."

T. J. Dolan, General Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men—"The organization which your committee represents is a great institution and has done great work in bringing employers and employees into closer relations. In behalf of our organization, I desire to extend the



WILLIAM D. MAHON



MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS



WARREN S. STONE

best wishes and entire support of our brotherhood throughout the country in its great work."

Michael Colbert, General Organizer of the International Typographical Union—"The question of good sanitary conditions is a very important one from an economic standpoint as well as from the point of view of the health and comfort of the workers. Good light, good ventilation and good toilet facilities mean that the health and comfort of workers are conserved and thereby greater efficiency in workmanship is secured. Less time is lost through sickness and more work is done. The printing offices to-day, from the sanitary point of view, are far superior to those twenty years ago, and I have noticed in offices where attention is paid to light, ventilation, etc., the printer of to-day is superior physically to the printer of other days. He is also more sober and works steadier. The shortening of working hours has had something to do with this, of course, especially in morning paper offices, but im-

proved sanitary conditions account for part of the improvement."

John Mitchell, President of the United Mine Workers of America—"I am so thoroughly acquainted with the splendid efforts that have been made by The National Civic Federation to bring into closer and better relationship the interests of workmen and employers, and indeed the workmen and employers themselves, that I dislike to absent myself from any conference that is held under the auspices of that organization."

"It seems to me that if the best judgment of the capitalists and laboring men would assert itself, assisted by the sympathetic sentiment of public-spirited citizens, much could be done to establish a relationship between these great forces of modern society, which would at least reduce to the minimum the number and severity of industrial disturbances. I believe that this desirable end would be more speedily attained, if there were a fuller recognition by each of the other's rights and responsibilities."

"The time has long passed when either side in the industrial field can say with impunity, 'this is my business.' The times has certainly arrived when industries should be regarded as our business. In other words, there must be co-operation and mutual helpfulness in the conduct of business and industry if we hope to have a satisfactory and honorable peace."

The Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Episcopal Bishop of New York—"The Civic Federation began in a high purpose; and has gone forward, as I rejoice to believe, along lines of the utmost value and importance. It has certainly not always (there are some who believe) seen our great social and industrial problems with an infallible eye—but then, you and I don't know any human power that can do that. What it has done, however, has been to help men and women, divided by fragmentary and most imperfect views of their several interests, to see them in a larger light, and with fuller discernment."

RECENT ACTIVITIES OF CIVIC FEDERATION REPRESENTATIVES.

SOME OF THE ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY OFFICERS OF THE WELFARE, INDUSTRIAL ECONOMICS AND IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENTS.

MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL has delivered numerous lectures before women's clubs for the Federation's Welfare Department upon the subject of "Welfare Work." Illustrated lectures have been presented to:

A convention of twenty-five women's clubs of Troy, N. Y.

The Woman's Educational and Industrial League of Boston, an organization of large membership, in whose work the leading women of Boston participate.

Civitas Club of Newburgh, N. Y., with an audience of four hundred and fifty men and women; although it is a woman's club, there were present many manufacturers.

The College of Agriculture, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

The Pine Hills Fortnightly Club of Albany, N. Y., the leading organization of women. The meeting was held at the Urania Club House, the principal men's club, and was attended largely by both men and women interested in public affairs.

During January three lectures were given by Miss Boswell in Washington, D. C., attended by many prominent officials, government employes, and influential residents of that city. The improvements shown as adopted in many of the leading establishments of the country stimulated an interest in such facilities for Government employes as well as those of private enterprises.

The Industrial Session of the State Federation of Women's Clubs of the State of New York, held at Saratoga, was conducted by Miss Boswell. There were other speakers along the same line secured by her.

Lectures were also presented before the Woman's Legislative League, the Woman's West End Republican Association, National Society Daughters of Ohio, and Sorosis, in New York City; the Woman's Republican League of Brooklyn; and the Unity Club at Washington, D. C.

In speaking before the Pine Hills Fortnightly Club of Albany, N. Y., upon "Industrial Conditions of Women Wage-earners," Miss Boswell said in part:

"Every woman in this country is a part of the industrial life of the country, if not through her own efforts, then through those of the men in her family. She should acquaint herself with its conditions, and the fundamentals upon which industrial life is built. We are striving for a higher standard of living. How shall we start to build up that if not by improving the condition of the people who help to create the products of the world? The Welfare Department covers such subjects as apply to the health, the recreation, education, and housing of employes. Under its organization of co-operation employers get together to compare notes, and to plan such improved features as may be worked out. Progressive business men realize the economic strength of their position when they put time, thought and money into the highest development of the conditions surrounding their work-people. Many business men do this without other than their own prompting, but we all know that public sentiment is a great factor in bringing about any needed reform, and it is well that there should be brought before men and women the old and new methods under which work is done, so that we may see improvements, see bad conditions, and judge where judicious suggestions may be made for improvement. Just here is where the clubwomen of this State can, and often do, exert a powerful influence for good by personally looking after the degree of enforcement of laws and endeavor for improving factory and shop conditions. There will be found no greater antidote to the dangerous encroachments of socialism than such welfare work. The cry of the socialist is always that nothing has been done, nothing is being done, and nothing will be done for the

amelioration of the working man and woman. To show that much is constantly in progress to improve conditions is the best answer to the socialistic cry, and the way to prevent the making of socialists is to surround workers with such conditions as will make them comfortable in their work, happy in their homes, and appreciative of the form of government under which they live. The real laborers of the country have no socialistic trend. One of the best known leaders, Samuel Gompers, has said: 'I have kept close watch upon your socialistic doctrines and the work of your movement for thirty years, and I am entirely at variance with your philosophy. I am not only at variance with your doctrines, but believe economically you are unsound, socially you are wrong, industrially you are an impossibility.'

"The pessimists of the country have had so much to say of the horrors of our industrial life that I am glad to show some of its brighter sides and to bring before you by means of stereopticon pictures the many advances and improvements that are daily being made for the comfort and health of women workers especially."

MISS GERTRUDE BEEKS, Secretary of the Federation's Welfare Department, has given illustrated lectures on "What Employers in Different Industries are doing to Ameliorate the Conditions of their Employes" before the:

Turn-Verein Von Brooklyn, E. D., at Brooklyn, N. Y.

Institute of the Eighth District of the Pennsylvania Young Men's Christian Association in Philadelphia.

Georgia State Federation of Women's Clubs at Macon.

A meeting of the employers and employes in Chicago, held at the residence of Mrs. Potter Palmer.

The employers of Muncie, Indiana, and their wives, at the home of Mr. F. C. Ball, a prominent glass manufacturer of that city; and before the

City Secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Association at Brooklyn.

Other addresses were before the Massachusetts State Conference of Charities, at Worcester, Mass., on "Welfare Work, a Safeguard to Public Health," and a joint meeting of Women's Clubs under the auspices of the Alta Lita Club of East St. Louis, upon the subject "What Women's Clubs May Do to Prevent Child Labor."

E. STAGG WHITIN, Secretary of the New York Welfare Committee of the Federation, lectured on the topic "Movements for Social Service," before the Woman's Club of Whitinsville, Mass. Mr. Whitin said in part: "The primary institutions, such as the family, the church, the vocation and State, are ever being strengthened and vitalized by many lesser institutions. The industrial revolution brought about changes in these institutions, and created in America many of the more vital problems of our social life to-day. To their solution, religious agencies, such as missions and other organizations for the 'salvation of souls,' were the first to appear. Gradually, great relief societies have been organized, and the church itself has become socialized. The establishment of the church house and settlement has come as a development out of the earlier forms, and is tending to guide the movement from the religious or salvational to the broader social or educational; thus the extension of public school and other educational agencies to take up the work of social prophylaxis."

"The vocational side, despite its great needs, has been almost untouched by these more social movements. To-day, renewed interest in the introduction of welfare work into factories and in industrial education has tended to add a new breadth to the movement, and to point out additional possibilities of advance."

The speaker then showed the recent developments that have been made in this latter type of work; the part the Welfare Department of The National Civic Federation had played in it; how necessary was the work of improving the conditions existing in many factories, and the necessary industrial preparation of those who are to take up factory work now that the increased educational advantages in the schools are tending to bring about a better standard of living.

At the request of the chairman, the speaker answered many questions pertaining to the congested districts in New York City. He showed how exaggerated was the general thought in regard to the conditions existing on the East Side, on account of the many misleading articles which have been written in regard to it. He pointed out that the distribution of the Russian immigrants to other parts of the United States, and the extension of popular education, would very soon relieve the congestion, which is the result of the gathering together of a distinctly foreign population under the influence of Old World customs.

The club honored the speaker with a full attendance for the first time in its history.

J. W. SULLIVAN, of the Typographical Union and a member of the Federation's Public Ownership Commission, in addressing the Home Economics Club, Teachers' College, Columbia University, upon the trade union's attitude toward welfare work, said:

"The trades unionists are observing sympathetically The National Civic Federation's Welfare Department, and its work is upheld by those who understand it. They see that it is discriminatingly promoting certain specific betterments for the working classes, thereby supplementing trade union endeavors and carrying out the good intentions of the enlightened and fair-minded employers who are engaged in the work. It recognizes that the trade unions are chiefly engaged with wages and hours, and the labor laws, and the union regulations associated with wage scales or those laws; that they are busy pushing organization or that they hesitate to bring up with employers new points that may cause friction. Hence they welcome the pacific intervention of a third party. There is a set of betterments for labor in which the employer, seeking to do his full duty by his employes, may engage his energies. I have traveled much over the world in the interests of labor, having been sent out by trades unionists or others, and I am impressed with the general need of well considered forms of welfare work. These betterments, for one thing, result in doing away with shop nuisances, and those inconveniences and burdens of life which factory hands cannot very well take hold of themselves, but through attention to which the employer may make his employe comparatively happy. Working people, laboring separately, may not experience shop nuisances very much, but when brought together by tens and twenties and hundreds and even thousands they find that, in the case of perhaps only one nuisance there may be a menace even to life itself. For instance, drafts of cold air are frequently a source of serious discomfort. The question of whether the window shall be open or closed becomes a vital question in a factory, and factions 'for' and 'against' arise; those far from a window want it open; those near it want it closed. Welfare work suggests a different solution. It brings into play the knowledge of other forms of ventilation."

"Trade unions took part in the establishment of the bureaus of labor. The National Bureau of Labor was not established until the American Federation of Labor again and again passed resolutions in its favor. The State bureaus also came through the unions largely. These bureaus cover the question of factory inspection."

They are also charged to enforce laws as to fire escapes, protection from dangerous machinery, seats for women, weekly payment of wages, abolition of truck stores, the guaranteeing of wages by lien laws, and others. Trade unionists have also proceeded to get the Saturday half holiday, Labor Day, and other holidays. We hold that such reforms were in the main the results of union effort; in any State where the unions are not strong, you do not have them.

"But even after the rules of the unions and the labor laws of the State are in force, something else is needed to improve the conditions of employees.

"The National Civic Federation has gone to the trouble of sending agents about the country, to ascertain what is being done for the betterment of the every-day conditions of the workers without ulterior motive, and one little thing added to another brings up the sum of the betterments in evidence until we have a principle involved that can be recommended highly by union men, a principle that when observed serves to bring about a better spirit and a better relationship between employer and employee.

"Some employers are sincere. Some are self-denying. The most violent radical will concede that much. Employers do not always follow to the bitter end the law of competition. They will stand in the way of it on occasions. They do not even in the majority of cases quote to labor men, 'We can get men just as good as you are at a somewhat lower rate, and men that will never growl.' And on the other hand, union men give full recognition to the good work of considerate and honest-minded employers, and encourage an increase in their number. These two classes of men with hearts, whose pocketbooks destiny has unbalanced, seem to be getting together in the Civic Federation.

"The well-intentioned employer often has to be educated.

"A good man in Chicago said to me not long ago: 'My six hundred garment workers ought to have plenty of ventilation. The air was foul the other day, and I went in and threw up the windows. The next day there were twenty not at work, reporting they had cold.' This was an enlightened man in many ways, but he knew nothing about ventilation.

"Imagine working in a factory where you have not a clean towel except one you may bring yourself, and you have to hide that because some one else may steal it, no soap, no water running regularly, no toilet room, a factory in which you have bad light, poor heat, questionable drinking water, where you must eat your lunch on at your cluttered bench, and where the floors show lack of cuspidors, and the walls covered with clothes for the lack of lockers. It is there that the Welfare Department may aid by representing to the employer what has been done by other employers.

"Certain occupations are open to special forms of welfare work. In the building trades here in New York we have many thousands of men working a bad day like this in the open, with usually no place for storage of their street clothes, and none of the conveniences you would expect in a building. These trades ought to have portable houses for such purposes. Many of the workers are intelligent men, well educated; and there they are working under conditions that take from them their self-respect.

"Trainmen need bunk houses. Formerly, at the ends of railroad divisions, the men had usually no place to go for rest and food but to a cheap hotel. Now bunk houses and railroad club houses are becoming more and more common.

"For molders, gas workers and blacksmiths a necessity is a place for dry clothing.

"In the metal trades, we find this bad example: Sixty-five men in a room with only six windows; the whole force working in acids and amid great machines blowing off an immense quantity of dust. The first question here is not high wages, nor short hours; it is welfare sufficient to make life tolerable.

"My own trade of printing is unhealthy from several causes, yet printing office conditions, in general, continue bad. In a certain office, for example, a linotype machine was in a draft. The man operating the machine contracted a bad cold which ran into consumption. He left the employ of the company. The story was repeated with a second man and a third man. The matter was brought to the attention of the officials and the ventilation of the office improved. If that can happen among printers, what must be the situation as to sanitary conditions among the newly-arrived Russian Jewish garment workers, so much poorer and more helpless? As a fact, it is usually bad in the extreme.

"There is little care taken of teamsters. Many of them in bad weather go into a saloon and get a drink two or three times a day, which is not wise welfare work for themselves. There was once a place in Hudson Street where teamsters could get a cup of coffee for a cent or two while waiting to deliver goods at a near-by freight station—a good plan, which ought to be imitated.

"These examples indicate the room there is for reminders to employers of certain neglected duties in our developing civilization.

"We find as we look into welfare work that with relation to it there are classifications of industrial workers. In this country we have American white working people, the negroes, who are removed from the whites by a gulf, and the immigrants, who are in some cases

almost as far from the American whites as the negroes. Three different fields for welfare work.

"I would not say one word for welfare work if I thought the outcome would be to develop in the wage worker a feeling of helpless dependency, or to advertise employing class-charlatans, or to modify one worker's demands through the trade unions.

"Employees can occasionally do an acceptable piece of welfare work for the employer. They can make sure that their representatives tell him the truth when conditions are good, and do not ask impossibilities when they are bad. They can show appreciation when the employer really does well by them. They can mitigate in various ways the unpleasantness of the higgling in the labor market. They can put the employer in a frame of mind in which he will say, 'Well, if I have performed welfare work for you I acknowledge in turn that you are contributing to my happiness, too.'

"Welfare work for boys includes the establishing of athletic fields, bowling alleys, gymnasiums and technical and other schools; and for girls, recreation grounds, light athletics, dressmaking, millinery, and above all, cooking.

"If there is one supreme crying need throughout the world it is for better cooking, how to make food palatable and how to be sure of its wholesomeness. If you are studying all that, young ladies, you are on the way to sainthood. You are helping in a radical way to make people better. The roots of your labors run down to the stomach, the boiler of human machinery, and up to man's moral nature, the foundation of Society. If you can help the poorer girls of the hard-working classes to study personal health, household economy and be good housewives, you are engaged in a noble work."

FRANK JULIAN WARNE, Secretary of the Federation's Immigration Department, in addressing the South Carolina Cotton Manufacturers' Association at its recent annual meeting at Spartanburg, S. C., said in part:

"Among the impressions I take away after a most instructive two weeks' trip in various sections of your Southland, is that of the remarkable, almost wonderful industrial development or revolution through which you are passing.

"The unprecedented and rapid growth of your industries has already brought to you many vexatious problems new to this section. The building of your cotton mills, for illustration, has brought about within a period of ten or fifteen years a widespread movement of population from your rural districts to the villages and cities. This movement has been so rapid as to impose upon you with startling suddenness pressing issues of a most intricate nature. While it is true that such problems have already been developed through various stages in other sections of the country, yet it does not follow that the same outcome can be prophesied of your section. These problems, while of the same general character, differ radically because of the varying elements that go to make them up, and it is of these differences and the part they play that public opinion should be correctly informed.

"You have your views, and no doubt your own conception as to how these problems should be solved. But at the same time it is highly important that the public should know your views, and I am convinced that The National Civic Federation can be of incalculable service to you as manufacturers and to your section in the up-building of your industrial state, for I take it that in your progress public opinion, not only of the South but of the nation at large, is to be a determining factor. And as captains of industry who have fought to your present position over obstacles which to many seemed almost insurmountable, I am sure you recognize the value of a correctly informed public opinion. It is in this connection that The National Civic Federation has its greatest usefulness to you. This organization has 'a decent respect for the opinions of mankind,' be these opinions those of the industrial leaders of the South, or the North, or West. It is a forum where representatives of all interests and all sections can meet and present their views through their leaders. The means which the Federation uses for accomplishing this purpose are conferences for the discussion of questions of public moment. At these conferences all 'sides' are represented and each is given equal opportunity to present its aspect of the issue. As an illustration of this feature of the Federation's work, I call your attention to the recent conference in New York City in December at which the child labor problem, in which you are particularly interested, was one of the questions discussed. You sent able men there to present your views and opinions. I believe that what your representatives said came as a surprise to many who heretofore have not had the opportunity of considering all the phases of this problem.

"In order to give you a general idea of the Federation's work, I might say that the organization is composed of three elements; of employers, representing the larger and more important industries of the country; of employees, representing the great labor organizations, some of them international in their scope; and of representatives of the public, the latter including professional men and public-spirited men from all sections of the country.

"The efficiency and standing of the Federation can probably best be indicated by mentioning the names of

some of those who are actively identified in its work. The president of the organization is Mr. August Belmont; one of the vice-presidents is Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor. Up to the time of his appointment by President Roosevelt as Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Mr. Oscar S. Straus was also a vice-president. Another vice-president is your own fellow-member, Captain Ellison A. Smyth, and another one of your members, Mr. Thomas F. Parker, is Vice-Chairman of the Immigration Department. The officials of the organization also include such public-spirited men as ex-President Grover Cleveland, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, Archbishop Ireland, Mr. John Mitchell, President Eliot of Harvard University, Hon. Seth Low, Mr. Henry Phipps of the United States Steel Corporation.

"In addition to the conference feature referred to, the Federation's work is also carried on through departments organized for the purpose of making special investigations along particular lines. These departments include Immigration, Welfare, Conciliation and Arbitration, Trade Agreements, Industrial Economics, Political Reform, and Public Ownership. The methods under which these departments carry on their work can best be illustrated perhaps by that of the Public Ownership Commission. This body of one hundred men representing public-spirited citizens in various walks of life in different sections of the country was organized more than a year ago to carry on a thorough investigation as to public ownership of such public utilities as water, gas, electric power and light, and street railways. This commission, composed of those who oppose as well as those who favor public ownership, selected a committee of twenty-one to make an impartial investigation and to examine into the conditions and results in this country and abroad of public ownership and operation, public ownership and private operation, and private ownership and operation. Each 'side' selected its own paid experts, and these and the committee of investigation have spent many months in the principal cities of the United States and Great Britain. Such was the attention given to the selection of this important body—every shade of opinion being represented—as to assure an impartial and fair investigation and report, and I believe that when it finally presents its report, it will have a widespread influence in directing public opinion on this pressing issue.

"The other departments of the Federation are selected with the same care and with the sole idea of securing facts that are basal and fundamental. The Immigration Department in which you leaders of the South are greatly interested at the present time is also composed of different elements."

A MOST SENSIBLE VIEW.

WE doubt the efficiency of pity to solve the problem of child labor. A certain value is derived from pictures of the bent shoulders, the contracted lungs, the tired limbs, the sallow faces, the vacant eyes and the dwarfed intellects of those we are banishing from home, playground and schoolroom to the weary tread of our sweatshops, factories and mines. But not all child laborers are "slaves." Those who denounce the evils of child labor in such generalizations as that "two million little, wan and dwarfed child toilers march in the wage-slave ranks of America's industrial army" are a menace to this reform. Intelligent people, seeing many of these two million children who are not "wan" or "dwarfed," and who bear no other visible marks of slavery, discount the whole cry against child labor as sentiment. Many of the two million working children in America are between fifteen and sixteen years of age and are in occupations and laboring under conditions not injurious to themselves or to society. Not all glass houses employ little boys at night. Not all coal breakers are dense with clouds of dry dust. Not all telegraph offices employ little children to carry messages at midnight to houses of vice. Not all children in Southern cotton mills work through a twelve-hour night. Some one tells of seeing a little girl in a Southern cotton mill rudely awakened at night by a dash of cold water in her face. Homilies on child labor followed this incident, abounding in graphic descriptions of numberless little girls cruelly awakened night after night by splashes of cold water.

Nothing is gained by exaggeration; much is lost. It is enough that some of the two million are toiling all night in glass houses; that some coal breakers compel little boys of ten years to work in clouds of dust so dense as to completely hide the light and fill the lungs; that some little girls of eight years toil through a twelve-hour night in Southern cotton mills; that some of the little children of New York are crushed in body and soul in the slavery of sweatshop labor. The truth is bad enough. Let the picture be drawn with simple accuracy, and we may hope to arouse, instead of sentiments of pity, the sense of social justice; an appreciation of the relation of this system to our social institutions. A demonstration of the loss to society, the injustice to the laborer, and the dwarfing of the progenitors of our coming generations, will be more effective than specific pictures of little children who suffer from the wrong.—Owen R. Lovejoy, Assistant Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in the *New York Independent*.